

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
NATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF
SOCIAL WORK

Formerly, National Conference of Charities and Correction

AT THE
FORTY-SIXTH ANNUAL SESSION
HELD IN
ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY
JUNE 1-8, 1919

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1920

National Conference of Social Work

FOREWORD

In this year's *Proceedings*, the incidence of new principles in social work and of contemporary influences upon welfare programs is more traceable than heretofore. An example is the paramount question of the bearing of the standard of living on social remedies, as developed especially in the symposium of the Division on Health. The dominance of the labor interest is shown through discussion appropriately not only in the Division on Industrial and Economic Problems, but in nearly every other division. Similarly the growing appreciation of community values, of psychiatric social work and of "Uniting of Native and Foreign Born" are to be observed.

The readier recognition of developing principles, and the unusually comprehensive statement of problems which the present volume gives, were made easier through the maturing of the plan of continuing "divisions" of discussion adopted in 1917. This year for the first time the program was organized by representative committees in the leading branches of social work, that had been chosen by Conference delegates registered in these divisions. Thus each major group brought forward its own most urgent problems. That so great a range of issues were reviewed is fortunate at this time of realization of advances of the war period.

This volume makes the third of a noteworthy series of records of war-time social work in America. At Pittsburgh, in 1917, with the first trumpet blasts, there assembled a gathering that was surprising in numbers and prophetic in its disclosure of unanimity regarding responsibilities which the war was bringing on. At Kansas City, in 1918, six months before the Armistice, the magnitude of programs of civilian activity and the consequent absorption of trained personnel led to a new realization of the place of organized social effort in the life of the community. The Atlantic City meeting last June was held during the closing days of the Peace Conference. The discussions there looked toward a new regime of individual and social welfare, and greater correlation and effectiveness of established agencies. International concern with social work was emphasized through the participation of several foreign representatives.

W. T. C.

Chicago, December 20, 1919.

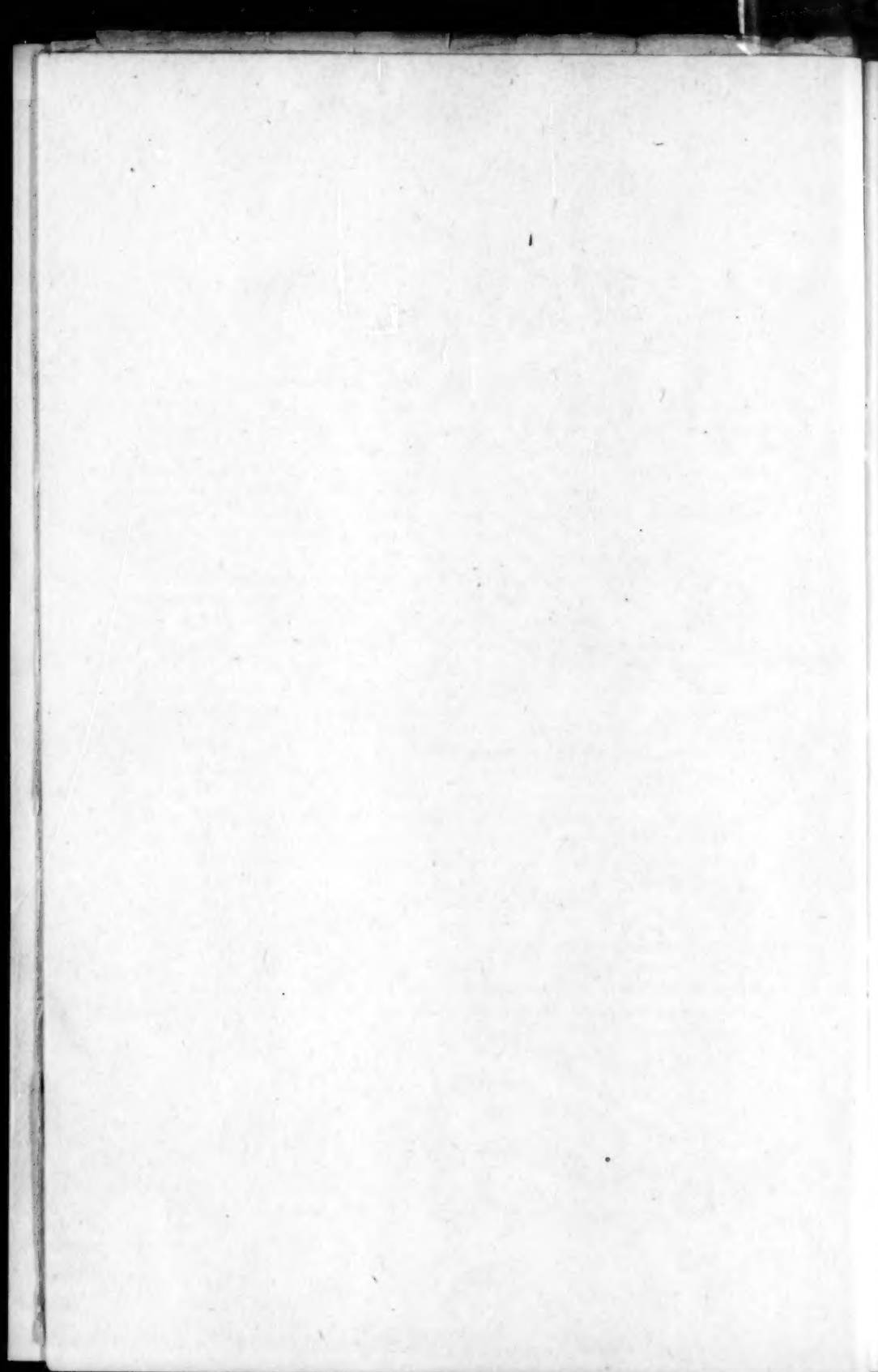


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I.
CHILDREN

DIVISION COMMITTEE—1918-19

Chairman, Henry W. Thurston, New York, School of Social Work.

Vice Chairman, C. V. Williams, Board of State Charities, Indianapolis

Secretary, C. C. Carstens, Massachusetts Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Boston

Grace Abbott.....	Washington	Sally Lucas Jean.....	New York
Ralph S. Barrow.....	Birmingham	Lilburn Merrill, M. D.....	Seattle
George R. Bedinger.....	Detroit	Jessica Peixotto.....	Washington
Frederick P. Cabot.....	Boston	Wilfred S. Reynolds.....	Chicago
C. C. Carstens.....	Boston	Rev. Michael J. Scanlan.....	Boston
Arthur Dean.....	New York	Hobart H. Todd.....	Industry
A. Madorah Donahue.....	Baltimore	Elsa Ueland.....	Philadelphia
Joseph M. Frost.....	Lansing, Mich.	Mrs. Benjamin West.....	Memphis
		Mrs. Helen T. Woolley.....	Cincinnati

DIVISION COMMITTEE—1919-20

(Year of expiration of term of office appears in parenthesis after each member's name.)

Chairman, Henry W. Thurston, New York School of Social Work.

Vice-Chairman, J. Prentice Murphy, Seybert Institution, Philadelphia.

Secretary, Wilfred S. Reynolds, Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, Chicago.

Grace Abbott (1922).....	Washington	George B. Mangold (1922).....	St. Louis
Ludwig Bernstein (1922).....	Pleasantville,	Lilburn Merrill, M. D. (1920)....	Seattle
.....	N. Y.	J. Prentice Murphy (1922).....	Boston
Frederick P. Cabot (1920).....	Boston	Jessica Peixotto (1921).....	Berkeley
C. C. Carstens (1921).....	Boston	Wilfred S. Reynolds (1921).....	Chicago
Rev. Joseph M. Corrigan (1921).....	Philadelphia	Henry W. Thurston (1921).....	New York
A. Madorah Donahue (1920)....	Baltimore	Hobart H. Todd (1922)....	Industry, N. Y.
Prof. Ellsworth Faris (1922)....	Sioux City	Mrs. Frank D. Watson (1922)....	Haverford
Joseph M. Frost (1920)....	Lansing, Mich.	Mrs. Benjamin West (1920)....	Memphis
Sally Lucas Jean (1920).....	New York	Mrs. Ira Couch Wood (1922)....	Chicago
		Mrs. Helen T. Woolley (1921)....	Cincinnati

SUB-COMMITTEES

Relation of Public School and Child Welfare Work (joint with National Education Association), Randall J. Condon, Cincinnati, chairman.

Delinquency (joint with Division II) Calvin Derrick, Trenton, N. J., Chairman.

The Unmarried Mother, Mrs. Ada Elliot Sheffield, Boston, Chairman.

Dependency, C. V. Williams, Columbus, Ohio, Chairman.

Physical and Mental Diagnosis of School Children, Mrs. Helen T. Woolley, Cincinnati, Chairman.

Rural Communities, H. Ida Curry, New York, Chairman.

Statistics, Kate Holladay, Claghorn, New York, Chairman.

PROGRAM

At the meeting of the National Conference at Atlantic City, June 1-8, 1919, 554 delegates registered as members of this Division. The Division Committee, as elected at the 1918 conference at Kansas City, is shown on the opposite page. Ten meetings for discussion were held, as follows:

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The meeting on June 2 was a joint session with Division II, on Delinquents and Correction, the Conference on Truant, Backward and Delinquent Children, and the National Probation Association.

The meeting on June 4 was a joint session with the National Federation of Day Nurseries.

TRANSACTIONS

A business meeting of the Division was held June 2, 1919, at 12:10 in the First Presbyterian Church. It was called to order by Mr. Thurston, Chairman.

After a statement of business to be transacted, made by the Secretary, Mr. Carstens, it was moved by Mr. Marcus C. Fagg of Jacksonville, Florida, that the Chairman name a Nominating Committee of not more than five persons to bring in nominations for chairman and vice-chairman, each to serve one year, and seven members of the Executive Committee to serve three years. The motion was seconded by Judge Cabot of Boston, and passed by a voice vote. On motion of Mr. J. Prentice Murphy, of Boston, it was voted that not more than two members of the Nominating Committee be from the present Executive Committee holding over. The Chairman then named Mrs. Helen T. Woolley of Cincinnati, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, and Judge Cabot of Boston, W. S. Dickinson of St. Paul, David J. Terry of Pittsburgh, and James E. Ewers of Cleveland, as the other members.

On motion the meeting adjourned to the following day at noon.

On June 3, 1919, at the First Presbyterian Church, the adjourned meeting was called together by the Chairman at 12 o'clock, to hear the report of the Nominating Committee. Dr. Woolley, Chairman, made the following report: For Chairman, Henry W. Thurston, New York; Vice-Chairman, J. Prentice Murphy, Boston; members of the Executive Committee to serve three years: Grace Abbott, Washington; Mrs. Ira Couch Wood, Chicago; Prof. Ellsworth Faris, Chicago; J. Prentice Murphy, Boston; Mrs. Frank D. Watson, Haverford, Pa.; George B. Mangold, St. Louis, and Ludwig H. Bernstein, Pleasantville, N. Y.

The meeting adjourned.

(Signed) C. C. CARSTENS, Secretary.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

CHILD WELFARE STANDARDS A TEST OF DEMOCRACY

Julia C. Lathrop, Chief, Federal Children's Bureau, Washington, D. C.

At the outset of these sessions I want to try to put in words the great reason which in my opinion makes the Conference important. The papers read here are valuable, but they will appear in the Proceedings. Already the records of the Conference sum up the slowly garnered wisdom of 45 years in our field. The discussions are valuable—to speak one's mind freely once a year is a luxury worth a considerable journey. But the discussions do not justify the Conference. At Nashville, the first Conference meeting I attended, Mr. Alexander Johnson explained thus in answer to my bewildered enthusiasm: "Here we meet for a week once a year. All the rest of the year we may disagree, but for this week we understand the best that is in each other and we cannot help a deep personal good will. This lasts us a long time, often the other 51 weeks, and it is because of this yearly renewal of friendly human understanding that the Conference lives. Somehow we have learned that our regular work goes forward better for this meeting—the papers, the committees, the discussions, the social meetings, are vehicles carrying the great products of the Conference—acquaintance and good will." If Mr. Johnson is present he will repudiate the crudeness of my quotation, but the benign effect he produced on my mind he cannot bring in question.

In this connection you will be interested to know that I wrote various ex-presidents asking for confidential advice, and that Dr. Hart wrote such an admirable and truly confidential reply that I regret there is not time to present it in full. I can only fortify myself by telling you that he advises an occasional discreet playing of hookey, pointing out that the papers are in the proceedings while our chance to know the people who write the papers may be only here and now.

We may assume then that we are come for the stimulus of meeting each other. There will be time enough for everything, for all the ways of meeting each other, by hearing papers, by spirited discussions, by renewing and making acquaintance. And with this view of the Conference I want especially to welcome those members who have come for the first time, the youngest of us. I hope they will not be too set up when I say that we look eagerly upon them and see in them the promise of this great body for the future. Whatever they want of the rest of us we are here to offer and to give.

* * * *

And now you will pardon me, I trust, if instead of attempting a more general discussion, I address you on the subject with which for some years I have chanced to be especially concerned—the public protection of childhood.

The protection of childhood is costly. The standards we are willing to accept and carry forward are a test of democracy because they are a test of whether it is the popular will to pay the cost of what we agree is essential to the wise and safe bringing up of children.

I can never touch upon this subject without thinking of what John Dewey said twenty years ago in his little book on *School and Society*: "What the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must the community want for all of its children. Any other ideal for our schools is narrow and unlovely; acted upon, it destroys our democracy." This standard for childhood cannot apply only to the school child, it must apply to the child at home before he goes to school, and, strange anomaly, it still applies also to the child at work.

Democracy is that form of government and spirit among men which actively insist that society must exist to give every human being a fair chance.

A fair chance for everyone does not begin with adult life nor with infancy. Its mysterious springs are more and more swathed in mystery as we push

backward from the man, the youth, the child, the baby, to the endless line of the generations out of which each living being emerges in his turn. But our responsibility is only with today; tomorrow will take care of itself as did yesterday.

This year is like no other year. It marks the end of the Great War, the beginning, as we long to believe, of the Great Peace. A new era is upon us for good or ill, and since the signing of the armistice it has been plain that the terms of living in the new era may be as good as the people of the democratic countries demand. Through the war men and women have cheered themselves by thinking about the new era and by drawing up programs of its just social order. In some of the allied countries the stress of war has already forced new social legislation of a high type, especially for the protection of children. But it is by no means a matter of course that social legislation will go steadily on without opposition. "It is not the lack of good will that is to be feared," concludes one of the reports of the British Ministry of Reconstruction, "But good will without mental effort, without intelligent provision is worse than ineffectual; it is a moral opiate."

In this favored land which has known neither invasion nor hunger, we must, if we look candidly about us, lay aside the flattering unctious with which we talk of reconstruction and admit that our problem is one of construction, that measured by our opportunities we were careless laggards before the war and that we were in the war too brief a period to create new child welfare problems.

Europe is concerned with the sheer physical problem of child welfare because it is compelled to deal with the sheer physical problem of repopulation. The war has caused a double loss of life. The United States War Department estimates at present that the war has cost over 7,482,200 battle deaths, all suffered by Europeans save 48,900 charged to the United States, and most of these nations lost two or three times as heavily from disease deaths as from battle action. In addition the civilian deaths, especially of the less resistant groups, undoubtedly increased, while the reduction in the lowered number of births was a vast item. Thus Sir Bernard Mallet, President of the British Royal Statistical Society, states that Hungary alone lost 1,500,000 lives to the end of June, 1918, by lowered birth rate. This is as if, in Hungary, not a child had been born for two years. For the same period Great Britain fared better; her lowered birthrate was as if not a child had been born in the United Kingdom for six months; while in Germany the loss was as if not a child had been born for sixteen months. We know Central and Eastern Europe have lost incalculable numbers by starvation. Against these estimates the losses of the United States are slight indeed. The problem of caring for injured soldiers and for the orphans and dependents of soldiers is one of vast importance in every European country,—with us it too, is slight.

Does all this entitle us to sit down in thoughtless comfort or does it compel us to make such efforts as we have not made before to give every child a fair chance? Let an Italian statesman answer, who, in discussing the new Italian law for the protection of soldiers' orphans said with wise prevision, "What today we see is necessary for the soldier's child, tomorrow we shall see is the right of every child who needs it." What Italy must postpone until tomorrow, must we not do today, in the terms of our own rich resources?

And first, as to infant mortality:—

It is not easy, perhaps it is not decent, to reduce the discussion of human life to terms of money. Yet, acknowledging that human life is too precious to be reckoned by dollars, we may get a sense by money calculations of where we are wasting life unnecessarily and of the added cost required to stop the waste. Will you permit me to refer to the figures of the Children's Bureau showing infant mortality in relation to income: They show that infant mortality lessens as the wages of the fathers increase. Naturally the

Bureau took as the sign of family income the earnings of the father since American thinking holds that the earnings of the man should be sufficient to enable him to support the wife and young children. When the father's wages were under \$450, the infant death rate was 167. As the wages rose to \$1,250, the death rate fell to 59. Fourteen per cent of the babies were born in families where the father earned \$450 or less, 10 per cent in families where the father's earnings were \$1,250 or more.

These figures were made before the war and in certain industries pay has increased. But figures as to living cost preclude the hope that family living standards are improving at present.

Children are not safe and happy if their parents are miserable, and parents must be miserable if they cannot protect a home against poverty.

Let us not deceive ourselves: The power to maintain a decent family living standard is the primary essential of child welfare. This means a living wage and wholesome working life for the man, a good and skillful mother at home to keep the house and comfort all within it. Society can afford no less and can afford no exceptions. This is a universal need.

Public Protection of Maternity and Infancy

Infant mortality can be largely prevented and the lives of mothers safeguarded to this end. And a federal measure is proposed which will be costly in money but economical in life. In large areas of our country, where local taxes are raised with difficulty although the tax rates are high, we are confronted by poverty and by isolation. These are areas far removed from doctors, where the visiting nurse is unknown, where hospitals are inaccessible, where hygiene is not taught, and in these regions mothers and babies suffer and die unattended. There are industrial areas, too, where mothers and children are treated with fatalistic neglect. These mothers and these children need public health nurses, hospitals and medical attention, above all homely lessons in hygiene and how to keep well. These things should be provided as the public schools are provided, to be used by all with dignity and self-respect. Such provisions can be secured by government aid to states on the plan already in operation for aid to agriculture, vocational training, good roads, protection against venereal diseases. Millions will be necessary from the Federal Government to be matched by millions more from the state. Will such expenditures be questioned? Let us look at England. Last August a law was passed by Parliament providing for the public protection of maternity and infancy by grants to be used for purposes analogous to those I have outlined above. It goes farther and provides "home helps" during the mother's incapacity. Such protection will be costly, but it was demanded by popular opinion in England. The experience of New Zealand justifies it. Parliamentary reports of the Commonwealth of Australia emphasize the necessity of such public provision for that country.

Illiteracy and Child Labor

But let us suppose that we have pulled through the first year of life the two and one-half million children born annually; let us suppose that they have survived that period severely called by teachers and physicians "the neglected age," in which children are still at home in their mothers' arms, and that they are safely launched in school or are of an age to be so launched. What do they learn? Until the illiteracy figures of the draft startled us we ignored the census warning as to illiteracy in this country. We ignored the census figures showing that rural child labor and adult illiteracy occupy the same territory. The revelation of the draft has created a serious determination to abolish adult illiteracy. But what of the children of today? Shall we begin at once to teach them or shall we wait until they too are grown, their minds dulled and stiffened by disuse of books, and try to teach them then? Certainly the question needs only to be stated in order to be

answered, so far as efficiency is concerned. Remember that the United States has itself bred two-thirds of its illiterate population. Aside from the adult illiterate immigrants who form a scant one-third of our illiterate population, the adult illiterates of today are the American child laborers of yesterday,—largely the rural child workers, for the rural illiteracy rate is double the urban rate, and three-fifths of our population is rural, and an overwhelming proportion of our child labor is rural.

It does not simplify matters to know that many of these rural child laborers and adult illiterates are colored. Rather the matter becomes more urgent, as we realize that the colored population grown three or four fold in the last 50 years, now spreading over the country, north, east and west, is demonstrating that the welfare of the colored child is a nation-wide problem which no section can ignore with prudence or with honor. If no country is safe part slave and part free, so no country is safe if part is ignorant and part is college-bred. No laws limit the hours of rural child labor nor the ages of the laborers. Only a small proportion of our child laborers are protected by the federal law applying to those in mines, quarries and manufacturing establishments. As to these children, who are in a measure protected, twenty-seven per cent of the group between 14 and 16 to whom the Children's Bureau gave certificates of age under the first federal child labor law, could not sign their names legibly.

The best way to abolish child labor, as Florence Kelley has long said, is by compulsory education. We now can take the greatest forward step in our educational history—we can abolish rural child labor and stop the increase of illiteracy by the same measure—a universal compulsory measure for elementary education. This will be costly, but it is entirely practicable by a federal act extending aid to states for rural education, and making conditions as to type of school and of teaching, length of term and required attendance. Such an Act should reach every child. Do we often think of the children of Porto Rico, Hawaii, the Canal Zone natives, to all of whom our protection is pledged. The Philippines are setting a great example by their new compulsory school law. The promptness with which the federal law in aid of Vocational Education was accepted by the States leaves little doubt that a measure for elementary education would be equally acceptable.

As you know, England's new Education Act has cut the root of rural child labor and of industrial exemptions by providing universal compulsory full time schooling for every child to the age of 14, with increasing provision for continuation school to the age of 18. Complete elementary education will be costly, but with England accepting the cost of the new law which adds many million pounds to her annual school budget, we with far lower tax rates and far greater wealth cannot afford to behave with less public spirit.

Higher Living Standards Lessen Problems of Social Wreckage

I need not waste time in urging here that raising the national living standard, stabilizing employment, protecting by law the universal right to wholesome working conditions, substituting good schools for work for all children, providing adequate care for the health and welfare of all mothers and children will all simplify the problems of amelioration which this Conference considers. We know that the enfeebled in mind or body or moral resistance are found in overwhelming proportion among those whose lives are most barren of comfort and knowledge, and financially on the lowest level. While the tasks of dealing with the wastage and wreckage are perhaps never all to be completed, they are sure to be lessened and performed more wisely as the universal living standard rises. It is really because the Conference accepts this view that it has abandoned its old title to take its present one.

Child Welfare Standards

Fruitful attempts to raise national living standards must be based on clear rules of action. Accordingly, as you know, a series of Conferences on child welfare standards have been held this spring under the auspices of the Children's Bureau, but with the cooperation of many people, including the foreign guests whose counsel has helped us greatly, and two of whom you will have the pleasure of hearing tonight. The standards agreed upon in Washington but open to revision, we hope may become the "irreducible minimum standards" which President Wilson said should be set forth as a part of Children's Year. They represent no goal, but rather a point of departure for the next generation if we can do our part now. They require full public provision for maternity and infancy. They require education to 16 and continuation school beyond, and protection for the adolescent at school or at work. They require protection for the health of young persons at work, decent working conditions, fair pay. They require modern care for dependent children, reiterating those true standards of the White House Conference of ten years ago which are yet too far from realization. They require careful discrimination and the scientific method in dealing with all those unfortunate children who are permanently or temporarily out of adjustment. The standards for normal children are framed to give new life a fair start, and to build up the joyous mental and physical vigor to which childhood and youth are entitled, and to afford as fair a start as may be in the working world.

The whole question of putting such standards into operation is this: Are we willing to spend the money? Can we make ourselves spend the money? Will we steadily push forward the new legislation, state and federal, which is needed to give them effect? And let us not forget that the universality of their application is a stern test of our democracy. Without universality the standards are sounding brass. We owe much to the sad children of invaded, war torn Europe, but we shall pay that debt best if we pay at the same time our debts at home. We shall cut a poor figure in leading the world democracy if we fail to put in order our own "vast unswept hearth."

MINIMUM STANDARDS OF CHILD WELFARE

Dr. René Sand, Professor of Social and Industrial Medicine, University of Brussels, and Medical Advisor, Ministry of Labor, Brussels, Belgium

I thank you for this welcome in the name of my country.

I believe we all feel that the committee in charge did the right thing when they put child welfare as the first item on the program of this conference. There are four powerful reasons for having done so:

The first may be called the logical reason, as childhood is the first phase of human life.

The second I should characterize as the opportunity reason: it is so much more hopeful, indeed, to work with children than with grown-up people. These have already their habits, their ideas, their prejudices—of course, social workers excluded. I might add that this reason would be especially important in Europe just now, because the present generations have suffered such a drain and strain that we sometimes almost despair of bringing them back to physical, intellectual and moral health.

The third reason may be presented as the actuality reason. In every branch of community work splendid results have been achieved, but since the war no kind of social activity has progressed and been favored universally as child welfare. In Belgium we had before the war a Child Welfare League. It had accomplished good work, but had done little of what needed

to be done. When war broke out, the necessity of protecting children became evident, and because of this the child welfare work spread over invaded Belgium in a measure which we never could have hoped for before the war. We had seventy baby clinics for the whole country in 1914; now we have 700. Two cities only gave dinners to expectant mothers before the war; five hundred do that now. It was only an exceptional matter when lunches were given to school children five years ago; every Belgian school child has received his lunch during the war every day. And all this work will be maintained, now that the war is over, and furthered. The Belgian Parliament has established a Children's Bureau, a semi-official organization, which shall see to it that a babies' clinic will be established in every locality under the supervision of a local committee. This is the compulsory work which this bureau will have to do. But it will constantly add to its program.

There is a fourth reason why we should begin with child welfare. It is that child welfare will bring with it every other activity in the realm of social work. If you have gone so far as to persuade public opinion that it is necessary to protect child life, you at once have to take up the child's, the mother's and the father's education, and that is a very wide field. You have to consider the work of children and mothers, and that leads you to labor problems, and all the problems of industry. You have to protect the health of children, and so you come in touch with public health and the practice of medicine, and so on. You see, through the door of child welfare every kind of social work is passing.

Child welfare was first thought a private affair for the parents to decide on. Then it became a public problem, and we face it today as a social problem.

The same happened with education. At the beginning an individual man or woman opened a school and gave instruction to children whose parents paid for it. It was private. Then, after centuries, the importance of education came to be recognized; education became a public matter and was given free. It is only in recent years that we have seen it as a social matter, and the school has become a center for the whole community, a place for instruction, for recreation, for civic activities.

If we study the evolution of industry, we find it has come through the same three stages. The business man who owned a factory believed firmly that nobody, not even the state, had the right to interfere in the least about the way he ran it. Then it was recognized that industry is a public concern and may be regulated as such. We have risen in the last few years to the idea that industry is also a social matter, and the most enlightened among industrial people do not think they have attained much with financial success only; they also aim at social success.

It is the same thing with public health. Hygiene used to be considered as a matter of individual wisdom, but it was soon realized that we could not keep healthy unless our neighbors observed the proper precautions, unless the community as a whole took up the problem. So we had hospitals, sewerage systems and all those things that make for the public health. But that is only the negative side of hygiene. The positive side is the social side. It means proper housing, proper diet and dress, rest, fresh air.

The history of medical practice shows the same evolution. The relation between doctor and patient was at first individual, then the doctor's work was done mostly in the hospital and dispensary, until now the hospitals and dispensaries realize they have to do social work. So everything ends in social aspects.

But you social workers have noticed it,—all phases of social work lead you to medical problems. If you deal with the question of wages, you see infant mortality increasing as the family income decreases. If you study labor, you soon come to the question of fatigue, which affects the

health. If you investigate poverty, you discover that it is mostly created by mental abnormalities or such diseases as tuberculosis.

So a new science, which we call social medicine, has developed. It means simply the social end of the medical questions. It would have been constituted long ago if it were not for the fact that it needs biological, statistical and social methods, and these things the average doctor does not take kindly to. There is mere reluctance on his part with statistical methods, but if you mention social methods, social case work, there the average medical man revolts. It seems to him too human to be scientific. And then it mixes him up with burning social questions as well as with politics, and that is slippery ground. Yet we have got to prepare that ground, and cultivate it, and it will give us the richest crop science has ever harvested. We then will not only guess; we will know the facts about social medicine.

A beginning has been made in this country by your Schools for Industrial Medicine. On the other side, the trustees of the London Hospital have decided to do away with the system of consulting physicians and surgeons and to replace them by resident workers who will have supervision not only of the wards and out-patient department, but also will have an oversight of the surrounding neighborhood. The students will study in the homes as well as in the hospitals.

These innovations are only part of the duty which is ours for democracy. That duty is to make our universities more constructive and more human. If we consider how things are, we find two paradoxical facts. The first is that the human sciences have not kept pace with the other sciences. We know so little about the growth of children, for instance, and the study of it has had little place in our universities, while other sciences loom very large. The second fact is that the utilization of science does not keep pace with its advance; we know many things about the working of the human machine, but it is only exceptionally applied; we know how to fight infant and general mortality, and yet we still do little to fight them. The real remedy is to make the universities the places for co-operative research and co-operative work in the community in order to solve the problems of constructive democracy;—this means scientific democracy.

MINIMUM STANDARDS OF CHILD WELFARE

Mrs. Eleanor Barton, Woman's Co-operative Guild, Sheffield, England

In about three weeks' time, in one of our large towns in England, will be held a meeting similar in size to this conference and in a room similar to this, composed entirely of women who will be the wives and mothers of workingmen. They will be members of the Women's Co-operative Guild, and will be having their annual meeting to discuss the questions and pass resolutions on things that they have discussed in their different branches during the year past. I am telling you that because I want you to know the kind of women that we have in our guild. Through them we have represented every trade in our country; through them we feel everything, practically, that is affecting the men, women and children of the working classes in our country. And so you will see we have a wide program to discuss. We take up everything that affects the home, even to taxes and the tariff. After coming through their discussions to understand these difficult matters, being mothers and wives all in one, they are very practical, and having discussed questions and come to conclusions, they decide how they shall have these public affairs carried on.

One thing we have been discussing for years has been child welfare. We have also taken up medical inspection in the schools, the questions of infant mortality, sickness, national health insurance, and have done our best to

bring about the things we have decided were needed. In all our work for legislation we had to meet the point of view of the vested interests, the employers, the bankers, the railroad magnates. Then in England we had the labor party, which was the political part of our trades union movement; they again brought in another side, the industrial side, with the question of shorter hours and better wages, and now in England, through our work, we are having the human side discussed, and the woman is bringing to legislation what it needs most in all countries. While we have had our medical people concerned with reducing the death rate, and others trying to get at the root of various things that were wrong, it took the mothers really to tell where the secret was and how it might be remedied. We approached the government board and suggested to them certain reforms, and I am pleased to say that in 1918 we had a maternity and child welfare bill passed, which gives wide powers. Our local government board were prepared to give us nursing care, and to give milk and other necessities, and by sending mothers to maternity hospitals and afterwards to convalescent homes where they might go for rest and recovery, but with all this not much has been done unless help is given to the mother by some assistance in the work of her home. She has been worked hard in her home, and she knows what is needed there.

Then there is the question of the home itself. Somebody has said the houses working people live in are "brick boxes with slate lids." If you are studying the question of child welfare you must consider whether the place where a child is born is fit to be born in. We must apply ourselves to that,—the great housing question. As democracy grows, and as men and women take part in legislation more and more, it will not be what it should be unless you have people well brought up in healthy places. You have got to consider not just the question of medical help to the woman, but have got to apply health-giving surroundings to the whole of their life. They must be born well and in healthy places. If the house and the street are not healthy when summer comes the babies will die off like flies. At present many have no place fit, clean, healthy, to live in. The infant death rate is amenable to treatment. We have already reduced it largely in most great cities. If we apply the same energy to other social conditions they will be equally amenable.

If it is true that the war has been fought for democracy, let us begin right here to be real democrats and to see that everybody gets his chance. In England we asked the working women to come out of the home and help us. They know where the shoe pinches. If you wanted your shoes mended you would go to the shoemaker. If you want better homes, go to the workmen and ask them what they want. The workmen of England are telling what they want, and the women, too. The government is realizing what a help the women can be, and is giving women the chance to serve on administrative boards. That is the beginning of real democracy, and England is the first country in this respect. I do not wish to depreciate the work of other people. We want a united people, the doctors, the missionaries, the social workers,—if they come along in the right spirit we want everybody in our movement.

The difficulty with things in the past has been that we have had a certain number of people doing things for somebody else. We want everybody in the country working together for the upliftment of all. Even if they go into social welfare work on the paternal basis, but in spirit are thorough and devote their wealth and their leisure, there is a place for them. For everybody has got their part to play. All honor to the men and women volunteer workers, but they cannot cover all the work to be done. We have got a world-wide organization, and this means that there is room enough for all. The volunteer workers have leisure to study up things and

they have ideas, and can bring all kinds of aids, and we ask them to come along and work with us all in this world-wide cause. It is a beautiful thing to work for. Money could not buy it. It is the spirit within you. Clear away the dirty places. You have got them in your country. I saw some of them as I traveled across your splendid state of Pennsylvania between Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. Clean them up.

The motto of our Women's Co-operative Guild in England is "From a whole heart cometh hope." Let us be wholehearted in the work of child welfare, and help the mother as well as the child. When I praise womanhood and motherhood, I do not wish to belittle the service of men. After all, men are women's children, and we mother them all through life. Miss Lathrop said this is a year of peace. Friends, we have always had war ever since I can remember, and a long time before. We shall have another war, probably not a war between countries, but a war in our own countries wherein the downtrodden will be trying to raise themselves. Let us have another war that shall clear away dirt and disease, and that shall bring happiness in their place.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AS A COMMUNITY PROBLEM: PRELIMINARY REPORT OF SUBCOMMITTEE

Calvin Derrick, Director Education and Parole, Department of Institutions and Agencies, State of New Jersey

In undertaking the study of "Juvenile Delinquency as a Community Problem," we shall try to realize fully the breadth and the depth of the problem. Superficially the question of "Juvenile Delinquency" would seem to be wholly a child problem, or a local problem with no bearing on other matters than schools and instruction. Fundamentally, however, it is a question of grave National importance, with far-reaching and enduring consequences. Any satisfactory study of the problem must, therefore, be approached with a full consciousness of the importance of the report to be made, as a result of the study, and also with a keen appreciation of the necessity for so conducting the study as to make available, for practical and immediate use, the information and discoveries made as a result of the study. At this busy period of the world's history we have no time, and I feel sure that we are voicing your sentiments when we say, "We have no interest" in a study of this scope and nature if it is to be made only in the interests of lengthening our already long lists of reports, or adding to the general bibliography on the subject of juvenile delinquency. We are going to make this study for the sole purpose of hastening action, and of giving a proper direction to such action.

We must, therefore, define our problem. We must have a common understanding and agreement as to terms. We must define the terms—"Community," "Community Problem" and "Delinquency."

We are also aware that many previous studies and reports have been made. Large numbers of communities have been surveyed from almost every possible angle. Therefore, this is neither an initial nor a pioneer undertaking. We must, in the beginning, study and classify everything that has been learned and discovered to date by those who have gone over the trail before us. Beginning probably with the report of the White House Conference, called by President Roosevelt in 1909, we will learn the opinions of the best thinkers on the problem and its needs at that time. As a result of that conference, President Roosevelt, in a special message to Congress in January, 1909, recommended legislation which resulted in the incorporation of agencies caring for dependent children, State inspection of the work of all agencies which care for dependent children, inspection of educational work of institutions and agencies caring for dependent children and their

parents, based upon personal inspection and supervision; and the establishment of a Federal Children's Bureau.

Since 1909 a vast amount of information has been collected by a wide range of agencies, National, State and private. Not least among the practical aids which this committee may bring to the social worker and busy official, will be a bibliography of what has been discovered and accomplished and how it may be utilized.

In order to make the study comprehensive, many types of communities must be considered. The large city having an open port, a big foreign population, crowded housing and business sections, and overcrowded public schools, must be considered in a comprehensive and comparative way with the smaller inland city with practically no foreign population, sufficient school facilities, and good housing conditions. Also, we must consider the small country village or town, almost wholly detached from large centers, but itself being the center of a big rural population; the small progressive city representing to the surrounding community, a "metropolis." We must consider the suburban cities, the commuter's vicinity, if you please. We must consider the factory town where practically all of the population are on the pay roll of a great corporation, and practically all of the property owned by such corporation; where every public undertaking, all recreational centers, and all social advantages are provided by the corporation rather than by the community effort, in response to a civic demand. We must take into consideration the sectional differences of the country; such communities as our large southern cities, great shipping centers of the middle West, and the lumber and mining centers of the Pacific Coast.

It will not be sufficient for us to discover that delinquency is a problem in the isolated rural communities, but along with such discovery we must ascertain the causes and compare such causes and types of delinquency with the causes and types of delinquency found in more populous centers. It is important for us to discover under what conditions juvenile delinquency results from community neglect or disadvantage, from family neglect or disadvantage, or from personal misdirection or handicap. It will be just as important for us to discover and classify the community resources which may or could, under proper direction and control, be made factors in eliminating, lessening, or controlling juvenile delinquency, as to discover that such delinquency exists and is a community problem. It will be of the utmost importance for us to discover, if possible, the factors that are common in all communities as well as those factors which are provincial, uncommon, and peculiar. It will also be important for this committee to discover the point at which municipal, state, or national legislation could be made a factor in eliminating or reducing the difficulties to the community, and also to what extent the community should be relieved by state or national aid and oversight of its own responsibilities in the matter.

In determining what constitutes a community problem we must bear in mind the factors entering into the social, economic, and industrial education and recreational life of the community, as a community. We must bear in mind that very few, if any, of the above-mentioned factors are equally available to all classes of the population in large centers, or in rural centers, and that equal privileges are much more easily distributed in small cities and large towns; that the size of the town, the sources of revenue to the main population, determine to a great extent the kind and quality of public provision for recreation, protection of public health, equal advantages in public schools, and a great many other civic resources. We have to bear in mind the necessary restrictions put upon most sane pastimes and play which ordinances of great cities and crowded centers impose. The density of traffic, the housing conditions, the economic stress and strain which certain classes of the population are subjected to; the number of foreign born parents, the presence or

absence of juvenile courts, efficient probation systems, the activity of social agencies such as the Red Cross, the Boy Scouts, the Y. M. C. A., the K. of C. and numerous other local and national organizations. We must also consider the educational facilities along vocational and industrial lines for boys and girls over the age of ten or twelve years and the opportunities for children under the age of fourteen to earn money, either in street trades, in factories, by selling papers, becoming caddies, or any other of the various lines of occasional occupation which boys drift into.

The laws upon the statute books in various counties and states relating to the responsibility of parents for the delinquency of their children must be taken into account, studied, compared, and classified; the amount of law which has been enacted and is being enforced regarding contributory delinquency on the part of adults, and whether the community or state has a reliable and sane compulsory education law, and whether the same is being enforced or administered sympathetically and sensibly; whether there is proper cooperation between the social agencies of the community, the school, the probation and juvenile court authorities; the number and kind of facilities to be found in the community for taking care of its own delinquent in the way of parental schools, continuation schools, special classes, etc.

In any study of the question of juvenile delinquency the history of the family from every standpoint and in connection with every phase of life, of course, becomes the ultimate objective as a community factor. The life of the individual delinquent is of primary importance in dealing with the question of delinquency, but it is of secondary importance when studying the question as a community problem.

The Methods of Conducting the Study

Since the membership of this committee is scattered throughout the United States, thereby making it impossible for us to hold frequent meetings and consultation, it has been decided to conduct the study as follows: Each member of this committee is made chairman, with power to appoint from his state or locality, a subcommittee. The various subcommittees will proceed to outline the scope of the work and the methods to be followed for the next year's study, the chairman of the various subcommittees keeping as closely in touch with one another throughout the year by correspondence, as is possible and feasible, and the progress of the work to be reported at next year's conference. Prior to such report the entire membership of the main committee will attempt to hold at least one conference for the purpose of reorganizing the methods and directions of work for the succeeding year, and correlating the reports of the various subcommittees to be presented for the consideration of this body for direction and suggestion for the next year's study. We respectfully call upon the membership of this conference for suggestion and criticism, feeling that in this way we shall not only be encouraged to conduct our studies more systematically, and prosecute them with greater success and persistence, but that we shall be saved from loss of time; that the final report will be much more representative of national thought, and prevented from becoming obsolete almost before it is finally presented by reason of changing opinion and conditions during the interval of three years.

We all realize that in the present state of society; with the great upheaval of public opinion concerning all kinds of reconstructive work; with the very keen interest in social advance on the part of a large portion of our population, the advanced thought of today must of necessity be obsolete tomorrow. It is possible that the discoveries and studies which we shall make during the next year may be completely out of date by the time our third report shall be presented.

In order to prevent this it will be necessary for you to constantly correct and admonish to the end that we shall waste no time on non-essentials.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Those who participated in the Discussion of Mr. Derrick's paper were: Philip Klein, New York; David J. Terry, Pittsburgh; Judge C. M. Fiedelson, Savannah; Dr. A. J. D. Haupt, St. Paul. Among the suggestions that were put forth were the ideas that the sub-committee should emphasize the causes of delinquency in its studies; that the institutions, courts and public officials were themselves important causes of delinquency; and, in the case of St. Paul, that juvenile delinquency cases had been found largely among the foreign population, the extent of delinquency having been lessened recently through establishing a community house and through special activities of churches.

SPARE TIME AND DELINQUENCY

Allen T. Burns, Director, Study of Americanization, Carnegie Corporation, New York

Two years ago when some of us were talking about a study in Cleveland of the uses of spare time, including its relation to delinquency, we looked over the various surveys that had been made and found that the latest one, that of Minneapolis, quoted figures that Mr. Thurston and myself had had something to do with compiling in Chicago some nine years before. If the Recreation Association, now the Community Service, Incorporated, finds that material collected so long ago is in point now, you may pardon us if we begin by recalling some facts found in a study in Chicago in 1908 on the basis of the records of the Juvenile Court of which Mr. Thurston was at that time chief probation officer.

The Chicago Study

You will remember that about 1902 the South Side of Chicago had become an object of interest for the world by its provision for public recreational facilities. The small park system developed under Mr. Forman had established up to that time some eleven very extensive neighborhood fields that were the realization of dreams which some people said could not come true until the millennium. As the question arose more and more in Chicago as to whether this outlay of two and a half millions and an annual expenditure of something like three hundred thousand was justified, we thought it would help if we found out whether the provision of these agencies had had any perceptible effect upon delinquency on the South Side of Chicago; so we took a map and located, by blue pins for one year and red for another, the residences of the boys who had been brought into the juvenile court. The blue indicated those brought in two years before the establishment of the playgrounds and the red those brought in two years after. We found that the proportion of delinquency from the South Side of Chicago had been a practically constant figure ever since the juvenile court had been established up to the time when the playgrounds were opened. This figure was forty per cent of all the juvenile delinquency of Chicago. We then found that it had decreased in these two years of the operation of the playgrounds. The South Side was furnishing only thirty-four per cent of the delinquents of Chicago at a time or over a period when delinquency in Chicago had increased twelve per cent. That means with reference to delinquency in Chicago as a whole, delinquency on the South Side had decreased twenty-nine per cent. The only new factor we could find there was these new recreational facilities.

In order to check these conclusions in other ways, the South Side was divided into eleven probation districts. Many of these had very changing populations and into some factories had moved, but in four of these districts we found practically constant conditions and, in addition to that feature, they had been somewhat adequately provided with playgrounds. Each district had had at least two field houses and athletic grounds and, in one case three, so it seemed to us that they were adequately supplied. We studied these four districts and found that one had decreased its delinquency

twenty-eight per cent and another thirty-three and one-third per cent. The one that had three playgrounds had decreased its delinquency seventy per cent. In other words, these districts that had been nearly adequately provided with recreational facilities showed an average decrease of forty-four per cent.

We drew circles around these playgrounds of one-half mile in radius and then found that there had been within this radius an average decrease of twenty-eight and a half per cent.

It is easy to say that these playgrounds had nothing to do with the case, but, tested in three different ways, when delinquency in Chicago was on an appreciable increase, we found that there had always been a decrease in delinquency where playgrounds had been introduced.

New Cleveland Study

When we came to make a study two years ago in Cleveland, we realized that no new facts on the subject had been produced in a decade and that there might be a suspicion that the old facts were false or misleading. So when Mr. Thurston was asked to come to Cleveland to take part in the study of spare time and to bring out a report on its relation to delinquency, we were looking for something more convincing. His procedure was this: he did something that is analogous to the much more scientific inquiry of the medical profession when it takes a relatively few cases that can be thoroughly diagnosed and treated and, on the basis of a few cases intensively studied, reaches a conclusion.

We took 129 cases of juvenile delinquency that were representative of the whole of the nationalities, ages, offenses of the 2,000 cases of juvenile delinquency that went through the courts in Cleveland every year. Everyone agreed that these cases were entirely characteristic of the whole group that came under the court's jurisdiction. A careful analysis, with a study of the documents, was made under Mr. Thurston's direction with the help of a few field workers. After it was done, we found, of course, that the variety of nationalities, family conditions and other factors all differ very decidedly from case to case. The one factor in the situation that was more uniformly present than any other was some aspect of the use of spare time. In not less than seventy-five per cent of these typical cases, it was found that spare time from some point of view had a very definite relation to the delinquency. More generally present than any other factor was that of leisure and its use.

Various Relations of Spare Time to Delinquency

Having reached that conclusion, we wanted to know what these relations of spare time were and, when they had all been sifted and weighed, we agreed that there were five aspects of spare time that were contributory to delinquency as follows:

1. That the act called delinquent was similar and almost identical with other acts habitual to children that were not considered delinquent.
2. They were acts which were suggested or brought to the child's attention or within his range by his spare time.
3. They were acts performed in order to get the recourses or means by which the child could enjoy his spare time.
4. They were acts performed in order to qualify, to give the child the status or position that his fellows have so that they would include him in their good times.
5. There were the cases of revolt against routine and work and over application to industry or assigned tasks that made the child take the recreation most easily secured.

To illustrate, the first was an act which, to the child, was scarcely distinguishable from a proper act. That is, a boy is arrested for riding on a freight train though never disturbed for climbing on standing freight cars;

or he is used to taking ice from an ice wagon in the street, but if he takes coal from a car that is a delinquency. Or, he can pick up pieces of iron and steel in an alley, but, if he does it along a railroad track, he is taken to court.

In the case of the second class, the act is suggested, as when a group of idle boys see an empty auto, start it and are then called auto bandits. These are the more negative types of acts where the emptiness of life inevitably draws the child into some act that has been defined by society as delinquent.

The third is a more positive kind where the boy steals in order to be able to go to the movies or where the girls take money from their mothers in order to buy clothes or candy. That is less complicated and complex than the fourth class where the girl becomes a young shop lifter because she needs better clothes for the society to which she wants to belong. A good many of the cases of delinquency were of this kind—where girls had to prove they were grown up, in order to associate with other girls. Boys often had to prove their prowess as gang over against gang for recognition in their community, or had to play the old game of follow the leader just to show of what stuff they were made.

The fifth is the saddest of all. These were the girls who were kept at home after school to care for the family and who, after the youngsters had been put to bed, went out onto the streets and yielded to the first temptation. Here also belongs the boy victim of child labor who insists on having his good times after work hours.

These five aspects were definitely located by Mr. Thurston. I do not mean to say that there were no other important causes, but these formed 75 per cent of the delinquencies studied. This relation of spare time was more constant than any other factor in the delinquencies studies.

Contrast with Non-Delinquents

Some interesting suggestions were found through other studies made at the same time. One of these was a study made of the relation of spare time to the development of wholesome citizens. In studying these wholesome citizens, we went back into their early days and found that in less than one per cent of the cases had there been any of this desultory, unoccupied spare time such as we have indicated in the first two classes of delinquents and which was part of the situation in most of the delinquency cases.

In another case, in studying the active and inactive school child, comparing the delinquent with the non-delinquent, we found that in the case of both girls and boys, the non-delinquent listed for us twice as many spare time activities as the delinquent.

In this study of the wholesome citizen and his antecedents and his development, we found the following situation almost universal: that the adults had all been led into their active and self-expressive activities as children and that they showed as adults continuation of these habits almost to the same extent that they practiced them as children. Gardening, music, etc., were all present in the adult life just as much as they were in child life and had been brought into the children's lives through some leader or through some suggestion of adults.

Appeal for Avocational Education

The appeal with which I wish to close this presentation is that America, if it is to deal with this problem of juvenile delinquency and spare time in any adequate way, must awaken as it did six or eight years ago to a similar need in the field of industry or vocation. You will remember how the country was swept with propaganda for vocational education because America would lose out in competition with other nations of the world unless we systematically enforced a vocational system of education. That is a broad and butter view of life, if that is all that education is to contain. I sympathize

very much with the people who are still thinking that a cultural education is as necessary as a vocational or industrial one. It is true today for education, as for all of life, that men shall not and cannot live by bread alone. However, we disagree with those who wish cultural education to have no connection with avocations. Greek and Latin have ceased to be favorite indoor sports and the plea for the continuation of these studies seems to have forgotten that fact. We must call on the educational world to develop a new technique that will make it possible for us to secure for our boys and girls what the fortunate ones of the wholesome citizens of Cleveland seem to have had as children, that through their school activities, their spare time will be so filled that neither the devil nor any other person will find mischievous occupation for these idle hands.

This subliminary study to Mr. Thurston's on the development of wholesome citizens with reference to their spare time is just as abundant proof that the early development of habits of generally wholesome kinds will safeguard and protect our coming citizens from the ravages of their spare time, as Mr. Thurston's study has proved that if they are not so protected they will find a way into some sort of delinquency.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Sidney A. Teller, of Pittsburgh: I am here to make a plea for one side of leisure time that has not been touched upon—the problem of Sunday recreation. You will find that the greatest delinquency occurs in those places that have no provision for Sunday recreation. Recreation that is wholesome on week days is wholesome on Sunday. My program of spare time and recreation is for the whole community every day of the year, not only for the children, but for the young men and women and the adults—to have every school house open every day of the year. If you will do that, you will find that delinquency will decrease. We have facts to prove that in Pittsburgh, where it is illegal to play ball on the playground on Sunday, there is more delinquency on that day than on any other day of the week. Over 300 cities have organized Sunday recreation. Another side of this problem is that the soldiers who are coming home have been accustomed to having movies and other recreation on Sunday in the army camps.

Judge J. Hoge Ricks of Richmond: Statistics prepared by the Richmond Juvenile Court in answer to a questionnaire on delinquency, sent out by Miss Lathrop, showed that there had been an increase in 1917 over 1916. This was partly attributable to causes brought on by the unrest due to the war, but it was further found that the 1918 figures were over the high record of 1917. In weighing the causes for this, we could not charge a large percentage of them to war causes. We realized that a large number of children were being brought into court because of having no place to play. The city is backward in recreational facilities. The present year in Richmond we have about one-half of the provision for recreation that we had four years ago. There are more arrests on Sunday than on any other day of the week. This is true of adults as well as of juveniles. At present Richmond has no Sunday recreation. In any recreational program, we certainly should not forget that the man coming back from the war is accustomed to recreation on Sunday.

Mr. Patrick Mallon of Brooklyn: There was little juvenile delinquency in Germany because the German children were kept employed when not at school. Statistics based on court cases are misleading because the juvenile courts in practice deal only with the children of the poor. Foreign born children find their way to the court because their parents are poor, not because they are foreign born. Poverty with its usual accompaniments is a contributory cause of delinquency. Eighty-five per cent of the children brought before the Children's Court of New York are native born, educated in our own schools. All social agencies, public and private should throw their strength behind the families of the poor, as normal family life is the best preventive of juvenile delinquency.

Mr. Burns said, in conclusion: The fifth class in my summary was the overworked child who was in revolt against confinement and monotony. We could not gather statistics regarding the relation of delinquency of the employed children in Cleveland because of the impossibility of locating these employed children. In the Cleveland juvenile court, the well-to-do children are brought in, as well as the poor ones. The same generalizations apply to them as apply to the poor children. By all means, let us back up the family group and restore parents to their children. The new education must consider avocational training, as well as vocational. This will succeed because changed conditions are going to make it necessary that society, as well as homes, begin to consider the difficulties in the use of spare time as well as in the use of working hours.

*Notes uncorrected by author.

CHILD WELFARE WORK IN A RURAL COMMUNITY

Gladys Mendum, Agent, New York State Charities Aid Association

Rockland County is about thirty miles from the City of New York. It is bordered on the south by the State of New Jersey, by the Hudson River on the east, and has a low mountainous region on the west. It is a rural county, rather thickly populated, with an area of about 200 square miles.

The population of the county, about 50,000, is largely native born, with a few Hebrews, Italians and Slavs in the larger villages. The people are scattered on farms, in small communities, or villages of from four to five thousand in population. The county is divided into five townships, each of which is more or less a political unit.

The main industries are fruit, poultry, dairy and truck farming, small factories, as silk mills, print works, shirt and clothing factories, paper mills, machine shops, Fibre Conduit Co., powder works, stone crusher and brick yards.

The citizens are divided into two classes, (1) a large commuting population, whose interest and life is largely in the city, and (2) those whose main interest and life is in the county, such as the workers in the factories and on the railroads, the store-keepers of the villages and the farmers.

The farms are of from ten to fifty acres, and produce the main food for the county. They are valued at from \$150 to \$500 an acre. Many of the young people, as soon as they are of working age, go to the city day-times to work, but last year 600 children were doing home project work under the Farm Bureau.

The transportation facilities ten years ago were very poor, and for this reason uniformity of action on any question of public interest was practically impossible, but now Rockland County stands probably third in the excellent condition of its roads and one in every ten of the population owns a car.

The charitable organizations and institutions of the county are two private hospitals, having 50 beds, which receive a public appropriation to give free medical care to poor persons, and the county almshouse. There is one Superintendent of the Poor, seven Overseers of the Poor, and a Board of Child Welfare administering widow's allowances. The State Charities Aid Association has a branch in the county which is interested in child welfare, tuberculosis, and other questions of civic betterment. Besides these, there are numerous Ladies' Aid's sewing clubs, benefit organizations, etc., doing relief work in the different communities. In one township there is a physical director connected with the schools, who is giving one-fifth time to school nursing, and in three villages there are public health nurses, two working under the Red Cross and one under a local Y. M. C. A. in co-operation with a factory.

The S. C. A. A. organized in Rockland County with a children's agent was, until 1917, the only charitable organization working on a county basis. The equipment consists of an office, an agent, a stenographer, and a Ford car. The organization back of the agent is a group of citizens, tax-payers, who receive some appropriation from the county and who raise the rest of the necessary funds from private subscriptions. While the technical wording of the agent's work is to co-operate with the poor law officials in the care of dependent children, practically she is at the command of anyone in the community who is faced with a social problem. The Justice of the Peace in the northern part of the county calls her on the phone at 7 a. m. so she can surely catch the only train for his part of the county at 8:15 a. m. The Justice in the village where the agent lives rings up at 10 p. m. to know what he shall do with Mary, aged 15, arrested for street walking, "because the constable isn't married and he can't take Mary home over night, and

she is under 16 and cannot go to jail even temporarily." Or the Ladies' Home Missionary Society come rushing over to have the agent fill in with "just a little talk on your work, for you are really a kind of home missionary, aren't you?"

The Destitute and Neglected Child

First, let us consider the destitute and neglected child, the one who through misfortune becomes a public charge to be maintained and supported by the county. The Overseer of the Poor is authorized by law to care for such a child in a free home, a boarding home, or an institution. Mary, an orphan, aged 12, was brought up by an aunt. As she grew older, another relative, an uncle, claimed her. By this uncle she was turned over to an Overseer of the Poor. The overseer, thinking the child could help with the work, did not consult the agent but kept the child, now thirteen years old, in his own home, clothing her and sending her to school. After about three months, the uncle came back with a stranger and demanded the girl, saying he was going to place her in a free home with this man and his wife. The overseer asked a few questions, said, "the man talked real religious," and allowed the child to go. About two months afterwards the aunt, who had brought the child up, kidnaped her and refused to give her up, stating that the foster home was no place for her. The agent was then consulted. As the aunt had formerly served time for bigamy and had no well defined means of support, it seemed unwise to leave the child there either. A little inquiry brought to light the following facts: This man who had "talked real religious" was not married to the woman referred to as his wife. The woman was described by the police of a former place of residence as very low, morally, and in the habit of living with colored people. In one other town the police reported they had given her 24 hours to get out. "Didn't know it was a disorderly house, but suspected it." Similar reports came from another town. And these people were allowed to take this little thirteen-year-old girl from the overseer, who, by a few inquiries, could have so easily learned the facts. The child was removed and placed in an institution temporarily, and was then placed in a selected family, where under intelligent supervision and observation, she soon showed retarded mentality, careful testing showing a grade of eight years mentality. A permanent family home proving unsuitable, admission was secured for her in a State Institution for Defectives.

There are seven Overseers of the Poor, two in two townships, and one in each of the others. Their work is subject to supervision of the State Board of Charities, but they are elected by popular vote. These men have the right to place out children and to give outdoor relief. Some of the overseers are paid on a fee system of \$2.00 a day for doing town work, while others receive a salary of from \$250 to \$300 a year.

There is no more powerful political ally in the rural districts than the Overseer of the Poor. He lives close to his neighbors and knows them thoroughly. His funds are tax money and he dares not spend more than his predecessor in office or at the next election he will lose. Therefore if he is asked to give \$8.00 a week to adequately relieve a family or to pay \$4.00 a week board for a baby to secure better care than can be obtained for \$2.50, he must be assured that the people who elect him desire it.

The Delinquent Child

Illegitimacy is common in the county and the cases are difficult to handle. Anna, aged 16, wishes support for her child. By law, the overseer of the poor must start the proceedings against the putative father. The agent accordingly takes Anna to the overseer of the poor, who receives her coldly. Why? Because the man whom Anna names as the father of her child is a nephew of the overseer of the poor, and furthermore, the

constable who must serve the warrant is a cousin, and one of the two justices of the peace before whom the case must be tried supported a bastard child himself for ten years, in the days of his youth, and consequently has a slight prejudice against these proceedings. Incidentally he is a grocer, and has been elected to public office of justice of the peace for years in this town where his history is perfectly well known. Even if the justice is fair-minded, prosecution is almost impossible. The neighbors all saw Anna go to the office of the justice, the entire community knows of the trouble immediately, and the guilty party disappears before the constable even has the warrant in his hands.

On election day of last year, the overseer of the poor and town doctor were called out of bed to send aid and medical care to an unmarried girl of 15 in confinement. The necessary aid was given and the girl recovered. The grand jury indicted, but the case has never come to trial because the main witness enlisted in the army. Meanwhile the girl continued her career and in January was brought before a justice of the peace on the charge of waywardness made at the request of her grandfather, a feeble-minded but decent old soul, who said he was afraid she would come to further harm and ought to be put in an institution. The justice, when attempt was made to tell him about the history, said: "Oh, you can't tell me anything about them. I had this girl's mother up before me nineteen years ago for this same thing. The mother wasn't all there, and this girl isn't either." Between the nineteen years ago and now, the mother has had eight children, all by a married man with a wife living in another state, and one of the children, at least, is feeble-minded. There is a yearly record of applications to the overseer for aid in groceries and coal, and a yearly or more frequent removal of the family from one village to another, as landlords turn them out for the filthiness and immorality in which they thrive. In spite of all this history, which he knew, the justice placed this girl on probation for six months to the county probation officer, a man. Here is his report of the first month probation:

"On or about the 9th day of March, I called on Justice of the Peace Wm. Jones, and got all the facts on the Smith matter. I went to her home and saw her and her mother and explained to her what she would have to do each and every month, and what the consequence would be if she failed to report to me monthly for a period of six months and as she don't have to report to me until the 29th of each month and every month, I have not as yet heard from her this month, and I don't expect to have any trouble with her as her and her mother promised me Hattie would do better in the future and should you hear anything, I would be very thankful to hear it.

Yours very truly, Probation Officer."

Hattie lives out in the country, nine miles or more from where the probation officer is. This took place two years ago and she has just given birth to her second child.

The district attorney also has a prejudice against even the cases of rape which come before the grand jury. He is usually a very young lawyer, ambitious to use his office as a step to something higher, and therefore not anxious to try such cases where conviction is difficult, and public sentiment, as he sees it, so uncertain. While all men who own property are by law eligible for jury duty, the great majority of leading citizens are never drawn. This handicaps even an ambitious district attorney, whose only answer to an indignant protest against miscarriage of justice is: "You will never get anywhere with these cases as long as you have jurors like these. These men won't indict. They have been there themselves, or have daughters who have, and until you can get public-spirited citizens to be willing to serve, you can't do anything."

The delinquent child brings me to the office of the Justice of the Peace,

the rural juvenile court. Each township has four justices of the peace, making 20 in the county, and each incorporated village has its police justice. This makes in this particular county, 28 officials authorized by law to try cases of juvenile delinquency. The Justice is paid on a fee system. So is the constable. They receive so much for serving a warrant, so much for mileage, so much for opening court, so much for adjournment, etc., and the amount is the same for the Justice and the officer whether a sentence is suspended, the charge dismissed, or other decision is rendered. The parent is supposed to be notified when a child is before the court, but I have been in court more than once where there were eight or ten children involved in a case of petit larceny, and only one parent, a mother, thought it worth while to appear. The fathers didn't want to bother, or had "seen the Judge" beforehand.

Mary is brought before the Justice of the Peace on charge of truancy. She wished to leave school, and having been refused her working papers because she had not attended school the required number of days, she took "French leave" and was arrested by the truant officer. But the Justice upheld Mary, and she went to work without any working papers. Why? Because Mary's family buy their groceries of the Justice. How did he dare to go contrary to the law? Because no one in the community cares whether Mary goes to school or not. The school must conform to the state laws or lose its state money, but nine out of ten in the community would say, "Let Mary go to work if she wants to. Her mother is a widow and needs her help." And the Justice does not worry about the law enforcement.

The disposition of the case frequently depends on how troublesome the child has been and the willingness or unwillingness of the Overseer of the Poor to pay for his care in an institution if committed. While, theoretically, the Justice of the Peace has power to commit and the town must pay the bill, practically the Justice never does commit without consulting the Overseer. The fact that children are usually sent to State Institutions from rural communities is not necessarily because the Justice considers them better for the child, but because there is no per capita cost to the town. The needs of the child or the fitness of the institution having nothing to do with it.

The division of responsibility and multiplicity of officials leads into all departments of rural child welfare work. Take the educational system and the truant officer. In one township of seven square miles there are sixteen schools, six of which are Union Free Schools, and appoint their own truant officer at salaries varying from \$100 to \$300 per year. The truant officer usually acts as janitor also. In ten rural schools, with a total membership of 433 pupils (average 43 pupils to a school) each school has its own truant officer at a practically uniform rate of \$50 per year. These officers are appointed annually by the Town Board. The State Department of Education recommends combining for one or two truant officers on a decent salary, but there is much opposition to the plan. Consolidation is perhaps the ideal, but the impulse for it must come from the community itself. Two schools, one rural and one village, have however voted to consolidate, and that in spite of it involving a slightly higher tax rate.

Defective Children—(A) Mental

There is a law permitting the commitment by a court of record (the county court) of a feeble-minded girl. This is the way it works out in a rural community:

Amanda, aged 14 years, was epileptic. Her mother was nearly helpless and blind. Her brother, epileptic, her father, shiftless and alcoholic, and another brother, a decent fellow. Amanda was very troublesome in the village school, wrote obscene notes to the colored boys and generally displayed objectionable sex tendencies. The school physician finally reported

the matter for action, asking institutional care for Amanda. Now the proceedings for commitment were, first, the certificate of two physicians that the girl was epileptic, and second, the petition to the Judge for her commitment. A blank was accordingly sent the school physician, who called upon the Health Officer to aid him. The Health Officer consulted the girl's father, who did not realize the danger of Amanda's tendencies, and objected to her commitment. The Health Officer then refused to sign the medical certificate and Amanda continued to attend school. In another year the child had become so wayward that the police had picked her up several nights after dark. Finally the brother captured her, climbing out of the window at midnight, and then a commitment to a reformatory was asked. The case came up before the village police Justice, who, in the presence of the girl, called up a reformatory and asked if they would receive Amanda if committed. The institution replied that it would be at least three weeks before she could be transferred. The Justice knew Amanda could not go to jail, being under 16 years, so he turned to the father and said, "Now you will have to keep this girl on parole and don't let her get away until they come for her." He expressed some doubt of his ability, but departed with the girl. His task, however, proved too arduous and he finally did what the Justice failed to do—asked for help in securing temporary shelter for Amanda. A small home maintained by the Salvation Army agreed to hold the girl temporarily and the transfer to the Reformatory was hastened.

(B) Physical

The story of Amanda brings me to one other department of Child Welfare Work—the rural *Health Department*.

Some three or four years ago we became interested in some families with large numbers of dirty little children living in shacks on the property of a large peach dealer. The families in these shacks were employed in the summer in picking peaches. They were given their rent free and small pay. As the children, too, could help pick peaches, this saved the farmer from hiring much help. In the summer the families flourished, but in the winter they were largely dependent on the town poor fund. The children went to the district schools and were in filthy condition. An appeal to the fruit dealer brought the answer, "I'd rather you didn't go there, for as soon as anyone tried to make them clear up they'll leave, and we need their help." An appeal to the Child Labor Commission brought the reply that this situation was somewhat similar to the cotton districts of the south. Finally a complaint was made to the local Board of Health on the grounds that the children attending school from such shacks were a menace to the health of the other children. The following is from their report:

"As it is not the business of the Health Department or its province to say that it is proper or not proper for people to live in gilded mansions or other homes of less pretensions so long as there is no communicable diseases at or in these places or homes, we feel and recognize that we have no authority to say how anyone shall live so long as they have no contagious diseases existing in places. Jan. 17, 1917."

The S. C. A. A. then referred the entire matter to the State Board of Health, who asked the Local Board to investigate, and the record report was as follows (the first one having been stricken from the minutes of the local Health Board):

"State Sanitary Supervisor.

"I have investigated the complaint of the S. C. A. A. in regard to the families that live on the fruit farm and find the following conditions exist:

"The shanties or houses are old and in very bad repair. They are situated on a side hill or very sloping ground, which gives them good drainage. The outside sanitary conditions are not what you would call unhealthy. (There were no toilet facilities.) The interior of the house is different.

Filth and uncleanness is almost beyond description. The places are small, two rooms only. The inhabitants sleep in filth, no beds. They sleep on the floor, wrapped in blankets, too filthy to mention. I will say that these people no doubt have been raised in just such surroundings. They know no better nor would they become any better. I doubt very much if any effort would induce them to become more cleanly. I find that the condition, in my judgment, only affects them, and that their manner of living and the location of the house in which they live, does not interfere with the comfort of any other person. Therefore, it cannot be construed to be a nuisance. All the occupants of these dwellings are in good health. No communicable diseases exist in these families." Health Officer. "Houses are old and full of cracks so that the wind and air can enter in all directions, hence, the ventilation is good."

The State Health Department advised, in the absence of any local ordinance or communicable disease or mention in the sanitary code of a housing law, it would not care to advise the local Health Board to require an improvement in the sanitary condition of these homes, much as it would be desirable.

Each township and each incorporated village has a health officer, each school board has power to employ a school physician. Then each Overseer of the Poor has the power to employ whomsoever he chooses for medical care for the town poor under his supervision, a fee for services being paid from the poor fund.

In one township of Rockland County, with a population of 11,537, there is a possibility of 15 different school physicians, a township Health Officer and four village Health Officers—twenty different persons dealing with health problems, and this is duplicated in the other four townships of the county.

It would seem that the health of the children would be amply provided for, but as the physician appointed usually lives in one of the larger villages, the rural districts receive practically no attention. On one occasion an examining physician for a rural school had a teacher make out the health record for the children, and just before school closed in June he drove up in his automobile and signed all the cards.

In one township a school nurse and physical director, combined, has been employed by the rural schools of that township. Some good results are beginning to show, but elsewhere no recent improvement can be noted. School nurses where employed are handicapped. Two children were excluded from school with scabies or the "itch" April 2nd. After several requests by telephone to the Health Officer that he visit the home, on May 3rd the nurse visited his office and asked if he had seen the children. He replied, "No, they live too far over, but they can go back to school." And he wrote the nurse an order stating that "It is proper for these children to go to school." The nurse, however, took them first to another physician, who found them still in bad condition and by no means ready to be admitted to school with safety.

The recreational and social life of the rural community is provided by neighborhood parties, by the moving picture houses, the dances and plays given by the volunteer fire companies, and the road houses, to which the girls and boys go in automobile parties.

Make the Church the social center is the remedy usually proposed. But which Church? The town with which I am most familiar has a population of almost 4,000. It is a centre for a region of at least five miles square. In that village there is a Roman Catholic Church, a Polish and a Greek Church, a Hebrew Synagogue, a Congregational, an Episcopal, a Methodist, a Dutch Reformed, a Pentacostal, a Christian Science, and a Colored Church. The size of the congregations ranges from fifteen to three hundred. Here are eleven churches in one village. A religious census taken through the schools of two typical villages brought out the fact that

there is scarcely a child who does not claim allegiance to some Church. It would seem easier to attempt a social centre for the village.

Yet, when a community building as a memorial to returning soldiers was placed before the people of this village, this is what happened: The minister of one Church which has an unsuccessful amusement hall already built, said that they would be generous and sell at a sacrifice. This seemed a good plan and the amount was asked. "We value it at \$25,000, but would sell at a sacrifice for \$20,000 and make a \$2,000 contribution," came the answer. Someone looked up the assessed valuation of the property in the tax-book and found it was assessed for \$6,000, building and all.

The pastor of another Church preached a sermon on "Why build a \$50,000 community building when we need a new railroad station and a sewer?" and the proposition went absolutely dead.

Improvement seems very slow, yet some progress can be observed. Ten years ago Rockland County had only a Children's Agency. Today it has a probation officer, three public health nurses, a fifty-bed Co. T-B Hospital soon to be opened, a rural school nurse, five out of seven Overseers working on a salary instead of fee system, and a fair-sized group of public-spirited citizens used to working together.

Five years ago the Board of Supervisors took merely a formal interest in the annual report of the agent to the Board. Last year they asked for an appointment so that they could all be present, and at the end of the report discussed possibilities of greater efficiency in the work for over an hour. At the end of the discussion they dictated a notice to all Justices of the Peace asking that the Children's Agent be consulted on all cases of juvenile delinquency.

The problems and needs of the rural community are similar to those of the city. Better houses, better schools, better medical care, better religious and moral training, but, in its final analysis, it comes back to the old problem of better people.

There is already a great deal of social machinery, but it is not working properly. The remedy—I know of no other to suggest than for the social worker to make him or herself as much a part of the community life in all its phases as possible, and by slow process of evolution the change will come.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

*Mrs. L. S. Thompson** of Monmouth County, New Jersey, advocated placing overseers of the poor under civil service and providing a deputy for the State Department of Institutions and Agencies for each county, who should be the executive of the county organization. She said that about two-thirds of the cases handled by their county agency were of rural origin.

Miss Marie T. Lockwood of Delaware referred to commissions recently provided through legislation for that state. The Reconstruction Commission was providing a State Executive Secretary who would co-ordinate and correlate all the state child caring efforts in existence. She believed the opportunity to accomplish child welfare rested largely upon the selection of the proper executive for this position, as the people of Delaware were alive to their needs.

Mr. C. C. Carstens of Boston compared social work administration in rural communities today with that of cities 25 or 30 years ago, and recommended greater centralization in rural work.

Others participating in the discussion of *Miss Mendum's* paper were: T. H. Weirich, Omaha, Neb.; Frances Day of New Jersey, and Mr. Sullivan of Albany, N. Y.

THE FARMER AND CHILD WELFARE WORK

Dwight Sanderson, Professor of Rural Organization, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

In reviewing the proceedings of this Division of the National Conference as a whole for the past two years I am struck with two evident trends of

*Notes uncorrected by speaker.

its thought: First, from the narrower to the broader definition of child welfare; and, second, the growing recognition of social work in the small town and the rural community.

The first tendency is clearly illustrated in the reports of the chairmen of this Division for the past four years, commencing with Mr. Carstens' clear statement of "A Community Plan in Children's Work" in 1915, in which he purposely confined himself to the consideration of work with the defective, delinquent, dependent and neglected, to the comprehensive plan for the work of this Division presented by its chairman last year in which he so ably outlined the relation of "Child Nature and Welfare Movements," considering not only remedial and preventive movements, but all those fostering normal childhood. Professor Thurston put this so admirably that I cannot but quote his conclusion:

"... all our efforts toward ideal . . . care for these children will not fully succeed until we recognize two basic principles that the inherent facts of child nature and current child welfare efforts are trying their best to teach us, namely:

"First: That we cannot really save and bring up aright the handicapped children until we learn how to bring to the individualized needs of each handicapped child all the essentials of welfare upon which children of normal opportunity thrive.

"Second: That we cannot save and bring up aright the handicapped children in the individualized ways that they need without, at the same time, learning how to bring to all other children, in ways individualized according to their needs, the same essentials of child welfare.

"In short, we cannot learn how to save and bring up the *specialty handicapped* without at the same time finding out how to save and bring up aright *all* children."

This trend has also been illustrated in the Reports of the National Committee on Child Labor on Child Welfare Work in Oklahoma, Alabama, and North Carolina, in which all the forces involved in child welfare are fully discussed, and in the most illuminating studies of child welfare in various rural sections recently published by the U. S. Children's Bureau.

The second tendency toward the discussion of social work for rural communities has also been developing for several years, but received clear recognition in the special program of the Division on Rural Social Work at the Pittsburg meeting in 1917, which may well be an historic date in this field, and in the challenging address before this section last year by Miss Curry on "The Status of Social Work in Rural Communities." As Secretary Cross* so well indicated in his address calling attention to this neglected field, it is high time that social work in rural communities be given attention not only because of their own need, but because a very large proportion of the cases demanding the attention of the social worker in the town and small city come from the rural hinterland, from whence they drift in increasing numbers to the urban centers.

These two tendencies have an intimate relation in our consideration of Rural Social Work for Juveniles. On account of its lower taxable values and lower economic income the rural county or community is not able to support many specialized social agencies and workers; and, indeed, the dispersed population and difficulties of transportation would make it difficult for them to effect such a division of labor as is common in cities if financial support were available. This means that rural child welfare work must be considered as a unit and in its relations to all other welfare work requiring a trained social worker, for usually it will need to be in charge of a worker having various kinds of work.

In considering the various movements and agencies having to do with rural child welfare work it seems to me that they may be roughly divided into (1) those which are primarily educational or constructive, and (2) those which are essentially remedial, having to do with work which is ameliorative

*See *Proceedings National Conference of Social Work, 1917*, W. T. Cross, "Rural Social Work," p. 639.

or correctional. In the development of a program of child welfare work in any rural county a clear understanding of the function and relation of these two classes of agencies seems essential.

Educational or Constructive Agencies

For the educational work, using that term in its broadest sense, we must look to the resident institutions of the community:

1. The School. The service of the school in child welfare work is a live topic, as shown by the special luncheon conference* concerning it last year, and by the activities enumerated by Mr. Carsten† in his paper in 1917. The school now concerns itself with medical and dental inspection, nutrition, school nurses, school clinics and Little Mothers' Leagues for the child's health;‡ its old-time janitor-truant-officer will be replaced by the visiting teacher using case methods;§ it organizes play and athletics and has systematic instruction in physical training; it gives vocational training and guidance; in cooperation with the boys' and girls' agricultural clubs it supervises their self-education in the economics of industry; it segregates the sub-normals into atypical classes where they receive suitable training; it encourages home training through credits for home work and home projects and secures the active cooperation of parents through parent-teachers' associations and school improvement leagues; and lastly it turns over the school house to its patrons for any legitimate use as a social center. The school is interesting itself in practically every phase of the normal development of the child.

2. The Church. The church is coming into a new appreciation of its social responsibility. It is interesting itself in the recreation of its young people through the activities during the week of organized Sunday school classes, through Boy Scouts, base ball teams, etc.; it is coming to appreciate the religious significance of health and of its responsibility in the education of parents for child training, including home instruction in sex matters. The rural work of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. is particularly valuable in discovering and training leadership for the character building of boys and girls. In some rural churches such societies as the King's Daughters assume large responsibility for the care of dependent families.

3. The Boys Scouts, Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls and similar boys' and girls' organizations ally themselves with both church and school and are rapidly extending their work into rural communities. A recent estimate of the national headquarters of the Boy Scouts shows 174,680 members and 4,700 of a total of 15,000 troops in rural communities (i. e. under 2,500). These organizations have utilized a knowledge of boy and girl psychology with remarkable effect, as their growing membership and popularity testify.

4. Throughout the North and West the Grange (Patrons of Husbandry) is the most widespread and strongest farmers' organization. It owes much of its strength to the fact that it admits both men and women and that it is concerned with everything that makes for better farm life, particularly with education, home life and social advantages. The Grange has often become a mere social order, and has attempted to right the farmer's wrongs too largely through state and national legislation, but it is now awaking to its responsibility for community leadership and is in many respects the best agency through which the public opinion of farm people can be focused. During this month the lecturer of the New York State Grange is holding a series of nineteen conferences of the lecturers of all local granges at which

*See *Proceedings N. C. S. W.*, 1918, "The Inter-Relation of Education and Child Welfare," p. 52.

†See *Proceedings N. C. S. W.*, 1917, p. 812.

‡See *Proceedings N. C. S. W.*, 1916, Taliaferro Clark, "The Physical Care of Rural School Children," p. 599.

§See *Proceedings N. C. S. W.*, 1916, Jane F. Culbert, "Visiting Teachers and Their Activities," p. 592.

some of the chief topics of discussion will be "The Grange as a Community Builder" and "Agencies for Community Development." It is his hope that through these conferences every subordinate grange, and there are 900 in New York alone, will undertake some definite work for the betterment of its own community.

5. The extension work in agriculture and home economics carried on by cooperation between the U. S. Department of Agriculture and the Land Grant Colleges is now conducted chiefly through county agricultural agents and home demonstration agents, who in the North and West work through County Farm Bureaus, now known as Farm and Home Bureaus in New York, and in the South through local clubs of farmers and farm women. Probably no single movement has done so much for the advancement of country life in recent years, or has such a powerful organization supported by federal, state, and county appropriations. In the older organized counties its membership often represents over half of the farm homes. The work of the home economics departments, or Home Bureaus of New York State, has done more than any one agency to instruct farm women in matters of diet, has given large attention to infant feeding, and is now making demonstrations in home nursing in cooperation with state health departments. The work of the boys' and girls' agricultural clubs has been the most significant movement in the education of country boys and girls in agriculture and home economics through their own organizations, with 629,657 regular members in 1917. Their work was well presented to this conference by Mr. E. C. Lindeman before the Rural Section in 1917.* One of the most valuable recent features of the method of Farm Bureau work is its recognition of the community as its unit of local organization. Through community committees and community enterprises the extension service has probably done more than any other agency toward rural community organization.

These five classes of institutions are now generally established in rural communities and it is to them that we must look for the development of programs of constructive educational work for normal children, which, indeed, are the principal means for preventing abnormalities. Such reports as the U. S. Children's Bureau has been issuing on child welfare work in rural communities should be brought to the attention of granges, men's and women's Sunday School classes, brotherhoods, women's clubs and societies, etc., and should be made the theme of study and discussion.

The organized activities of country children cluster largely around the school and the church. It is evident, therefore, that inasmuch as the rural community cannot support a number of social workers, it should insist that its clergymen, teachers and extension workers have some training with regard to the social and economic problems of country life and methods of meeting them.† Moreover they should have a sympathetic understanding of the methods of family case work so that they may more effectively deal with the human problems which they constantly encounter and so that they may recognize when the services of the social worker are needed and how to best utilize them.

Rural Agencies for the Disadvantaged

It would seem that a well-organized county school system should be able to relate its work to almost all phases of child life except where the family situation involves treatment as a unit or where some form of relief or legal procedure is necessary, requiring the services of the trained social worker backed by sufficient authority when needed. Here arises the need of a better organization of county and community work for the disadvantaged.

When we come to consider those forces working for the welfare of

*See *Proceedings N. C. S. W.*, 1917, E. C. Lindeman, "Boys' and Girls' Clubs as Community Builders," p. 624.

†See *Proceedings N. C. S. W.*, 1917, A. J. Todd, "Rural Reorganization," p. 624.

dependent, defective, delinquent and neglected children in rural communities, if we consider the country as a whole, and excepting a number of very promising developments in county public welfare boards and child welfare boards of the last two or three years, we find a number of unrelated and uncoordinated local public officials dealing with those cases which come before the courts, or which are so flagrant as to cause complaint from neighbors, and with those cases which require the attention of health authorities; and various state officials, state boards and private societies working chiefly through non-resident special agents. Speaking broadly, it is fair to say that there is no general policy or recognized standard for the care of the disadvantaged children in rural communities.

The last two sessions of this Conference have given consideration to the county organization of social work.* County Public Welfare Boards, which will include child welfare work, seem to have commended themselves to several states. We are not here concerned with the form or methods of such county agencies for social work, except to insist that only through some such unified county agency employing a competent trained social worker, and under the general supervision of the state, can public social welfare work be effectively administered in rural counties.

There seems to be general agreement that the county is the best unit for the administration of social work in rural districts, particularly as it is the governmental unit from which funds for such purposes are usually secured. But although the county is the best executive unit for organization, it must be recognized that from a social standpoint it is not the functional unit, for in general rural people do not act together by counties, except with regard to matters of county politics. The local rural community is the functional unit of rural society, where public opinion is determined because it is there that association is most intimate. This fact must be recognized in attempting the better organization of rural social work, for the first essential is to secure an appreciation of its need by the country people.

Social Education of Rural Opinion

The fact is that at the present time country people have not seen the social situation of their own community and so are not concerned with it. Most of them are still of the opinion that the less government, the better; and have not come to realize the fact that an increasingly complex civilization—even in the rural community—makes it no longer possible for the farm family to live to itself, but that for self-preservation it must look to the social welfare of the whole community with which its life is bound up. There can be no material advance in child welfare work or any other form of social work in rural communities until their leaders realize the need of it and bring the people to support it. This fundamental principle of rural social work cannot be over-emphasized. The average rural community has little use for charity† in the ordinary sense of that word; if relief is needed within its borders, it will provide; and it distinctly objects to any sort of "uplift." It is not unprogressive, but its progress must be self-directed.

I have been struck by the fact that in the past much of the discussion concerning child welfare work, and indeed all forms of social work, has had to do with legislation and its enforcement. Now this has been necessary to meet abnormal situations arising from the herding together of masses of more or less ignorant people, largely of foreign birth and unacquainted with

*See *Proceedings N. C. S. W.*, 1917, p. 645, Sara A. Brown, "The County Unit for Social Service"; p. 321, Roy Smith Wallace, "Local Implications of Statewide Program for Child Welfare"; and 1918, p. 241, H. Ida Curry, "The County as a Unit in Charity Administration"; p. 245, Homer W. Borst, "The County as a Unit in Social Work"; p. 249, Wm. H. Davenport, "The County as a Unit of Charity Administration"; p. 595, Bessie A. McClenahan, "County Organization of Welfare Agencies."

†See *Proceedings N. C. S. W.*, 1917, C. C. North, "New Agencies for Rural Community Building," p. 637.

our culture, in our large cities. Under such conditions such sumptuary legislation is inevitable and can be enforced because these people have been used to autocratic government and have no economic or political independence. But farmers are freeholders, taxpayers and voters. Their public officials usually accede to their demands when they are sure of general support; but he is a brave man or a fool who seeks to enforce measures which they do not approve. Legislation is doubtless necessary, but education will be a much more effective method in the country side. Farm people are not unprogressive; they want the best of life, but they are not always informed and they must be thoroughly convinced of the wisdom of a new movement before they will accept it. They think for themselves and they cannot afford experiments as can cities.

So efforts for child welfare work in rural districts must commence with a thorough understanding and a keen sympathy for the farmer's viewpoint. As Dean A. R. Mann has recently well said, *"In dealing with rural affairs it has long been a common mistake to underrate the validity of the farmer's own judgment as to what is good for him."* "Superimposed organizations are usually doomed to failure because they express the interests and the judgments of those without the community rather than of those within whom they are intended to serve." "Ordinarily the most serviceable rural organizations will be built out of materials in the community." In short, any system of social work for rural communities which is to be permanently successful must be one which is established by the people themselves from a realization of their needs and progressively developed as they appreciate its worth. The need, therefore, is for the education of rural people with regard to their social responsibilities, which must be largely accomplished through local rural institutions and local leadership. There is need for a county committee or a conference of county-wide organizations devoted to rural welfare which will stimulate the local communities to self-study and an appreciation of their social situation. The better class of farm people, the leaders of community life, have not felt these needs any more than have their more prosperous cousins in the cities, but the shifting of rural populations and the general agitation of the problems of country life are bringing them a new vision. Rural leaders are realizing the social needs of their communities as never before, and are looking for information and advice as to how to meet them.

At our annual Farmers' Week last February we held a Rural Community Conference at which one of the largest and most appreciated sessions considered the topic of Juvenile Delinquency with reference to the recent report of the Children's Bureau on Juvenile Delinquency in Rural New York. I referred this publication to some of our most representative farmers for consideration. One of them who knows the whole state, wrote me: "I have no doubt that conditions as bad as these can be found in many country districts of the state. Enthusiastic as I may be for country living, I have never claimed that the open country was free from what theologians call 'original sin.' Probably every county has its sore spot." And he then went on to describe a typical decadent neighborhood in his own county. We were fortunate to secure one of our best farmers (Mr. I. C. H. Cook of South Byron, N. Y.), who has been a leading farmers' institute worker and has a wide acquaintance throughout the state, to discuss this report, and after relating the poverty of life in some of the more isolated and backward rural communities, he stated that the social situation in some of the best agricultural regions of the state was such as to require the services of trained social workers, giving an instance out of his own experience with a most deplorable case in one of the best counties of the state to substantiate this view. I regret that it has not been possible to secure one of these gentlemen to present this topic to this conference, for I believe that only by

such conferences between social workers and leading farmers and farm women can a real understanding and wise methods of procedure be evolved.

In getting farmers to utilize the results of the work of the agricultural colleges and experiment stations progress was relatively slow until we developed an extension service and through experience its workers found that if they were to "sell their goods" to farmers, they must create a demand from the farmers for such service through farmers' organizations. In short, that the formation of policies and programs of work must be largely in the hands of farm leaders themselves, who are the best and only judges of what new methods may interest their people. By the same token it seems probable that rural social work must be guided by the best judgment of the rural community through its established organizations or chosen representatives.

We have wisely established child labor laws for the protection of children in industry and many good people are rightly indignant at the evils of child labor on the farms in very many sections of the country. But it is exceedingly difficult to enforce such industrial standards on farms where the economic situation makes it impossible to operate them under present conditions without child labor, or where the practice is so common that public opinion does not disapprove. We have given large attention to the economic disadvantages of industrial workers, but what of minimum wages, a 44-hour week, the rights of collective bargaining, and of decent housing, for farmers? The average farmer is inclined to resent the enforcement of urban standards regarding child labor on the farm until some of the underlying economic causes of child labor on the farm are remedied and until rural public opinion demands it. When such opinion has been created there will be but exceptional need of law enforcement. Furthermore, there is considerable to be said as to the value of a reasonable amount of work for the farm boy and girl, and it is not at all clear but that the school requirements and school year might not in many cases be adjusted to meet the labor demands of the farm with advantage to all concerned. I cite this matter not with any wish to evaluate the merits of the case, but because it is a matter upon which farmers are usually sensitive (as most of them want their children to enjoy the best advantages) and it illustrates the need of a thorough understanding and sympathy with their situation and point of view before any methods for improvement can be attempted.*

Rural Leadership

One of the chief functions of any county social worker or executive will be to act as an educational director in promoting the study of local social conditions by the available organizations in every local community and in discovering and training leadership for carrying out a constructive program as it is evolved. And here let me call attention to the fact that the rural community should be regarded as a group of farms usually with a trading center, rather than as a village or town center surrounded by such farms. Although social and political leadership frequently resides in the town centers, farm people usually respond much more readily to their own leaders, and rural social work will not be on a permanent basis and really of the community until it has the genuine support of country people. For this reason the propagation of social work primarily through urban or town leadership frequently impresses farm people as "uplift" work and fails to arouse their interest and support. In some way there should be a volunteer committee or worker in each community associated with the county social

*For one of the best statements of the needs of farm life see the presidential address of Dean Eugene Davenport, of the University of Illinois, before the American Association of Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations, Baltimore, January, 1919, in the proceedings of that association and reprinted in the *Proceedings of the National Country Life Association*.

worker to advise concerning policies and to carry on much of the local work under her supervision and training. It seems to me that in this sort of organization of rural social work the Home Service of the Red Cross has a peculiar opportunity and that it may become a large factor in rural child welfare work.

To summarize briefly: (1) It is my belief that rural child welfare work must result from the aroused conscience of the rural community, due to educational work under the auspices of its own institutions, the school, the church, the grange, and the farm bureau or farmers' club. (2) The organization of child welfare work in rural counties must recognize the broadly educational activities and those which are primarily of a remedial nature, and the need of one central organization in each county concerned with each of these spheres of action, but with the closest co-operation between them. (Possibly the county school superintendent might be an advisory member of the public welfare board and the county social worker an advisory member of the county board of education.) (3) Child welfare work in rural communities must be largely fostered by community organizations, and by the discovery and training of local leaders of children's activities and of volunteer social workers, who will develop the work according to the needs and opportunities of the community with the advice of a county executive. The employed social worker will personally—or by trained assistants—handle the more unusual and more difficult cases, will advise with the local workers, and will assist local groups in their self-education concerning how to meet the local social problems and to intelligently participate in general movements for social progress. (4) Farm people will support any form of child welfare work which is adapted to their conditions as soon as they appreciate its need and are convinced of its value. Unless child welfare work in rural communities has the support of their people, it may continue to apply remedial measures but it will be powerless to promote social health.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

In the discussion that followed Mr. Sanderson's address, conditions in Arkansas, North Dakota and Minnesota were described. The opinion developed that without propaganda effort resulting in widespread popular understanding of the child welfare problem, no program could succeed. The question was raised as to what is the most effective method of spreading this propaganda. It was suggested that the child and baby clinic is a good place to begin. A bill recently passed by the Wisconsin legislature, but then unsigned, was referred to, which provided that every county should employ a public health nurse, or instructor, whose work should include probation. Those who participated in the discussion were: Rev. O. P. Christian of Arkansas, Lillian Grace Topping of North Dakota, Wm. Hodson of Minneapolis, Mrs. L. S. Thompson, Red Bank, N. J., Miss Edith Foster, Wisconsin, and Mrs. Samuel Heilner of Monmouth County, New Jersey.

THE STATE PROGRAM OF THE IOWA CHILD WELFARE RESEARCH STATION

Ellsworth Faris, Acting Director, Iowa City

The outstanding difference between the ancient and the modern attitude is seen nowhere more clearly than in the views men take toward nature. From the early days of reflective thought down to the days of the Renaissance the only endurable attitude toward nature was an attitude of conformity and submission. Marcus Aurelius used to say: "When you kiss your child in the morning say to him, 'Perhaps you will be dead tomorrow,'" and the wisest counsel that the best of men could give was to look the world in the face and refuse to combat the inevitable. "All is meat to me, O World, that thy seasons bring." Said Martin Luther: "If a woman die in bearing children, let her die, for that is what she was made for."

It seems clear that any other attitude than this would have been impossible; for to cry out against the evil of a world which cannot be controlled is to burst one's head against the bars of the cage and to settle down in black despair.

How this attitude of submission to nature was gradually replaced by the concept of control, how this appeared early in the science of astronomy, turning baleful planets into helpful guides to the navigator, and how realm after realm of human conduct was conquered by the new method,—this is the romantic story of modern science. Today it entirely pervades our attitude toward agriculture animal husbandry medicine and in short every realm of human endeavor. The last great citadel of the old view was the attitude toward the child, and it is fair to say that at the present time it is only in the minds of leaders of thought that the modern attitude is really obtained. Two years ago there was a charity patient at a western hospital who had been admitted to the orthopedic ward that his feet might be straightened. In a short time, however, the parents of the child demanded possession and took him out, giving as a reason for their action that the child was born clubfooted, had always been clubfooted, and was intended to be clubfooted.

Control vs. Submission

And in Iowa it was the attitude which the community had taken toward its farm animals which enabled the people to see by analogy the possibility of scientific control of children. In the debate in the legislature on the bill for establishing the Station in Iowa, one man declared that he would rather trust Mother Nature with his children than to risk them with professors of science. To which the ready response was made that no up-to-date farmer trusted his hogs to nature. And later on, when an effort was made to arouse interest in birth registration, the following authentic instance was found to be very effective. A lad in the western part of the State had occasion in a legal transaction to refer to his exact age, but the record having been lost he was unable to get the information. He was assisted, however, by an old neighbor who recalled that on the day the boy was born a registered sow had farrowed, and as this was a matter of permanent record the boy was enabled to prove his age.

There is much to be said in the defense of the popular attitude toward children and it is well that they have not been treated as effects of causes any earlier than this, for a scientific technique has only begun to appear. But the establishment of the Station can be thought of as a definite triumph of the modern over the mediaeval spirit.

The establishing according to statute of a scientific bureau for the purpose of research concerning normal children is therefore to be thought of as the result of a thoroughgoing and highly significant adoption of the modern point of view, particularly a modern attitude toward Nature. The State Legislature of Iowa created the Station by law in 1917 and defined its function to be threefold; first, the investigation of the best scientific methods of conserving and developing the normal child; second the dissemination of the results of such investigation, and third, the training of students for work in such fields. The story of how the vision of such a Station appeared to a woman and how through more than fifteen years of patient effort she and her comrades persevered, would be a fascinating tale, if it could be told here. It is enough to say that the Legislature did not act until public opinion had been well aroused and the demand for the work made unmistakable.

The Director of the Station, Bird T. Baldwin, Ph. D., entered on residence in the autumn of 1917, but was called into war service the following March, 1918, and will return August 1, 1919. The Station has been carried on in the meantime by an Acting Director and the results are cor-

respondingly affected by the way in which the war interrupted every enterprise that was not strictly essential to the military program of the nation.

A Unique Institution

The particular points in which the Station is worthy of note are perhaps three in number. First, the connection with the State University of Iowa, of which it is an integral part. This not only insures academic standards in the appointment of personnel, but is also a very economical arrangement. Items of expense, such as rent of quarters, light, heat, library books and many items of laboratory equipment, can be avoided in a large measure by making use of the facilities already available at the University. The second feature is the emphasis on research. It is the distinct mission of the Station to secure the services of experts and to give them facilities for investigation according to the best and most rigid canons of research. And the third feature is even more unusual, making the Station almost unique. It is the fact that the object of the Station is to make researches on normal children. The delinquents, defectives and dependents are critical problems, requiring immediate attention, but the future of the world depends upon the training of our normal children, and it is well to have an institution devoted to the task of seeking to found a dependable science of child rearing.

The work of the research in the Station is organized in three divisions, Nutrition, Psychology and Sociology.

The Division of Nutrition has a Research Professor and an assistant who are working with the technique of physiological chemistry and animal experimentation. In addition to this type of research, the professor has constant access to the patients in the Pediatrics Department of the State Children's Hospital. No more fortunate situation for research could be found and Dr. Amy L. Daniels, the professor in charge of the division, has begun her work with enthusiasm and every promise of valuable results.

The Division of Psychology has a larger staff than the others at present. Research is carried on in the mental growth of children, the same group being kept under observation and given tests repeatedly, over a series of years, the result hoped for being the answer to some questions which no one has as yet had the leisure and the funds to investigate.

Research is also in progress on the physical growth of children, particularly determined by anthropometric measurements. One research assistant is investigating problem cases of children with the object of applying psychiatric and psychoanalytic methods in this field. Still another worker is carrying out researches in corrective speech of normal children. An extensive research in vocational guidance is also going on, the object of this particular effort being the discovery of musical talent in collaboration with the Department of Psychology, which has specialized in this field for some years.

Practical Problems Attacked

The Division of Sociology has been concerned for the most part with practical affairs connected with the war emergency. The plans outlined by the Children's Bureau received the endorsement of the Station and considerable time was given in actual assistance to the work in Iowa. An effort to organize in the rural counties Centers of Child Welfare, where pre-school children may be periodically brought for examination by physicians and psychologists, is a very essential part of the future program. During the past half year a survey has been conducted in one of the cities of the state of the children just entering school. Examinations were made of these children of the most rigid character by psychologist, physician, dentist, anthropologist and social worker, and when the report is published

it will be at least a partial answer to the question, "What sort of child is being sent to the school by the home in this state?"

There is a service of reference and information, concerning which a definite beginning has been made. There are several bibliographies with some thousands of titles already compiled and the Station attempts to answer every inquiry on Child Welfare that comes to it from any part of the State, or if no one can be found to answer the question, we seek for someone elsewhere who can do so. The program for research will therefore take in every aspect of the welfare of the normal child for which a competent investigator can be found, and while the emphasis is quite properly on the normal, it will always be found necessary to make some study of those who deviate from the normal, for it is in the abnormal that we sometimes discover helpful explanations of normal traits and tendencies. During the past year the Station has conducted a Psychological Clinic.

The task of dissemination requires little discussion. Bulletins will be published, occasional courses of lectures offered, some addresses and lectures given, and the Extension Division of the University utilized. The main emphasis being on the discovery of truth, its dissemination will not offer many problems.

The third commission which was given the Station is the training of students, and this is to be done chiefly through generous stipends to enable gifted research students who have already completed the work for the bachelor's degree to enter on a period of training by means of intensive research in some definite field of Child Welfare. The plan now adopted assumes that half the student's time will be spent in research, and the other half be devoted to study in some of the departments of the University.

Democracy Solving Its Problems

In the best agricultural colleges of the country there are provisions made by means of which any farmer who has a real problem with either his live stock, his growing crops or his soil in his field can, upon application, secure the prompt service of an expert who will point the way for the scientific solution of his difficulties. Surely it is not a wild dream to plan a center in an intelligent American state where any parent in the commonwealth who has a difficulty with the physical, intellectual or moral training of a child may also have a center of reference from which an expert may come to show the best way of solving the problem. Of course, in many instances the opportunity for help lies nearer home than the people realize, but in such cases a central Station can very easily indicate this and can co-ordinate the forces already at the disposal of the children.

One of the chief reproaches of a democracy is the charge that it is distrustful of its experts. The program of the Station assumes that it is possible to have a democracy which is so intelligent as to train an adequate number of its own members as experts in this essential field, and so to bring the services of these people close to the needs of the parents and children that they will in the heartiest way welcome them and trust them. The beginning is prophetic of successful achievement.

CHILD WELFARE IN WESTCHESTER COUNTY

Miss Ruth Taylor, Director, Department of Child Welfare, Westchester County, Whiteplains, N. Y.

For slightly over four years Westchester County, New York State, has been making a practical experiment in developing a county-wide plan for Child Welfare through the co-operation of all agencies, both public and private. During this time we believe the distinctive features of our plan to have been the use of public funds with the high standards of private

societies, the organized co-operation of public and private agencies, and the attempt to work out a county-wide Child Welfare scheme for all children, not merely the dependent classes. From the first, it has been the earnest hope of those making the experiment that through its successes and failures other counties in New York State and elsewhere might perfect their own plans for the adequate treatment of the entire child welfare field. It is with this hope that we venture to report to the National Conference our progress thus far.

A brief survey of the local county situation is necessary to give an understanding of its problems. Westchester is the county in New York State lying directly north of the City of New York, its boundaries running from the northern limit of that city up the Hudson River, across to the Connecticut State line and down that line to Long Island Sound, an area of 484 square miles. Its total population is approximately 320,000. It contains four cities, one of 100,000, two between 30,000 and 40,000 and one of 20,000. It has a number of villages, both large and small, and in the northeastern section a very hilly rural country, with isolated individual homes, and little settlements far from a railroad. The hilly character of this part of the county makes some of these little spots almost inaccessible in the seasons of bad roads. The county has almost every kind of social problem. Its nearness to New York City brings in the City of Yonkers the social problems of its great neighbor. Along the Sound there are large settlements of the foreign born. In the northern and northeastern hills we find the degenerate family of old American stock. We have the problem throughout the county of the great landed estate and of the commuter class. The county therefore furnishes an ideal territory in which to try out the development of a plan for county-wide child welfare flexible enough to suit widely different local conditions.

Development of a Public Agency

The leadership in developing such a plan has happened in this instance to come through a public official. Under the New York State Poor Law the County Superintendent of the Poor has the general supervision and care of all persons public dependents within his county. This group includes all children under 16 supported in whole or in part from public funds. In 1914 the office of the Superintendent of the Poor of Westchester County fell to a man of wide social vision and great practical experience in philanthropic work, a man who had never before held any political office and who was not prepared to concede that the care of public dependents need be handled by political methods. At that time the County of Westchester was supporting in institutions as public charges nearly 700 children committed by Poor Law officials or court for destitution, no proper guardianship, or juvenile delinquency. Although the Superintendent of the Poor had the general supervision and care of these children there were in existence not only no individual records of these children, but not even a list of their names. It was a matter of over six months to prepare an anywhere nearly accurate list of the children dependent upon the county by studying the receipted bills for the payment of their board and checking up the means thus secured by visits to many institutions. After the new Superintendent had been in office six months one bill was received covering a period of six years for the board of children in an institution in which the Superintendent had not known he had any wards.

From this beginning there has been built up in the last four years, through processes too lengthy to describe here, a county department of Child Welfare with a staff of twenty-eight workers, one central administrative office, nine district offices and a clinic for the mental and physical examination of its wards. A social service exchange for the county has

been put into operation and a system of records established. The Department now has under care 875 children in institutions and boarding homes and over 600 with their own mothers. It carries over 1,400 open cases at the present time; its expenditures for this year will be approximately \$275,000 of public funds.

The staff of the Department has been recruited almost entirely from trained workers that have had experience in private organizations, or from graduates of training schools for social workers. All of the executive and most of the field staff of the Department have had special training in economics and sociology. The methods used throughout by the Department are those in use by the best private societies in so far as it has been possible in four years to adopt those methods to the work of a public agency.

Fitting Public Business Methods To Social Needs

In the development of the public Department thus far two points stand out predominantly. First, it has been unwilling to concede the impossibility of ultimately fitting inflexible public business methods to actual social needs, and has therefore struggled persistently with the many technical difficulties that lie in the path of any public agency. It has held consistently that if a thing really ought to be done some legal means of doing it can be devised. Therefore, the Department has persistently hammered away at the set traditions of the public official, that things must be handled as they always have been handled, and has challenged continually that all too common statement, "It isn't legal and it can't be done."

Early in its work the Department met that fact that although it had the power to commit to institutional life any number of children at any rate up to \$2.00 per day, it could not grant 10 cents to a destitute mother to care for her own children in her own home. This had never been done except by an occasional overseer of the poor, as New York State had at that time no widows' pension law. The Department secured the consent of the County Board of Supervisors to the plan of granting relief to mothers in their own homes, and with a very small appropriation as an experiment started giving what it called "Mothers' Allowances." By the time the State Widows' Pension Law was passed, this plan was well under way, and the county has continued developing a Mothers' Allowance work under the Department of Child Welfare, not under the State law. The same public organization, therefore, which has the power to support children away from their families and provide for them in institutions and boarding homes has the power to provide for them with their own mothers if that seems advisable.

The technical difficulty of securing centralization of the power of commitment and discharge of children under a poor law providing that children may be chargeable to local districts for support has caused us much difficulty. In the four years we have been only partly successful in securing centralization of power. However, we have made distinct progress in this direction and are still at work. If ultimately complete centralization cannot be secured any other way all children must be made county charges.

Aside from the difficulty of securing needed appropriations, so common to all public agencies, perhaps we have met the greatest obstacles in securing the adjustment of financial methods to our needs and in obtaining through civil service examination the type of worker needed. At one time the success of our entire plan to grant regular monthly aid in their homes to mothers with young children seemed in danger because the approved county method of paying out moneys was too cumbersome to be practical in this field; after three or four months of effort and with the co-operation of the State Comptroller's Office a much simpler but entirely legal method was devised that satisfied everyone concerned. We have had some small

success in securing an adjustment of civil service examinations to meet the need of trained social work. A great deal, however, needs to be done on this score yet.

Aid From Private Sources

The second distinctive characteristic of the public Department's development has been that from the first it has held that if it could not secure public funds rapidly enough to meet its needs it would secure and use private, trusting that if its use of the private funds was really efficient the public would later grant theirs. The Department has consistently secured and used private funds for its work in all sorts of ways. It has used private funds for salaries, for traveling expenses, for automobile services, and for supplementary relief to families and children; its entire boarding home system is still dependent upon part private support. In its family relief work it has consistently held that if it undertakes the supervision and care of a family and the allowance granted from public funds cannot be made sufficient, it remains the Department's duty and responsibility to see the family through by securing the additional needed funds.

But the development of the Public Department has been from the first only part of the county's child-caring scheme. The Public Department has conceived of itself throughout as being merely the official representative of the interests of the private citizens and taxpayers in their own wards—dependent children and families supported by their own tax moneys. For this reason the Department has consistently claimed the right to the interest and assistance of the general public, and since the beginning of its work has shouted whenever it could get the attention of the taxpayer or private citizen, "You elected us, you support these children, they are your wards and you are responsible for what we are doing with them." Long before there was any publicly recognized Department of Child Welfare the staff of the Department invited a group of private citizens to meet with it monthly and talk over with it its problems. The head of the Department became the unsalaried executive of this group, which organized under the name of "The Westchester County Children's Committee" and which took as its purpose improving the care of children that were public charges in the County of Westchester. With the child that is dependent, neglected, delinquent or defective, and who therefore makes the strong obvious public appeal as their common concern, a private and a public child-caring organization began to build up side by side, each keeping its own identity and independence, but the two developing together on a co-operative basis. The public organization offered to share its wards with their rightful guardians—the general public—bore the main financial burden of their care, and gave the private citizen an opportunity to come directly into contact with its work. The private organization, instead of creating an independent staff of its own, taking a small group of needy children and spending its resources on them, furnished workers to the Public Department and used its funds to supplement public funds, thus having a much wider field of service than it could have alone. At the present time whatever can be done by public funds for dependent children is done. Where public funds cannot yet be secured for some use to which the public is not yet converted or where an appropriation is too rigid and inflexible to function, the private organization comes in. The two have pooled their resources in the interests of their common wards, both public and private funds function to their utmost, and everybody have worked together for the best good of the child. The district agents of the County Department meet regularly with the local branches of the private organization, report their work to them, and secure their advice and assistance. Only on paper does anyone really know just where the public department stops and the private organization begins. **The plan has**

worked in perfect harmony and with increasing efficiency for four and one-half years.

A Plan for the Welfare of All Children

But, as you see, this plan originally provided for the care of the dependent children, a small part of the child welfare problem. Starting with its interest in the dependent, neglected, defective and delinquent children who were public dependents and arousing the interest of private citizens in them the Children's Committee soon discovered the problem of child labor, the need for vocational training and the need for special preventive work in certain communities. Slowly and without consciously recognizing what it was doing, the committee took up broader lines of work affecting the normal child in the normal community. Just as in the field of medicine, we have progressed from the purely remedial treatment of the individual sick person to the prevention of disease and the great field of public health, so in Westchester we are making progress from one small group of children needing special care to all children in the county. By the latter part of 1918 our hopes for the development of our county-wide child-caring plan came to a realization in the reorganization of the Children's Committee into the Westchester County Children's Association with the broad purpose of promoting the welfare of children in Westchester County. The Association has worked out a form of organization which aims to cover the entire field of Child Welfare in such a way that there will be place in it for county-wide movements, and for the development of every local work, a place in it for the person interested in securing shoes and clothing for the individual child, and the person interested in securing a Children's Code Commission for the State of New York. The organization aims to develop a strong county-wide machine that will function effectively on the broad general child welfare problems while at the same time being flexible enough to permit small local groups to carry on any needed child welfare activity in which they may be interested. The organization has eight standing committees which aim to cover the entire child welfare field. They may be divided later, but at present are a Committee on Health and Recreation, on Education, on Child Labor and School Attendance, on Family and Community Problems, on Special Care and Relief, this including the care of all the socially abnormal groups, a Committee on Publicity, on Legislation, and on Ways and Means. District branches of the Association will cover the entire territory of the county and thus make possible the effective treatment of purely local problems. A very representative Board of Directors recruited from the whole county meets monthly to deal with problems of general policy for the entire organization. The new organization will co-operate as closely as the old, with the County Department of Child Welfare. All of the work of the old committee that dealt with the care of special classes is now combined under the new association's Committee on Special Care and Relief. This Committee will meet monthly with the staff of the Department of Child Welfare, will act as an advisory board to it and will disperse that part of the association's funds laid aside for case work and relief. In addition it will take up for study other phases of the care of special classes not covered by the Department. In the meantime, the other standing committees of the association are planning county-wide programs for child health, recreation, education and child labor. The legislative committee is preparing to follow all state and federal legislation affecting child welfare during the coming year. The publicity committee is already carrying on an effective campaign to place and keep general child welfare needs before the people of the county, and the ways and means committee is this week raising \$30,000 to finance a general child welfare movement for the coming year and to place the association on a sound financial basis.

In order to further stimulate the development of a general child wel-

fare program, the offices of the public department and the private organization have been separated. The former Assistant Director of the Public Department has become the Executive Secretary of the Private Association, and its work is visibly separated from the organization dealing with the dependent classes only. In the six months since the private society's re-organization, the idea back of the new association has been received with the greatest enthusiasm and all classes of people in the county are affiliated with the organization in order to serve in that part of its work that appeals to them.

Future Development

Thus far have we come in Westchester County in our child welfare experiment in the last four and one-half years. We have developed a county Department of Child Welfare, a public department legally recognized that combines child caring and family work. Its work is being conducted on a non-political basis and according to the best methods of scientific philanthropy that its staff can learn. We have effective and practical daily co-operation in the use of public and private funds for the best good of needy children. We have a democratic county-wide private organization, with a definite plan for general child welfare, linked closely to the public department wherever their fields touch. The spirit of practical co-operation and the desire to plan together our social effort is increasingly seizing hold of us. As evidence of this during the last three years, we have seen a county directory of social service agencies published, a county conference of charities started, an occasional dinner conference held of all county-wide agencies touching social welfare, a county federation of nursing organizations started, and a county forum for the general discussion of any matter of public interest successfully launched.

How our plan will work out in the future time only will tell; it is all very new yet. The politicians may weary of our county department, become stronger than it is and spill it over. Barring that, it has many a technical tangle to unravel before its public business can be handled as speedily and efficiently as it should be and its case work and general administrative system can be improved indefinitely. Although Westchester for the most part does not realize that public and private agencies are sometimes hostile, there are many agencies between which more effective co-operation could be worked up. Lastly, we have yet to see whether there are among us enough far-sighted and devoted people to lead and inspire us all, to labor persistently for a general child welfare program. It is one thing to arouse a community to enthusiasm over the needs of motherless, fatherless or sick children, quite another to inspire them with a vision of a rich, full opportunity for every child in every phase of his life. It is even difficult to reduce a general program into terms simple and immediate enough to appeal to people as definite. This is, however, our aim; to work out concretely in one county with the materials at hand, a county-wide system of child care for 100% of our children in 100% of their lives; to give a practical demonstration of our faith that child welfare, the welfare of all children, is the most important single concern of our community.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

In the discussion which followed these points among others were made. That any child welfare program eventually should be on a state-wide rather than a local basis; that advantage should be taken of educational institutions for research in regard to child welfare; that personnel is more important than the machinery of organization for child welfare; that trained service including a vocational advisor is greatly needed; that in rural work it is especially desirable for workers to remain in their positions for several years, and that the multiplication of agencies is to be avoided.

Among those who participated in the discussion were: Rev. A. C. Jamison, Greenwood, S. C.; Minnie F. Paterson, Minneapolis; Arthur W. Towne, Brooklyn; Rev. John O'Grady, Washington; Henry W. Thurston, New York; C. C. Carstens, Boston, and George B. Mangold, St. Louis.

STANDARDS OF ADMISSION TO DAY NURSERIES

Grace Caldwell, Corresponding Secretary, New England Center of Day Nurseries, Boston

When we begin to think of standards in connection with any work, it means that we have seen the possibilities of use and abuse in that work and have set ourselves to formulate these and get from them a set of principles as guides for future development.

Day nurseries have two sets of standards, as your program of today indicates. First, there are the standards of care and equipment which Dr. Hedger will tell you about; the part of nursery work on which most of our funds and efforts have always been spent; and second, standards of policy or the motives underlying the question of right admissions, the foundation on which we built our work, on whose soundness depends its value and which are just now of increasing importance in our nursery world. Such motives or standards must be based on a thorough knowledge of our field of work, and its possibilities and limitations. We must see it in its relation to other community service and as a first step, evolve an intelligent definition of its purpose.

Three Factors Define the Place of the Day Nursery

The way the place of the day nursery in this community social service is defined and its questions of policy shaped, is determined by three important factors. The first and most obvious is—that the nursery deals with a family problem. That we spend the greater part of our funds for the care of children does not alter the fact that the reason we do so is because of some maladjustment in the families of which they are members, and it is to get at the cause of this maladjustment and to build up normal family conditions that our nursery care works towards. You cannot take Johnny Jones as Johnny alone because he isn't born into the world that way. He is the son of William Jones, a father who takes his family responsibilities too lightly and has a tendency towards desertion. He is the child of Mary Jones, a mother whose full strength is needed in her manifold home duties. He is the brother of Tom Jones, aged 12, a good chap but easily influenced by bad companions. Now our question is not what we can do for five-year-old Johnny, but what we are going to do for Johnny's family.

This brings us to our second factor, the recognition of nursery care as a temporary expedient. If we see our job in the large, our objective will be to get Johnny back into a normal home as soon as constructive work will allow. As a part of thorough work, we will make Johnny a healthy, happy, clean-minded boy while we have him, but our real problem is helping eliminate the trouble which made Johnny's care necessary. If the problem is simple, it is sometimes possible for the nursery to do this work alone, but more often it must be done by good team work with other social agencies working toward the same ends. That our work should be absolutely co-operative goes without saying, for our problems are identical. This can be illustrated by statistics from one nursery. Out of 49 families aided in a year, 39, or 79%, were already known to other relief agencies, and this proportion held good for over a period of years, and could probably be duplicated by many other nurseries.

And the third factor which must influence us in shaping our policy is the economic dangers of an extension of our work in the form of industrial nurseries or in localities where large foreign groups and low wages for men exist, together. The seriousness of this phase of the work if it is not carefully done is well illustrated by a report from 56 nurseries. Here 33 of the 56 reported 50% or over of their families with both parents working whole or part time. A further analysis of the situation showed that these nurseries were used almost entirely by Italians, Poles, Russians and

Negroes and the industries employing them, the poorly paid needle trades and irregular domestic work. Nurseries may be needed in such districts as a temporary measure, but unless their figures over a term of years show a steady decrease in this kind of nursery help, such nurseries are a menace to the establishment of good social conditions.

As thus influenced by these three factors, we can define the function of a day nursery as the day care of children where that kind of help meets a family need constructively and works toward the solution of a bad social condition. This definition gives us freedom to consider any problem on its merits. It does away forever with the possibility of nursery rules which say "we do not admit illegitimate children," "we cannot admit children over six years of age." It is really our standard of admission, for by it we test each application for our aid and choose the material with which we can work effectively inside the nursery. It may be widowhood, illness, desertion, debt, low wage. Our question will be, "Can we meet all the needs of this family situation or see that they are met?"

There is infinite variety in this material which comes to the nurseries. Some come with a clear understanding of their difficulty, of the right help necessary, and all the nursery has to do is to fit into their plan. Others come with a request for help in getting luxuries which their income, adequate for living expenses, will not allow. Of course a nursery run with funds raised for cases of real need can give only a plain refusal to such applicants. Still more, and by far the greater number, have only a bitter knowledge of trouble, but no intelligent conception of the real problems involved, seeing only the acute situation which can be relieved by the temporary care of a child. It is here that the nursery needs the wisdom of Solomon to deal justly and with vision.

There is one element common to all these applicants and in which they differ from those coming to other societies. They all offer active participation in solving their own difficulty instead of the passive acceptance of help usual in the other case, and also some financial contribution toward the expense incurred. This element naturally colors their attitude toward nursery help and must necessarily be taken into account by the nursery in deciding on its action. It can be made a help on the road to independence if the nursery uses it wisely, or a menace if we allow it to blind us to the more serious dangers to the family than the financial one usually involved.

Importance of Right Diagnosis

The first step in practically applying our standards is a right social diagnosis of the problem. First, whether the situation is acute or chronic. Then whether the family is already known to other relief agencies, using a confidential exchange if there is one in the community. This saves the family the embarrassment of a second explanation of many needed facts and enables the nursery to work with greater speed toward its decision. Then a study of the family history, its health conditions, its standing in its neighborhood, its Church and the schools, its sources within itself and what effect it is logical to expect if we allow the mother to be absent from the home. What co-operation may be secured from relatives and friends. What resources already exist in the community which might perhaps meet the need more adequately than the nursery. And finally a sympathetic understanding, summing up and review of all the information gathered and a definite reason based on this for the granting or refusal of help—this action not to be an end in itself but a starting point for active constructive, follow-up work.

I can imagine you thinking, as I know you must, that the family may starve or go to pieces while this program is being carried out. It can be done in 24 to 36 hours if you have someone trained to just such work. Trained in the principles of good relief work. Trained in the underlying causes of social maladjustment; to select the point most necessary in a

thorough understanding of the situation, with a knowledge of the resources of her district at her fingers' ends, with the faculty of giving and getting co-operation. And, most important, such a worker backed by a carefully selected case committee from her Board. Every nursery can train or hire one such worker and so do its work soundly and constructively, for all this understanding of the facts is necessary to a just decision and nothing is ever gained by hasty, careless admissions.

I am sure there can be only one nursery like that reported to me a few months ago, a nursery which prided itself on never refusing an applicant who came to it for help, feeling sure that no one would ever come who was not in need and that nursery help must be the remedy because they asked for it! Such a nursery can only be paralleled by a doctor who gave each patient the same medicine regardless of his malady.

The follow-up work on refused and discharged cases is fully as important as this first diagnosis of the difficulty. By it we gauge our work, judge its efficiency in meeting its problems constructively. It means visiting in the homes of these families, checking up results through other agencies to whom the nursery has referred families because they would seem to be able to give help better fitted to solve the trouble. Keeping accurate and full family histories and records with connected accounts of the object desired, how worked out and whether results justified our course. Next a review of each family given nursery help at regular intervals to see if conditions have changed and if nursery help is meeting the difficulty. And lastly, a thoughtful analysis of our work at the end of each year.

Each nursery, as a background for this work, must have made a study of its district, its needs and resources, and be ready to adjust its work to these needs and to keep itself in active contact with other social agencies working in the same field. Such contact will soon indicate the place of the nursery in this group work.

To illustrate: In one crowded foreign section, a nursery in making a yearly analysis of its work found a steady lessening in the economic pressure in families applying to it for help. By active contact of its social visitor in other social work of the district, there was found to be a crying need for help along family lines and for special care in rachitis cases to build children up for operation. Mothers needed to be relieved of the care of young children so that they could remain in bed a safe length of time at confinement, or so that they could go regularly to the hospital or dispensary for treatment. The schools needed help so that older children need not be kept from school to care for little ones during temporary illness in the home. A study was made of what could be done to meet these needs effectively and the result is that that nursery is now a recognized part of the group health work of its district and its success indicates a possible line for future nursery development.

Attitude of Board of Directors

To get standards of nursery admission which really represent the larger aspects of our work, and the case work (using "case" as a good physician would use it) necessary to make these standards tools for effective service, we must have an intelligent appreciation by nursery boards of the importance of this part of the work they direct. Good intention will not excuse a misunderstanding of the issues involved or enthusiasm for the welfare of the individual child be a substitute for the value of this in the problem he represents.

Neither will the work be as expensive as many nurseries fear. If in a large city, it is quite possible for a group of nurseries to share the expense of a trained visitor, although that puts more responsibility on the admitting committee. It may perhaps be possible to use a Red Cross Home Service

Visitor in the smaller cities or towns; or for each nursery to have a head worker, trained to fit her for this part of the work and then relieve her of the less important housekeeping duties. Such a worker, whether in a large or small community, should have behind her an admission or case committee carefully selected from the Board Members especially fitted by interest, training and habits of mind to handle this part of the work and also including some outside members representing community service from another angle and with a sympathetic socialized imagination of the best problems with real insight.

If the work of the nursery is misunderstood and underrated by the progressive social agencies, if it is hard for them to decide if we belong in the Children's Division or the one on the Family or on Economic Problems, it will be due to the failure of the nurseries themselves to see the larger side of their work, to see it constructively and to make it the exact agency for a specialized need. Like all progressive social agencies, we have as an ideal our eventual elimination and a chance for every mother to stay in her home, but until the social evils which brought us into existence have been wiped out by more vigorous community pressure, we must still exist to help meet family problems which can be solved by the day care of children. The fact that we are today meeting as a part of a National Conference of Social Work means that we intend our work to measure to the standards of such work, and we ask from other agencies a recognition of the part we may rightly play in such efforts towards community welfare.

STANDARDS OF HYGIENE AND EQUIPMENT OF DAY NURSERIES

*Caroline Hedger, M. D., Medical Adviser, Child Welfare Department,
Women's Committee, Council of National Defense,
Illinois Division, Chicago*

The equipment of any worker carries within itself the idea of what he is to do. The carpenter considers what he is to build or what he is to work on. The first point in the equipment of the day nursery is to clear up definitely the aim of the day nursery.

In going over the latest literature so far as I have been able I have found a little cloudiness. There seems to be a definite tendency to make this a family matter, a very attractive idea, and if it could become a family matter the day nurseries could obliterate themselves. When the family is adequate there is no need for a day nursery. That does not mean that we do not have to have day nurseries; we do, but I hope that in time they will be obliterated.

As to these nurseries having a family aim, it seems to me rather difficult, a colossal undertaking, to make the day nursery a family thing in the broadest sense of the word. In a narrow sense it undertakes the care of children as a result of sickness and death in a family. Ignorance and economic suffering. Wherever you see the sign *day nursery* you see the results of economic pressure are also causes. As far as I know there is no day nursery board able to handle this economic pressure which is really most of the difficulty. Many a day nursery can and has lightened the ignorance, and I have been hearing that some have a helper equipped to adjust the family budgets so that they may get the best out of the limited family income. That seems to me the only possible solution of the problem. Miss Richmond says that the day nursery should be responsible for the families of its children. I hesitate to express an opinion. How many day nurseries have a board with the time and personnel necessary to go into the family rehabilitation? It is a mockery to try to have it done well by an untrained person. I am sure that Miss Rich-

mond has the large vision and in the millennium we shall have boards with the technical knowledge for rehabilitation. Perhaps we shall have the funds to do it, but until we can get boards to supply all this what is the use of talking about it?

Tools of Child Development

As to the tools we are going to use to build with, to build up the child which we have not done adequately heretofore, what are the tools and what are we to build the child into? Nothing less than a citizen. First it is the body and next it is the conscious responsibility and then it is enough bodily health for a surplus of joy. What tools are there in the day nursery to bring this about? In the first place we have not the ability to breast-feed. It is the basis of infant health. No child under nine months should be deprived of this. First, I hate to begin with a negative proposition, but we never shall have the right to interrupt breast-feeding. It is a tool which we cannot supply in this matter of building the bodies of children. We must admit children only of more than nine months of age.

We must have enlightened managers and matrons who know their business, but it must go much farther than that. We must have enlightened boards, and I am here to make a plea for nurseries with boards which understand nutrition. We have one matron in Chicago, trained in infants' care. She came to see me and reported that she was finding the greatest difficulty in getting her board to give the children one-half pint of milk a day. This board is not brutal, it is simply uneducated. It is philanthropic, giving vent to a philanthropic impulse and not getting down to its job.

Second, a trained board. There is no difficulty in training matrons. In Chicago there was a most interesting class of from 35 to 50 day nursery helpers who have met regularly week after week at night and we have had no difficulty of Schools of Civics and of Domestic Science in training them. Boards are more difficult. It is not a legitimate aim to advertise and draw into their doors the boards of philanthropic amateurs and make an effort to reach these women on whom so much depends? To do this work the board must know the fundamental facts of nutrition, the importance of milk, eggs and butter fats. At present they are excusable, as the facts are new to all of us. We have known it through Dr. McCollum, the expert who has proved the necessity of growth principles in the food of the young. Without this knowledge boards are not likely to provide the necessities for normal growth. There must be a campaign for milk, a plan by which the boards may have it furnished in a bottle and not in a tin can. It sounds simple, but try it!

Records of Nutrition and Growth

Now this matter of the nutrition of the child has, I am sorry to say, up to the present time not engaged the attention of the day nursery world in the form of boards to the extent it should. I have one of the latest registration cards. Not one single word on this as to the weight of the children at the beginning and the end of the month. What good does it do to herd children into a day nursery if they have not gained weight in a month?

Third. There should be a history card that shows what you are doing to the children in each month, a line saying so many children have remained stationary in weight, so many have gained and so many have lost in weight. It will give a clue to your value as citizen builders. You are supplementing a crippled home, a home where normally citizens would be built. I am glad to recommend a history sheet which is being issued by the Chicago Association. One side gives the food which the child has been getting, the family history and on the back a place for the month's weighing and the recommendation for physical treatment.

The equipment of the day nursery must include those things which prevent disease. This handling children in carload lots is not ideal. They

are not sent to the earth in carload lots. They come one at a time. We have a very good list of medical requirements in use in Chicago. I believe the work is approaching the point of comparative safety in the prevention of transmission of diseases.

The standards that I have here omit to say who must look over the child every morning to detect incipient disease.

Third, the equipment involves an isolation room coupled with an executive able to find out measles, etc., before they spread. Only by daily examination can these things be discovered in time. The nursery should exclude tuberculosis of venereal disease and this last involves repeated smears in the day nursery to avoid skin and eye diseases. These are the rules but I understand that they are not in all cases lived up to. It seems to be that the standards which the best board recognize should be lived up to.

A most important point is the spiritual development of the child through the give and take in its environment. The mother's breast and her smile is our first point of spiritual development. There must be an adequate number of helpers to develop the give and take of these little humans. The whole physical development is sometimes checked by that lack of spiritual stimulation. One woman can take care of a number of bodies but she cannot take care of so many souls. Citizens should have souls! The number of helpers is a financial problem, but if we cannot do the job well we should quit.

Control Through Activity

Fourth, the next thing is some arrangement by which the normal activity of the child can be promoted. These children are born with the complete equipment of brain cells, but their development, their habits and consequently their future use to the state depends on the large muscle masses of the body. At first they are not supposed to use the small muscles. We are now correcting habits of some early kindergartens. A few years ago I investigated a day nursery in Chicago which was controlled by a handsome, dignified and fine-looking board. This nursery was on the West Side in Chicago and there in a large room, sitting on the floor were rows of children with the curtains down. The day was hot! There are nurseries in Chicago where the matron can have them sit still. It is abominable and should be done away with. They should be allowed to develop their muscle masses and taught *control* not inactivity. There must be someone who knows how. I would have you all have such a person.

There must be supervision of play and something to play with. In your late literature I am impressed with the idea that the current is going against toys. I suppose the central idea is to avoid infection. The daily examination will reduce the danger of that and two hours of sunshine kills the liveliest tubercle bacillus that ever walked or wiggled and there are formaldehyde cupboards that will sterilize the toys. It is to be presupposed that there will be no woolly balls for the children to chew. Now I wish to enter a plea for toys, for the possibility of development is not to be measured. Have them even if they are wooden blocks scrubbed to salve your antiseptic conscience. In one nursery I saw not one single toy. The matron found the children so destructive that she could not keep the knobs on the radiators! The children were hungering for something to do as expressed by taking off the knobs, a fund of energy and development possibly worse than wasted because turned into destructive channels. You are clever enough to have non-destructible toys. My proposition is for something that develops the constructive mind and muscle masses, but not overstimulation. At a kindergarten meeting I attended I was delighted to learn that the kindergarteners realize that they have given overstimulation. Children will work out their own salvation in the most normal way if you will supply the means. The necessity for providing this is to help them grow into responsible citizens.

For a democracy you must have the constructive child, the child that has a will to do and the means to do it. In other words develop the backbone to take the consequences.

Right Atmosphere

I should like to speak of another equipment and that is the proper atmosphere. We are all affected by the atmosphere that is around us, by right and wrong doing. It is necessary to equip the day nursery with the atmosphere that is safe for the child psychologically. He must not be controlled by fear. If your day nursery is representing control by fear you must face around and go the other way as hard and fast as you can go. Fear is destructive, it tears down the body. Equip your nursery, not with a slushy atmosphere of sweetness and light, but with a straightforward atmosphere of co-operation, of mental, moral and physical training. Every woman cannot do it and one woman cannot do it for too many children, but if we are going to do it at all, let us do it well. What shall we equip our nurseries with? We must have air and cleanliness and food. These are basic. Milk because of the growth principle involved. Then you must have matrons who know how to feed, and boards to back her up as she cannot do it alone, someone to hear her tale of woe, if the board feels that they have not quite got to the bottom of it. Why not have a secretary? In Chicago, we have one and there is more than one woman in the country who could do this. We must have trained boards where the day nursery is the object not the expression of a philanthropic impulse. I do not wish to belittle this philanthropic impulse, but it is so easy to be philanthropic and so hard to be just. So easy to turn out a report without realizing that the fundamental thing is the building of citizens and in the long run the rehabilitation of the family, but I feel that at present we are far from that point at least so far as day nursery boards are concerned.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, New York, President of the National Federation of Day Nurseries, said in presiding: I think that everyone knows in a general way what the day nurseries are attempting to do in this country. We know their defects and why the poor nurseries are poor, and we deprecate the fact that the whole system is often criticised because the knowledge of the critic is confined to some nursery which may be struggling with inadequate funds and an amateur board; but although there are poor nurseries in the country, the large majority are really aiming towards the highest standards. The war has brought into relief the importance of the nursery in Child Welfare Work and we are glad to take our place in the National Conference of Social Work. The topics this morning have been selected to give an idea of some of our aims. One topic, the investigation of nursery cases and our relation to the families, is a development of the last twenty years.

Miss Mary MacDowell of Chicago asked what *Miss Caldwell* and what the meeting generally felt about industrial nurseries and whether it is well to help or encourage factories in starting them.

Miss Caldwell replied* that she had hoped that the question of the extension of industrial nurseries had been settled when the armistice was signed, but, with the shortage of labor, which seems likely in the next six months, she felt it was still a very vital question. In Massachusetts a survey was made when it looked as if there would be a shortage of workers due to war conditions in shoe and mill towns and a consequent increase in industrial nurseries. There proved to be no shortage of workers and no need of war nurseries. Some manufacturers had already started nurseries with the idea that the women would work anyway and that they might as well consider some provision for the welfare of the children. They got more work out of the mothers if they were contented about their children. When asked if when the pressure demanded the employment of married women with children they would, before engaging her, find out about her home conditions, they replied that the important question was if she could do the work. "When we need a woman, we ask if she will run a machine if we provide means for the care of her children." The nursery is run to make it possible to obtain much needed labor. The manufacturers felt they could not be expected to be so idealistic as not to take trained help if they could get it. This is the danger in the extension of industrial day nurseries, no questions will be asked as to whether the husband has an adequate income, if there are children over 5 years old uncared for (they took only children under five), and if the woman's health is break-

*Notes uncorrected by speaker.

ing down under the double strain of mill work and home cares. If married women go into industry and children are left unprotected, some provision should be made for them and the nurseries should be financed by the industry and supervised by an outside board not connected with the industry.

Mrs. Dodge: A month before the war started, I went to see Miss Lathrop on the subject of day nurseries, and my agreement with her was that as far as I had authority I would see that women were not exploited in industry for war purposes. That was the basis of our work during the two years of the war. We studied the English and French situation and in Connecticut, where there was much consideration of starting emergency nurseries, we worked hard to prevent them from being started. Not a single day nursery was started in a munition town to fill Government contracts. Two were started in factories making other war supplies, but we had the cooperation of the manufacturers of the state. The nursery situation is now back to its normal basis. The conditions have gone back to pre-war standards. We can now take up the problem with the added help which our prominence in the war emergency has given us as a child saving agency. Bills have been presented in the legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut which will provide for the licensing of day nurseries. We have failed for the present in Connecticut, but we are going to try it again. We trust that people will not stop until all the states have this legislation.

Mr. Eugene Kerner of Waterbury, Conn., felt that a matron specially trained was of first importance. In his city, excellent results were being obtained by a matron who is a trained nurse and who has had experience in a milk station and as a visiting nurse. She knows how to prepare the food and no nursing mother leaves her child there because she has to work—that is a case for the Associated Charities to take up.

Mr. T. H. Weirich, General Superintendent of the Board of Public Welfare of the city of Omaha, asked if there was any better way than through the school of philanthropy for training the boards of directors.

Dr. Hedger replied that courses from a woman who knew diets from a practical point of view were given successfully in Chicago. Better help could be gotten from a School of Domestic Science, and in Chicago the School Nurse connected with the Public Schools gives help along this line.

On inquiry as to financing, *Mrs. Mabel A. Gillam*, Secretary of the Chicago Association of Day Nurseries, said that most of the Chicago nurseries are financed by their boards; one has a large endowment; another, a public school day nursery, is financed by the Alumnae of the National Park Seminary, with the assistance of the Board of Education, which supplies rooms, light, heat and janitor service. In answer to a question as to what was done with the child of school age, over five years old, from the time the mother leaves the home until school hours, *Mrs. Gillam* said that as long as the child needs care the nursery gives it. One of the rules of the better nurseries is that if a woman brings one child to the nursery, she must bring all her children, as one child will not be accepted, unless all come. The nursery will not release the mother by taking the youngest child and so make it possible for those just older to be turned on the streets. Therefore, all the children of a family come to the nursery. They wash themselves before going to school, return for luncheon and on coming back to the nursery, after the afternoon session, play in the nursery, preferably under the supervision of a trained person. In this after-school-hours work, we try to cooperate with the local social centers. The nurseries are opened at 6:30 a. m. and remain open until the mother calls for her children after her day's work is finished. The older children usually prefer to have their luncheons in the nursery rather than in the school lunch room. A child must be given a physical examination before it is taken in the nursery and if the woman has only temporary employment there is no opportunity for this and the child cannot be admitted.

Mr. D. F. Shirk of Kansas asked what the experience of the day nurseries had been in taking the children of widows and unmarried girls who were trying to keep their babies.

Miss Caldwell: In most cases, particularly if the mother's death is very recent, the fathers are not willing to place the children where they cannot have them at night. In Boston the nurseries are taking as many as they can, realizing that the arrangement is not an ideal one, but getting the fathers' cooperation is something better by helping him try out his own plan first. When it proves impossible, the father can sometimes be persuaded to move near a relative or some woman who will have supervision over the children, and then the nursery can supplement by day care.

Miss Brown of Michigan asked what would be the constructive policy for a family where the mother had one child. Should she be encouraged to go to work?

Miss Caldwell replied that the nurseries had to help in such cases as, so far as she knew, mothers' aid is never given where there is only one child and unless there is illness, no private relief agency gives support in such cases.

Mrs. Gillam spoke in this connection of the inadequacy of mothers' pensions.

Mrs. Shirk of Kansas asked about the position of the nurseries in regard to taking the child of an unmarried mother.

Mrs. Dodge replied that many nurseries take the first child of an unmarried girl, with the idea that she is ignorant and has been misled, and with the hope that assistance and knowledge will help her to lead the right kind of life, but they do not take successive children.

Miss Caldwell said that in Boston they do not make that distinction. The only ques-

*Notes uncorrected by speaker.

tion asked is whether the mother is properly safeguarded and is living rightly at the time and will try to do so in the future.

Mr. Hedger suggested that there should be an effort to learn if the mother is feeble-minded.

Mrs. Helen Glenn Tyson of Pittsburgh asked who make the provisional diagnosis for the acceptance of a case.

*Miss Caldwell** Usually the accredited trained investigator said the managers of the nursery should help the mother to take some action to force the father, when there is one, to meet the conditions.

Mrs. Helen Glenn Tyson said that a great many professional social workers had a grudge against day nurseries for several reasons, one being that the nursery so often offers the easiest but the worst way out for the woman. Another, that it sometimes allows a situation to remain latent until the opportunity to do constructive work for the mother is lost. She asked what was the best way to bridge the gap. Should there be a social visitor attached to day nurseries to refer a case to the proper agencies? This requires, of course, a wide knowledge of the community resources.

*Miss Caldwell** replied that so far as she knew, there was no standardization in nurseries on that point. Some employ an investigator, which means a person who has had social training. If the case is one for the associated charities it goes there. The day nursery does not accept a case until a diagnosis has been made and backed up by the decision of the committee.

It was reported that Madison, Wis., had a nursery working under the Associated Charities.

Mrs. Tyson of Pittsburgh suggested that if a mother realized that her application to the nursery meant a visit from the Associated Charities, she would often make some other arrangement and not apply to the nursery.

*Miss Caldwell** said that many women do not wish to accept charity. They feel that they are accepting help which will make it possible for them to solve their own problem. Few of them realize that it costs the nursery to care for their children and they do not always look upon it as charity.

The point was brought up later that in France there is no question of nurseries being considered charities by the mothers, as they are municipal institutions supported by the tax-payers.

*Dr. Mulon** of Paris, France, asked what an American woman would do if she has a child less than 9 months old and her husband does not support her; if she is not allowed to put her child in a nursery, what can she do if she must work?

Mrs. Dodge replied that there was no provision here as in France for the mother while working to nurse her child in the nursery. The day nurseries have felt that it was wiser to keep to their standard. Some other organization should help the mother with a baby up to nine months old. The distances are so great in our cities that the arrangements made in France for the mother to come to the nursery and nurse her child are not possible.

The question of fees was discussed.

Miss Caldwell said* that in Boston, a sliding scale was being tried, based on the family budget. If it is right for a family to put in five children and pay for one, we let them. If a woman with one child has a larger wage, she pays a larger percentage for her child. It is first decided what percentage she should have of her earnings for providing food in her own home. It is sometimes ten or fifteen cents, but is adapted to the family budget. In some cases it is twenty-five cents, when the wages of the mother warrant this. Contrary to expectation, it has made no trouble among the mothers themselves, those who are able giving it without any thought of those who could not.

THE DEPENDENT CHILD AS A COMMUNITY PROBLEM

C. V. Williams, Director, Children's Welfare Dept., Board of State Charities, Columbus, O.

There has been neither time nor opportunity for the Committee† to prepare at this time more than a preliminary report covering a few fundamentals which govern the philosophy of the treatment of the dependent child.

There has been great progress in child-caring methods during the past few years, shown not only in higher standards maintained by a large number of organizations but also in the development of a sense of community responsibility which in some states has expressed itself in the working out of

*Notes corrected by author.

†Note: The Committee on the Dependent Child has the following membership: Dr. H. H. Hart, New York; Judge Chas. W. Hoffman, Cincinnati; Dr. Jessica Peixotto, Berkeley, Calif.; Jessie Taft, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. Lilburn Merrill, Seattle; Ruth Taylor, White Plains, N. Y.; John P. Sanderson, Hartford, Conn.; C. H. Kernan, Tiffin, Ohio; W. S. Reynolds, Chicago; Elsa Ueland, Philadelphia; C. V. Williams, Columbus, Ohio, Chairman.

definite programs. The Committee would refer most enthusiastically to the altruistic activities of thousands of men and women who have been spending their time and their money in the care and in the protection of needy children, and especially would it refer to the heroic service which was rendered by many unnamed heroes and heroines during the influenza epidemic. But the Committee is of the opinion that it is of far greater importance to call the attention of this Conference to unfinished work and unsolved problems than to permit a feeling of satisfaction and complacency over the accomplishments which have resulted in our reaching but a small part of our problem.

On the occasion of the Washington Conference called ten years ago, now historically known as the White House Conference, fourteen resolutions were unanimously adopted. The group of people passing these resolutions were most representative. But if we are to judge by results, a considerable proportion of the persons engaged in child caring work have not been giving serious consideration to some of the principles represented by these conclusions. We will again ask your consideration of the provisions represented by some of these resolutions:

1. *Home Care.* "Children of worthy parents or deserving mothers should as a rule, be kept with their parents at home."

Not only are the children of many living worthy parents still detained in institutions, but some child-caring organizations are permitting worthy distressed mothers to relinquish, unnecessarily, their children to the permanent guardianship of their organizations.

2. *Preventive Work* "The effort should be made to eradicate causes of dependency, such as disease and accident, and to substitute compensation and insurance for relief."

In many sections of the country the major effort is exercised in the actual care of the children from broken or destroyed homes, while comparatively little effort is made to bring about family rehabilitation or the removal of the causes of poverty. Vast sums of money are appropriated for the erection of buildings for the care of dependent children in communities where family service of a preventive nature properly directed would make possible the care of many of these children by their parents.

3. *Home Finding.* "Homeless and neglected children, if normal, should be cared for in families, when practicable."

An immense number of children who are physically and mentally normal and who for various reasons cannot be returned to their own parents, are subjected to continued custodial care in institutions throughout the country. A large sum of money is thus unnecessarily spent in housing children while depriving them of the advantages of normal family life.

State Inspection. "The State should inspect the work of all agencies which care for dependent children."

The supervision by the State of child-caring agencies has not been everywhere provided, and shameful neglect of dependent children has prevailed in some such States where there is no provision for the standardizing and the regulating of child-caring agencies.

Facts and Records. "Complete histories of dependent children and their parents based upon personal investigation and supervision, should be recorded for guidance of child-caring agencies."

Little or no effort is made by some of the agencies either to secure or to preserve the family history of the dependent child. The Court adjudication of dependency resulting in the permanent separation of the child from his parents has frequently been accomplished with little or no information concerning the child's antecedents.

Physical Care. "Every needy child should receive the best medical and surgical attention, and be instructed in health and hygiene."

A large number of child-caring agencies have not yet been aroused to the necessity of removing the physical handicaps of children placed in their care. Intensive physical examinations with treatment for remediable defects have been the exception rather than the rule.

The Committee would supplement this resolution with the declaration of the recognition of the value of the personality study of the child as a requisite for his proper treatment in the Institution or for his suitable adjustment to a foster home.

Co-operation. "Local child-caring agencies should co-operate and establish joint bureaus of information."

While in certain sections of the country there has been developed through children's bureaus, councils of social agencies, and kindred organizations, schemes for the co-ordination of local welfare agencies,—in many parts of the country there is little co-operation between agencies engaging in the same general work and much waste and duplication of effort with an immense undeveloped field.

The Committee would emphasize the fact that a sympathetic understanding by the members of this Conference—of the principles just referred to should have resulted in the correction of many of the wrongs and abuses which are now perpetrated upon defenseless children.

* * *

The dependent or neglected child cannot receive adequate treatment when considered apart from his family, or the fragment of family from whence he comes. There is no child problem, which is not a family problem, and no family problem which is not a community problem. We must develop the forces within the community that will develop and conserve the latent impulses for good which may be discovered in even the so-called bad family.

* * *

The State must assume the responsibility for the care of its children as an economic principle; it is reprehensible and extravagant for a community to fail to provide needed and adequate protection at all times for all of its children, and such protection should be extended alike to all classes and races; the community which prides itself upon the establishment of agencies caring for some of the needy children, permitting others to be subject to neglect has failed to meet its opportunity and will later have to face the consequences incident to child neglect.

* * *

The Committee recommend for each community the development of a program which will ally all of its altruistic forces, and the membership should not be limited to the agencies specializing in child care. The child should be discovered and treated before dependency has marked him sufficiently to attract the attention of the service agency. The nature of the organization will vary to meet the community needs—but the central agency should be composed of representatives of all of the organizations engaged in community welfare. Such an organization will be in possession of the potential possibilities of all of the co-ordinated agencies, and its development makes possible the defining of the responsibility of each agency and the intensifying of its work. Only through such co-ordination is community diagnosis with remediable treatment made possible. Until all of the forces of the community for public betterment are united in such an effort, many children will be sacrificed.

* * *

The practice common to many of our child-caring associations in most of the States—of permitting a parent to transfer to the agency the permanent guardianship of his child—without confirmation by a court of competent jurisdiction—is cruel and this practice should be everywhere abolished. In many sections of the country, with very little formality, a mother may sign

away her right to her child while lying upon a sick-bed in a maternity hospital, and this scrap of paper, unacknowledged, is accepted by an adopting court as sufficient justification for permitting the adoption of a child to another. These surrenders or releases are not infrequently executed at a time when the parents are temporarily distressed and neither physically nor mentally able to know what they ought to do, and are at times instigated by enthusiastic agents desirous of securing attractive children for prospective foster homes.

* * *

The crude and inadequate adoption laws in force in many of our states resulting in the summary adoption of children by unfit persons—should be replaced through legislation which will place upon an adopting court the same responsibility for investigating the facts concerning the child and also the foster family as are recognized as minimums to be employed by qualified child-caring agencies.

* * *

Supervision by the state should be extended to all agencies, public or private, incorporated or otherwise, as receive or care for children or place children in family homes. This supervision should include the activities of individuals who care for children for hire, gain, or reward not related by blood or marriage. But this supervision should be sympathetic, helpful and constructive, and should be exercised so as to provide for the conservation of the altruistic activities of the agencies supervised.

The Committee would recommend the intensive study of the following subjects—where there is a marked difference of opinion:

Juvenile Courts

The juvenile court has been established in many parts of the country with broad powers looking to the protection of dependent and delinquent children. In some states the court administers the distribution of mothers' relief and is engaged in the actual care of dependent children. Some of these children are cared for in detention homes or institutions under the supervision of the court, and others are placed in foster families. In some of the states judges of other jurisdiction, elected by popular vote, share the juvenile court responsibility.

The Committee raises the question as to the wisdom of this procedure. To what extent should the juvenile court operate as an administrative agency in the treatment of dependent children? Is the continuing jurisdiction of the juvenile court over the wards committed to the permanent care of a placing-out agency for placement in family homes an advantage or a detriment?

Should cases of dependent children, where there is no parental neglect, be brought into the juvenile court for adjudication?

The Responsibility of the State and Private Agencies in the Care of Dependent Children

The Committee would raise the question as to the distribution of responsibility by public and private agencies for the care of all of the dependent children—that the State should assume a primary and ultimate responsibility, and that it should standardize and utilize all of its agencies to a maximum degree, there is no question. But what proportion of responsibility for the direct care of the child should be assumed by the State? In some states there is a very definite exercise of responsibility shown either through a board of children's guardians, a state board of charities, a children's bureau, or through the state public school; while in other states the burden of responsibility is borne by private organizations. If the state is responsible for the care of all its dependent and homeless children, to what extent should it employ the service of the private agencies? There are persons connected with private organizations who will show that there is an

immense amount of voluntary altruistic service which could not be developed nor controlled by the state. This is especially true of religious or church organizations. They will, moreover, show that any attempt by the state to take over work which is already being well done will tend to dry up streams of charity and benevolence which the state needs. And they will also show that the community itself is better because of the opportunity given to its citizens to participate in these humanitarian efforts. On the other hand there are persons who will show that the private agencies cannot adequately cover the field of child-caring, and in consequence of the failure of the state to provide machinery, large numbers of children are sacrificed. What shall be the division of responsibility between the public and private agencies?

Mothers' Pensions

The study of the administration of mothers' pensions in some of the states reveals the fact that the amount of money available for distribution is woefully inadequate, and the machinery for investigation and supervision in many instances insufficient; while the law contemplated a providing of sufficient funds to the mother in order that she might remain at home with her children, in actual practice the amount of money available has sometimes been insufficient to pay the rent, and while material assistance has been given, the problem has not been solved, and the mother, after a terrific struggle, ultimately has been obliged to part with her children.

This system of providing partial relief to mothers demands most intensive study.

* * * *

We would recommend the appointment of a committee to continue the work during the coming year, and that the program of the Committee be the consideration of the following subjects:

Introduction or Foreword

1. Historical background of work for dependent children.
2. Definition of terms employed in the treatment of the dependent child.
3. Standards employed by organizations in their first contact with cases.
4. Types of cases and methods of treatment and care.
5. Minimum standards in the care and treatment of dependent children in the terms of each child.
6. Application of treatment.
 - (a) In his own family.
 - (b) In a foster home.
 - I—At board.
 - II—In a free home.
 - III—In a wage home.
 - IV—In an adoption home.
 - (c) Institutions.
7. Function of state and local communities in care and treatment of dependent child.
 - (a) State responsibility and its relation to private agencies.
 - (b) Development of community plans.
 - (c) Juvenile Court—Family Court.
 - (d) Mothers' Aid.

These subjects should be assigned to different members of the Committee who should seek all available data—and call to their assistance the persons who can best help. Their work should be co-ordinated, edited and printed before the next National Conference.

* * *

The best child-caring agencies of the country have not yet satisfactorily provided a program that adequately protects all of its wards at all times.

We have indications of an awakened consciousness of the rights of defenseless children. The Federal Children's Bureau has been the great factor in this development. The "Delineator" in its present Child's Welfare program seeks to best serve the neglected children of a nation by employing the technique and utilizing the experience of the standardized agencies of the country in working out the child's whole problem, instead of using the more spectacular methods.

If child neglect continues in the community in which we live, to a large degree we are responsible. Representing the leading agencies of the entire nation there is placed upon us the responsibility for the development of constructive propaganda which will safe-guard our children. If our low standards are occasioned because of financial limitations, we have within us the ability as well as the power to educate the community in which we live. If the organization which we represent is not intensifying its work and expanding to meet growing community needs, it is failing in its possibilities. What of it if our organizations with their complex machinery maintained at an immense cost have saved a few children? Are we to remain indifferent to the needs of thousands of children in our country today subjected to extreme neglect because of our failure? This Conference will not have done its duty unless it has some anxious moments concerning its responsibility to the unreached neglected child and unless it secures in every community the development of a program which will have as its minimum the adequate protection of every child.

THE MEDICAL CLINIC ESSENTIAL TO THE PROPER CARE OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Frederic H. Knight, Supt. New England Home for Little Wanderers, Boston

The bodies of our children are interesting clinical material. An able and wholly altruistic doctor now engaged in important work in the metabolism of young children referred to the group he was studying as "very interesting clinical material." This statement was perfectly consistent with the remarkable kindness of spirit which this doctor possesses.

We are in no danger of forgetting, I think, that the problems connected with the care of the bodies of children are not theoretical merely, but vital and personal. The condition of John Smith's body is of great importance to John Smith and for practical every day reasons. The problems connected with the medical care of children come to us in the bodies of actual living human beings. In many cases these problems literally walk in. A fundamental and essential condition of success in meeting these problems is an adequate ideal. When a society undertakes the care of a child so much is at stake in the life of that child that the one responsible should search his heart to discover not only the motives which actuate him but the ideals which in the long run determine fields of effort, goals to be striven for, the quality of service to be rendered; in short, pretty much everything that goes to make up the life of the society.

The policy of the institution should correspond with the ideal, but ideal is the first great word.

We all know that the medical care received by dependent children the country over runs the whole gamut from the occasional visit of the benign general practitioner all the way up to the care and service given by an organization with a well equipped modern clinic. At one end will be found general medical knowledge plus nearness and willingness to do something for nothing on the part of the practitioner; at the other extreme everything which represents the high water mark of modern medical science. I judge that the center of gravity would be very much nearer the first extreme than the second.

Great progress in many fields of child study has been made during recent years. The most notable change in procedure has been the increased stress put upon accurate and exhaustive diagnosis. Diagnosis, therefore, is the second great word to be emphasized.

One Hundred Consecutive Cases

If at any time one should take 100 consecutive cases of children as they come to any institution or society, a thorough and skillful examination would show that possibly as many as 50 of them are mouth breathers. Someone has said that 100 of them would have carious teeth. Possibly one out of four would be from five to twenty per cent underweight. Every alternate child might be found to have round shoulders. Possibly twenty-five per cent of the group would have lateral curvature of the spine. Every tenth child might be afflicted with enuresis, and every third child in the group might be found to have foreign bodies and cerumen in the ear. Every fifth child might be found to have visual defects calling for correction with glasses, and so on and on to the end of the story.

These percentages would differ from time to time, but in my own experience I have found all of these percentages in one single segment of the work for 100 consecutive children. When, then, we read in the year book of a children's organization that during the current year there have been no physical ailments worthy of attention excepting chicken-pox and measles, the fact that such a statement can be made is proof positive that the matter of physical diagnosis has not been properly attended to. At the very least there are forty very well defined physical ailments which upon thorough diagnosis are found to occur with sufficient frequency to call for some method, preferably a well organized clinic, not only of discovering them but of dealing with them.

Let me use as an illustration of this fact a chart which I have with me which shows the list of affections exhibited by 100 consecutive so-called well children. These children were from five to fifteen years of age. Each one of them had previously been examined in a routine way and had been pronounced well, meaning, of course, that the child's heart, lungs, nervous system, etc., showed no evidence of disease.

Upon admission to our Society these 100 children received a very thorough-going physical examination at the hands of expert and interested examiners working under favorable conditions. 38 of the 40 well defined physical ailments to which I have just referred were actually found in these 100 children, and of the 100, 98 were found to have from one to eleven abnormal conditions needing treatment. One of these 100 children was a little girl five years of age. Forty-eight hours before she appeared before our examiners she had received an examination by a physician of good standing, and a really good man, who had pronounced her free from contagious disease and certified that her heart, lungs and other vital organs were normal, and summed up his diagnosis in the statement that she was "all right." So far as we discovered she was all right with the following exceptions: she had naso-pharyngeal obstruction, pediculi capitis, otitis media, cerumen, carious teeth, eczema, enuresis and vulvo-vaginitis.

The number of affections exhibited by these 100 so-called well children was, I have said, 38; that is, 38 different physical affections. The total number of affections was 429. In dealing with children it is perfectly possible to proceed upon the assumption that a doctor is a doctor and that every doctor is a diagnostician who can give and will give and does give a thorough-going and complete physical examination which covers as nearly 100 per cent of actual conditions as possible. As a matter of fact, it is well nigh impossible to find the one man who can make the kind of examination which could be expected to give a tolerably complete, scientific, differential diagno-

sis. But when diagnoses have been made by various men, each a specialist in his own field, then it is entirely possible for some one person to bring together all the facts that have been discovered and to make a plan for the child based upon this edited and unified diagnosis. In this way the diagnoses are tempered and regulated and unified by the opinion of an experienced person having authority and may then be followed by such treatment as shall fit the child for a suitable, permanent environment.

A Satisfactory Diagnosis

This indicates what our idea of a satisfactory diagnosis is; thorough, scientific examination and observation and then the bringing together synthetically of all that is found out so that all the results of the process shall be in the mind of some one responsible person.

To put the same matter in a slightly different way; no one person, probably, can find out all about any one given child. It may be accomplished without any great difficulty for one person to get all that is known of that child. This person should be experienced in the work and able to receive the reports of various experts and with a judicious mind assemble their findings and make the diagnosis upon which social treatment is to be based.

It is a matter of convenience to divide children coming to the attention of an institution or society into three groups:

First, those who may be classed as "normal," a term having, of course, wide limits but still justifiable. Those are normal from the physical standpoint, whose bodies are in such condition as to tend to social adjustment.

A second class is composed of incurables, all children whose condition is such that no amount of medical care and service can fit them for any special adjustment other than that of partial or entire dependency.

A third class, much more numerous than either of the others, and indeed much larger than the others combined, is composed of those whose bodily condition is not normal but who with sufficient medical attention of the right kind, supplemented by the child's own efforts and the cooperation of his friends, can attain unto a satisfactory social and economic adjustment.

There is, of course, apart from the normals, the incurables and the curables a fourth class of those whose condition may be relieved or who in spite of permanent physical handicaps may yet do a good measure of work in the world.

Children Already Tagged

It is amazing how many of these children come to the care of a society already tagged from this standpoint. They have become known in their families and in the community as all right or all wrong or what not.

One of the very first results of adequate examination and observation such as a well equipped clinic can insure will be the discovery that many of these tags are wrongly placed. Many children are called normal who are not so; others are called incurable who are not so, and what is quite as serious there is a very large number of those who are known to be not normal but have been mistakenly considered not sufficiently abnormal to justify any serious attention.

What the average society has to do so far as protracted care of children is concerned is to select out of the so-called normal class the children who do not really belong there and then to reduce the number of children who are not normal physically to the lowest possible terms by lifting every last one with whom we deal, so far as we can do so, up into the class of those who are whole and fit.

We are well on the way toward success in dealing with children when we have secured this type of a diagnosis. To stop at the diagnosis is, of course, to fail.

It might be well at this time to mention what we believe to be three very wise maxims:

First, nothing should be overlooked and nothing should be forgotten.

Second, nothing should be under-estimated.

Third, no abnormality should be suffered to remain uncured until everything possible has been done to effect a cure. There are certain physical ailments which may be depended upon to compel recognition; for instance, enuresis. There are other physical ailments which are commonly under-estimated, and therefore insufficient attention is given to them. Such would be underweight, although now more than ever before the whole country is stirred up upon this matter. A deviated septum, a middle ear with very slight discharge, venereal disease when there are no obvious clinical symptoms, postural defects which indicate spinal curvature and certain defects of vision and hearing are quite likely to escape notice.

Venereal Disease in Children

In all probability there are altogether too few organizations dealing with children who face fairly and squarely the problem of venereal disease in children. A letter which I have received from the Chief of Division of Baby Welfare of the Department of Relief of New York City, contains the following sentences:

"Modern prophylaxis requires in our opinion that all female children admitted to institutions, irrespective of clinical signs, should have smears taken, and in the event of positive findings should either be refused admission, if such is the policy of the institution, or if admitted should be properly and carefully isolated, to say nothing, of course, of special care to be taken of thermometers, towels, napkins, clothing, beddings, etc. It is common experience to find this trouble in baby girls of 2 or 3 years of age in whose family and social history there is nothing to point toward a gonorrheal condition."

Dr. Francis Sage Bradley, of the Children's Bureau in Washington, wrote one of my correspondents saying,—“From an economic standpoint, if from no other, Dr. Knight's plan of requiring a smear from every female child coming under their care would seem a wise precaution, etc.”

There is grave reason to believe that organizations dealing with children are not dealing fairly and squarely with defects of vision. At this point the well equipped clinic is of great service. The tests of vision in ordinary use in schools appear to be fairly adequate, yet a large number of defects escape detection or at least fail of adequate treatment. How many of us are guarding the child's welfare so far as his eyes are concerned during the interval between the baby clinic and the public school system. Our own staff psychologist is of the opinion that much of the trouble of after life arises from delaying the examination of the eyes of children until they reach the public school.

Summary

The ideal, then, in physical inspection and medical treatment of children in institutions or dependent children anywhere should be the discovering of 100 per cent of all that pertains to the physical life and condition of every child. The policy of the institution should correspond with this ideal and make it real in actual practice. There should be a hundred per cent diagnosis based upon a thorough-going, scientific examination and observation. Nothing should be overlooked, nothing forgotten. Then someone must be found who can organize the resources of the community for the remedying of defects so far as they may be remedied and for furnishing a suitable environment with proper supervision for each child. In this way an attempt is made at least to do 100 per cent of the task and this should be the ideal toward which we all strive.

BIOLOGICAL CRITERIA IN THE SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF CHILDREN

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Health conservation methods represent the most potent contribution to modern civilization. Preventive medicine undertakes to apply their principles. In this important field no department is more vital than that of Social Medicine, whose exponents are the social case worker and administrator. Sanitation and the pathological aspects of Preventive Medicine hitherto have so largely dominated its scientific fields that Public Health servants generally have failed adequately to comprehend the importance of its social side, feeling, as has well been said, that Social Medicine is too *humane* to be scientific.

Data of Social Medicine

Although inadequately organized in this country Social Medicine has developed sufficiently to recognize some of its shortcomings of which one of the most serious is its inexact technic. Its data want scientific exactness because they are founded on uncontrolled descriptive methods mainly, failing to recognize the fundamental principle of true science that results, in order to be compared must be measured; that a quantitative standard must be adopted. Qualitative or descriptive methods are imperative in the treatment of the individual case; they are at the basis of adequate attempts at adjustment, yet the quantitative or exact statements of experimental results are fundamental in discovering causes and in interpreting effects in their relation to the community. Principles founded upon quantitative data may be submitted to legal citation and codification for they eliminate or at least control the personal equation which plays an important role in the disorganization of ethical standards.

In the evolution of knowledge the first vivid impressions of a subject generally are inexact and prone to misinterpretation. Such a situation is represented in Social Medicine by the term *feeble-minded* and by the inadequate conception maintained in respect to epilepsy.

Probably no term is more unfortunate in this respect than the crude descriptive epithet with which we characterize the results of attempts to measure individual mental capacity. Inadequate from a scientific standpoint, because it leads to inexact comparisons, it is insufficient from a social standpoint because it fails to justify the qualifications of two individuals termed feeble-minded, one of whom proves to be a shiftless vagrant while the other is a competent though perhaps limited artisan, a considerate husband and father, and a respectable citizen. Is it any wonder that sometimes our legal confreres receive our obscure, professional recommendations in a spirit of skepticism?

Equally blameworthy is the tendency to cling to antiquated notions concerning the social incapacity of all children having epilepsy whose unbalanced condition is taken for granted as an excuse for exclusion from the public schools and for hesitation in adopting a rational plan of adjustment without resort to the use of drugs.

Biological Analysis

Without quibbling over terms, for after all principles should be the main contention, our chief appeal must be directed toward establishing a biological analysis of the child as an organism made of the same materials, fashioned after the same pattern as other animals subject to experimental treatment. The purpose of such a conception is seen in the better results obtained in children treated as experimental problems in comparison with those who are not so studied but whose adjustments are based on the narrower deter-

mination of a crude intelligence test alone or even worse on the basis of "commonsense notions" of right and wrong.

Yet the value of intelligence tests should not be underestimated. The psychological question, what is the child's mental capacity and quality is a fundamental one, but its fundamental nature lies in its relation to broader biological conceptions. Whoever will consider the psychological principles in general use in most of our public schools will be able to judge how completely the processes of thought, whose results we see in our children's attempts to reason, have been detached from the fundamental forces of character, the individual's instinctive and emotional tendencies at the base of his interests, his anxieties, his worries, and his conflicts.

What case worker has not been mystified still further in the adjustment of a difficult child by the superficial statement of feeble-mindedness with the recommendation that generally accompanies this diagnosis? If the case has been adjusted on an experimental basis by studying the relationship of the conflict to the individual's assets, his interests and the expected result, what worker, in the light of later progress, has not questioned the value of a psychological diagnosis only?

We may be spared too many of the details concerned with biological criteria and the principles upon which our fundamental clinical questions depend, suggesting merely a few topics in the complete analysis of the child's personality. This analysis we feel is a necessary preliminary in the consideration of every social problem. Recognition, at least, of its need should be a part of the equipment of every case worker, whose enthusiasm must not look too deeply for Freudian mechanisms nor on the other hand try to solve the problem without scientific insight. It is imperative to appreciate that simple situations such as fears relating to studies and worries over stupid school tasks unsuited to the unusual mind may organize themselves into the potent forces underlying many anxieties of childhood and that these naive worries may constitute the fundamental pivot upon which an adjustment may turn.

Fundamental Features

There are, however, in the biological analysis of the individual two sources of observation that appear to offer a starting point for all social inquiries. In the first place the mental capacity of the subject must be estimated and expressed in a manner admitting comparison. Moreover it is of special assistance to adjustment to have some judgment upon which to base one's expectation of conduct. If we analyze conduct we find that it is the expression of character and character is the resultant of our instinctive and emotional development and organization. Such social agencies as religions, the realm of letters, the art of music,—long have recognized the important place filled by the feelings. The scientist has been the slow pupil. If we recall the dominating influence of our fears, our tendencies to anger and disgust, our expression of joy in play, our curiosity, our aggressiveness, our loves and hates, we shall see what an important field for examination we have failed adequately to correlate with the results of our estimations of intelligence.

Let me illustrate. A fifteen year old boy of poor antecedents, good health and normal physical organization wants to leave school where he has been a nuisance for eight years. His mental capacity corresponds to that of the usual six and a half year old child. His intelligence coefficient is .40. Analysis of his personality shows the presence of thoroughly undeveloped and unorganized instinctive and emotional tendencies. There are no hidden conflicts in his life, no obscure purposes dominate his conduct. His plans and interests are as shallow as his intelligence. The boy is a potential crook and in spite of his inferior mental capacity is keen enough to recognize that a vocational permit is the simplest way to avoid truancy and the law. After two weeks of shiftless make-believe he reported that he had lost his job and

couldn't find another. He wanted a newsboy's permit; instead of which he was given the choice between school attendance and vocational work. He accepted the former and ran away. During the several months since his return he has been a constant social problem. He represents the unintelligent, unbalanced type of boy.

In answer to the natural reply that this is the usual behavior of a feeble-minded person one may present the following comparison. A fifteen year old boy of poor antecedents, good health and physique wishes to leave school and follow his natural interest in industrial work. Seven years of public school treatment have availed little in his case. There are no special features to account for his failure to progress. His dullness is from general disability. His behavior and conduct have shown normal development and organization and his various accidents and injuries have resulted from stupidity alone. His vocational placing was carefully supervised, taking into account his interests and his inferior intelligence. During the first few weeks he had to be shown to and from his factory until he had learned the way. Yet he has never wanted to change his job during the year past; he has worked regularly; his improvement has been recognized by an increase in wages until he is now earning \$15 a week. He likes and is liked by his employers. He represents a frequent example of the type of low grade, well-balanced individual.

So far as their mental capacity is concerned these two boys are equally endowed. Their first examination, however, foretold that we are dealing with radically different types of personality. Studied as experimental problems in Social Medicine their reactions have conformed to our earlier impressions, viz., that one has an inherently unstable instinctive and emotional disposition while the other is well balanced instinctively and emotionally. The instinctive and emotional foundations of character, therefore, are fundamental, though not necessarily correlated with intelligence.

"Feeble Minded" an Inadequate Term

From the point of view of mental capacity compare the psychological classification generally adopted with a social classification based on experimentation in the case of several hundred boys, between the ages of fourteen and sixteen, backward at school and therefore eligible for vocational permits. Judged by psychological standards alone, thirteen per cent of the group have an intelligence coefficient of .50 or less, i. e., they are dependent individuals. Fifty-two per cent have an intelligence coefficient of from .51 to .70, the range of semi-dependents. Thirty-two per cent, with an intelligence coefficient of from .71 to .90 are moderately intelligent children and three per cent of the whole group are normal. Under the usual classification sixty-five per cent of the entire number are feeble-minded. Yet carefully analyzed, suitably adjusted in industries correlating their interests and abilities, ninety per cent of these boys have made a satisfactory adjustment and are self-supporting in the usual social environment.

This result does not signify that all individuals with a low mental capacity can be independent in the community. Institutions for the care of mentally incapacitated persons who can not otherwise be adjusted always will be necessary. Available data indicate, however, that *the community supplies as wide a range of vocational demands as is needed to adjust all degrees of intelligence* and if recommendations for placing children are based upon psychological estimates alone unfortunate errors may result.

The Epileptic Syndrome

Numerically inferior to the group whose social maladjustment relates specifically to general mental incapacity, yet superior in the significance of their biological problem, are cases presenting the phenomena of epilepsy. Among children classified as epileptics are some who present features indica-

tive of brain deterioration; an increasingly large number, however, are found upon analysis to show emotional tendencies intimately correlated with their convulsive manifestations whose relief follows upon instinctive adjustment. Epilepsy, therefore, is an important consideration for Social Medicine, with fears, anxieties, and similar features relating to school tasks, sexual conflicts, parental antipathies, vocational worries, etc., calling for an intelligent social investigation.

Time permits but a glance at four illustrative cases. An inherently neurotic boy of fourteen, of normal intelligence and in physical health had typical attacks of epilepsy twice weekly from the age of ten. No sexual determinants were present. Always timorous, very sensitive to disgust, the boy reached the third grade in school at ten. Thereupon his attacks organized themselves about his worries over school tasks, especially that relating to arithmetic. Various attempts at adjustment failed. Drugs were resorted to without avail. On removal from school at thirteen the attacks ceased and have not since returned. Idleness, however, resulted in vagabondage which was adjusted by suitable vocational placement.

Two boys, twelve years of age, have been under observation for two years. Adjustment of school tasks inducing anxieties have been sufficient at various times to calm their fears and prevent true epileptic phenomena evidently dependent thereon. Reappearance of epileptic attacks has been related definitely to the return of the school worries.

A school girl of eight, very intelligent and emotionally unstable, has had a number of epileptic attacks always traceable to fatigue and unsuitable food. Under a strict regime there had been no attacks for a year until a fatiguing picnic party brought on a serious seizure. Since the adoption several months ago of a rigid plan of living no attacks have occurred.

Significance of Heredity

No consideration of the biological aspects of Social Medicine would be adequate that left unsaid a word of comment on current notions about heredity and mental defect.

Although the imposing charts of social administrators interested in the segregation of defectives emphasize the important bearing upon "feeble-mindedness" of the Mendelian hypothesis, the biological application of this principle to human problems fails to justify such a contention. For after all it was not the formulation of these fundamental principles that most enriched our view of heredity. This led, however, to the discovery of the mechanism itself and its method of functioning. The recognition of the cellular elements, is the important feature to emphasize. Now in this broader conception of the subject of heredity, based upon studies of its chromosomal mechanism, we find that the problem of tracing hereditary tendencies; comparatively simple in easily controlled organisms,—presents an infinite degree of complexity when transferred to the human organism whose crosses and reproductive features are quite beyond controlled observation. Our foremost biologist in this field cautions against accepting hereditary assumptions as strictly true, for "values are known to differ according to different environmental conditions and to differ even in different parts of the mechanism of heredity as a result of the presence of specific factors." Consequently, although "feeble-mindedness" is said to be a recessive character of frequent occurrence, it may not actually appear unless exact conditions are favorable and even then may become inactive when mated with normal and dominant characters. To be sure the probabilities of intellectual dominance are much higher in some families than in others, but as Conklin has well said: "No family has a monopoly of good or bad traits."

This point of view should lead us to emphasize more concretely two aspects of our problem, viz., the role of developmental factors in the production of individual peculiarities in biological makeup, recalling that these

factors rarely, if ever, have hereditary value; and the greater promise that hereditary holds in encouraging social efforts to improve deteriorated families. The probability is also to be stressed that the human organism of all degrees of intelligence rarely, if ever, reaches the possibilities of its environment and attains its potential hereditary powers.

The breadth of view which a biological interpretation of social cases is able to furnish, if only from the standpoint of the first placing of dependent children, would appear to justify its more general adoption. Its message may be aimed at certain cherished beliefs, not in order to destroy them, but rather scientifically to rationalize and coordinate them with religious, legal and other social agencies and to help in establishing an adequate standard of right and wrong.

RELATION OF PERSONALITY STUDY TO CHILD PLACING

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There was a time, not very long ago, a time which continues into the present in many communities in this country, when the only problem of placing a friendless child was that of finding someone, anyone, to take it. Any town official or group of city fathers would be competent to decide that the Jones family, being respectable and God-fearing, were just the people to bring up Mary Brown and that Mary was a lucky girl to find such a home. Or, if there were an orphan asylum available, Mary's fate would be settled even more simply.

Evolution of Standards in Child Care

Today our organized child-placing agencies look back upon such methods as upon the dark ages. They know that only the trained worker is competent to place a child, they recognize the necessity of family history if it can be obtained, of physical examination and correction of physical handicaps before placement. They stand for adequate investigation of the foster home and a supervision of the child in that home after placement. The most advanced of the child-caring agencies also undertake to deal with the question of possible mental defect by requiring mental tests for all children or for any who are in the least doubtful. A very few agencies have come to the point where, in their attempt to solve the problem of the bright but difficult child, they realize that time must be taken to study such a child thoroughly and definitely. This has meant usually the assistance of a psychiatrist, or of a psychologist who goes beyond mental testing, with a few of the most pronounced cases and a very intensive job of placing these most seriously maladjusted children in an effort to carry out the psychiatrist's recommendations.

Problem of Expense

It has seemed to be a costly process because of the time and special technique required, but on the other hand the placing and replacing of a problematic child, perhaps ten or even twenty times in the course of a few years, is also costly and there would seem to be no promise of anything but growing expense to the state as long as such a child is allowed to go on in a make-shift way until he finally lands in a correctional institution or hospital for mental disease or defect. That is, the agencies are just beginning to understand that there is no way to avoid entirely the time and expense which are caused by the maladjusted child. The only hope is to reduce them to a minimum by grappling with the problem as soon as it appears instead of shifting or postponing it by another chance placement. The problem child is such a costly, nagging, persistent proposition that unless

we can succeed in passing on the responsibility to someone else, which we are prone to do if we can, we are forced to bring intelligence to bear upon his case. In other words, time and money we are bound to use in caring for a child who presents a behavior problem. The only question is, shall we use them intentionally, in an attempt to understand and re-educate the child, or shall we use them unintentionally in our efforts to evade, postpone, patch up or pass on a job which involves the life and happiness of a human being.

The stumbling block in the way of carrying out the study of such children is the belief that nothing can be done unless it is possible to obtain the skilled analysis treatment and recommendations of the psychiatrist, men like Dr. Campbell and Dr. Healy, who have made the mental life of the child an object of special investigation. Many agencies have no such men available in their towns. Is there nothing to do but wait until there are enough psychiatrists and practical psychologists to go round?

What Can Be Done Without the Psychiatrist

It seems to me our difficulty lies in a fundamental misconception of the relation of abnormal to normal and a consequent belief that we can do nothing with so-called abnormal children unless we possess some mysterious technique which has no relation or application to our every-day normal cases. Recently the physician of a children's clinic was heard to say, "For the children's worker, all itching skin conditions are scabies and to be treated as such." We may equally well declare that for the child-placing agency *all children are abnormal* in the sense that no child is so simple that it is not worth while to become intimately acquainted with his personality.

If we started at this end of the problem and instead of marking off a group of children as psychopathic or abnormal, we began trying to understand from the inside the personality of every child we undertook to place, taking enough time to get at the actual details of his mental and social make-up, as consciously and systematically as we now do his teeth, tonsils and adenoids, we should go far in eliminating many of the cases which now seem to belong to the abnormal class and there would remain a comparatively small group of those who are too complex and too far removed from normal to be treated without a special technique.

I do not mean to say that I believe even an incomplete and partial personality study can be made without trained intelligence, some psychological insight and a definite method of obtaining data—but I do believe it ought to be possible to obtain all these qualifications inside the staff of a good child-placing agency and that under such conditions much can be done to correct behavior problems and adjust difficult children without resorting to a specialist; not that the guidance of a psychiatrist is not desirable if it can be obtained, but that failure to obtain it does not release us from obligation to carry our study of the child as far as possible.

We have gotten to the point of trying to know something about the dependent child's heredity and we insist on a history and study of his physical condition as far as possible. Is it too much to ask, no matter how many children we have to place, that we know something intimate, personal and specific about the child himself? Is there any use in pretending to do intelligent child-placing unless we do know our children first? Surely, at best, the removal of any child from the family on which he has depended and by which he has been formed, into strange medium to which he must adapt as best he may, is the most experimental and delicate of tasks. Can we hope to approach anything like a scientific attitude towards child-placing while we remain in ignorance of the most important condition of the experiment, the personality of the child who is placed?

I am sure no one here would oppose such a proposition and yet I doubt whether many of us are taking any systematic steps to study the intellectual,

emotional and instinctive make-up of the children we place. We would like to, but we think we haven't time and we think it takes a psychologist or a psychiatrist. It does take time—but no more time than the unknown child consumes in the trial and error method of placing where success is more or less of an accident and may come only after many placements. Then there would be the tremendous saving of having one approach and one system for all kinds of children which would eliminate the need of special machinery except for the very abnormal child.

Methods of Personality Study: History

In the brief time that remains, may I suggest some of the ways in which any agency could make such a study. First: a different kind of history could be obtained, one that would try to give a real picture of the child from the standpoint of the immediate family, relatives, friends and the school teachers. Such a history is not obtained through filling in any blank. It comes only from allowing people to talk on and on under suggestive skillful questioning. It is acquired only by the insight and keenness that comes from a real desire to know what kind of a child this was. When a child is presented for study to a psychiatrist the first thing he wants to know is when the behavior difficulty appeared? Was it characteristic of the child in its own home or has it sprung up in the foster home? What kind of a child was it when the agency took it? There is no reason why it should not be part of the agency's job to get personal as well as family history, to learn all about the child that other people can tell them. This is not enough, however, because accounts of children are often misleading. They are one-sided. They tell what the child did but not why he did it. They fail to give the nature of the stimulus to which the child re-acted. For instance, I am told that a boy runs away. I am not told that his father has a habit of beating him. This is a crude illustration of much subtler situations where we get a wrong impression of our child because we do not get complete accounts. That is the reason for getting the stories of as many different people as possible.

Interviews and Mental Tests

Given the best history we can get, what more is needed? The minimum requirement is the personal contact and interviews with the child amounting to at least an hour or two altogether on the part of the agent who is to make the placement. That seems absurdly inadequate but it is better than not knowing the child at all, as is sometimes the case. An intelligence test, not for diagnosis but to get a line on the intellectual caliber of the child and to get a little better idea of his reactions is a great help toward knowing your child in a hurry. Anyone of average intelligence and judgment can be standardized sufficiently to use an intelligence test like the Stanford Revision as a guide to sizing up a child. It is a real aid in placement of a child to have some objective measure of his ability and frequently the testing brings out other factors. Also it is an easy way of getting acquainted.

A careful descriptive human history together with physical examinations and mental tests and a few friendly talks, is the beginning of knowing the child, but it's only a beginning. It will eliminate some of the grossest errors, that is all. It is at least better than some of us are doing now, and there is no excuse that I can see for not coming up to such a simple standard.

Observation

If we want to know our children well enough to be able to place them on the basis of the personal equation and straighten out the conduct difficulties before they become too ingrained and complicated, I see only one way, and that is a period of observation sooner or later in the child's career. Such observation might be in a special boarding home with a foster

mother trained to observe and record what children do and under what conditions they do it. She would need to be a person with a real interest in children and a gift for dealing with them. You want to see your child under favorable conditions where he is free and happy and most himself. You want to know what is the best self he is capable of. Then you will have a standard for judging your permanent placement. If he develops ugly and disagreeable reactions, you will know there it is not *all* the child but child-in-response-to-environment. If your children are housed in a detention home while awaiting placement, a day school under happy auspices and with intelligent teachers makes an excellent observation center. But whatever your machinery it will be worthless if the animating motive is not the desire to see the child as he is or may be under conditions most favorable to happiness and spontaneous expression.

Objectives

Finally, to get the most out of such a study you need to set yourself certain tasks, you must aim to find out certain things about every child and then get it down in written form so that the record gives a vivid but accurate impression of the child as he appeared at that time. In the little day school organized on the play school plan which Seybert Institution operates for the purpose of making just such personality studies of the children in the Temporary Shelter at Philadelphia, the teachers are asked to keep in mind certain points in observing the children. Their general aim is to see how the child is using his troublesome behavior as a form of adjustment, to what he is adjusting by that means, and how he can be led to a more happy and successful method of adapting. The following outline is suggestive of what they try to discover.

1. Child's adjustment to other people

In work In play Generally	}	Affectionate Sociable Solitary Individualistic Leader, etc. Hostile	}	Opposite sex Children Adults
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2. Child's way of meeting a difficult or problematic situation.

In work In play In social relations	}	Persistence Giving up quickly Temper Sullenness Indifference Change of Activity, etc. Evasion
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3. What are his interests or aversions?
4. What can he do well? What does he do badly?
5. How does he work?

Manual Book work, etc. Organized Play

6. Can he learn? Does he follow directions?
7. Does he show any unusual or marked emotional re-actions and under what circumstances?
8. Has he any marked peculiarities of behavior, such as taking things, story-telling, any nervous habit, any sex habit?

With these suggestions in mind, the teachers keep daily records of the specific things the children do and say. Every week they write up their own impressions of the child. Finally, we all get together and on the basis of mental tests, interviews, school diaries, write out what seems to us a fair account of the kind of child we have to deal with and what may fairly be expected of him.

There is nothing in this which any intelligent, patient observer may not

do. It takes as much time as you can allow and the problem demands, anywhere from one week to two months. I should say it ought never to be less than two weeks. We change our mind so often about children within the course of three or four weeks as we learn different phases of their characters that we have adopted a very tentative open-minded attitude towards our supposedly final conclusions. Such an attitude ought to characterize all such attempts to study personality. The self is a very complex, elusive, changing phenomenon and we should approach it with an humble spirit, an open mind and a desire not so much to judge as to understand.

THE CLEARING HOUSE FOR JUVENILE COURTS

Henry H. Goddard, Director, Ohio Bureau of Juvenile Research, Columbus

A State clearing house for the Juvenile Courts is the logical step when we have arrived at that stage of social evolution where we begin to ask, "Why are children delinquents?" and are convinced that in the words of a well known advertisement, "There is a reason."

Formerly we thought that all people who acted badly did so from pure wickedness and the only thing to do was to apply proper punishment. We had Courts and Judges for the purpose of ascertaining the guilt of such persons and then prescribing suitable punishment for their wrong. Gradually the idea developed that children were not quite the same as adults and deserved a little different treatment and we established Juvenile Courts. More recently, someone questioned the adequacy of our simple and easy answer that all wrong doing is due to inherent wickedness for which the individual is responsible. Once that question was raised and we began to look around for other possible answers, it was quickly discovered that as a matter of fact there were many reasons why children did wrong things and that these reasons were not always in accordance with the responsibility of the child.

It was found that there were diseased conditions that could only be detected by medical examination. In other cases there were mental conditions that could be better discovered by the psychologists. In other cases social conditions of environment that could be found out by the sociologists and still other causes to be discovered by special investigation. The logical conclusion from all this was, that the Judge, who may be a man expert in the law, but is not usually trained in either one of these other lines and probably never in all of them, could not be expected, even if he had the time, to investigate all these possible causes. Therefore it became necessary to establish other agencies who should attend to this part of the work.

In 1914 the State of Ohio established a Bureau of Juvenile Research for the purpose of serving in this capacity of ascertaining the causes of delinquency, in all cases of sufficient importance as to require State care and treatment. According to this law any Judge of the Juvenile Court may send a child to the Board of Administration, which Board was authorized to establish the above mentioned Bureau to whom the child is turned over for study and examination. Their report is then rendered to the Board of Administration, who then assigns the child to the proper institution.

The Ohio Bureau has not yet come into full functioning because the Legislature which authorized its establishment, failed to make any financial provision. A later Legislature, that of 1917, appropriated \$100,000 for buildings. Those buildings are now nearly completed and comprise a large laboratory

and administration building, and two cottages for the care of children while under observation.

According to the plan, all these cases committed to the Board of Administration are sent to Columbus, placed in the observation cottage there to be examined thoroughly and studied as long as necessary to ascertain the exact cause of the delinquency and then treatment is prescribed in accordance with such findings. The causes so far discovered are first, feeble-mindedness. Out of several hundred cases sent in by the Courts approximately forty per cent are at once diagnosed as feeble-minded. Almost as many more are held in abeyance because it is generally considered to be really a serious error to call a child feeble-minded who is not so, but the large proportion of this group will eventually be found in the class of feeble-minded. At first thought this large percentage is appalling and so shocking that many persons have found themselves unable to accept it. Until recently we have had no convincing proof of the matter. While almost universally accepted by all those people who have had experience with considerable groups of feeble-minded people, there were many others who have not had this experience and who felt that the methods of determining feeble-mindedness could not be relied upon. It is therefore in the interest of truth and public welfare a great satisfaction to have the matter settled as it has been settled by recent events. This has come about as one of the by-products of the war. The subject is a rather interesting one, but rather long. Briefly it is as follows:

When the United States went into the war it was determined that all the recruits to the army should have their intelligence measured and determined as well as possible with a view to assigning each man to the work that he could do best. Accordingly methods were devised for this purpose, and after being thoroughly tested out and accepted by the government, were applied to 1,700,000 soldiers. The results of that work disclosed facts in regard to the composition of society which are more significant and more far-reaching than anything that has been discovered for many a day. The government report is not yet complete, but so far they have told us a few most important facts.

For example, ten per cent, approximately, of the drafted army was found to have such low intelligence that they were not thought worth while to be sent overseas. Seventy per cent from the drafted army were, according to the report, below high school grade. This does not mean merely that they were not in high school, but, what is of much more significance, that they have not sufficient intelligence to do high school work, even if they had the opportunity. It must be remembered that these percentages, based as they are on such a large number of soldiers, are applicable to the entire population of the country or to any homogeneous group, such as the population of the city or the school population or any similar collection of individuals. In such a large proportion of persons with limited intelligence it cannot be wondered at that a great many of them will find it impossible to adjust themselves to modern social conditions and the conventions of society, and it must be at once evident that we have a right to expect that a large proportion of people who make up our social problems are people of this relatively limited intelligence and that all of our social work is necessarily missing the mark if it ignores these facts. As applied to the particular problems of the Juvenile Court, it should be no surprise that a very high percentage of the people coming before these Courts is of the mentally defective class.

Of the remainder, some are psychopathic, that is to say, afflicted with a mental disease which accounts for their conduct. Another very significant fact is becoming clear, namely, that a large part of these psychopathic children are cases of inherited syphilis.

There is another small group of cases of fairly normal physical and mental conditions where the bad conduct is the result, pure and simple, of environment. It is usually the home environment, sometimes that of the

neighborhood. It is the business of the Bureau of Juvenile Research to receive these cases and when the causes are determined, the treatment is prescribed that best fits the condition found.

Thus the clearing house for the Juvenile Courts is an attempt to apply rational methods to the solution of the great problem of delinquency.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

In the informal discussion which ensued, after a number of questions had been answered by the leading speakers, the following remarks were made:

Dr. Helen T. Woolley of Cincinnati said that she did not agree with *Dr. Goddard* in thinking that our present system of mental tests gave a measure of native ability uninfluenced by education. The army tests showed that southern Negroes were about two years in mental age below the northern Negroes, and a similar difference was found between northern Italians and southern Italians. This difference she attributed to the markedly better educational facilities of the northern Italian and the northern Negro, rather than to a superiority of native endowment. Furthermore, she reported that a series of cases tested in her own laboratory demonstrated that superior educational treatment of backward children raised their intelligence quotients. She pointed out further that *Dr. Goddard's* argument seemed to imply that those individuals whose intelligence was greatest, were those with the most unselfish interest in the public good. Unfortunately, such is not necessarily the case. In England the labor party and the cooperative societies are made up of the great mass of the population, not of the intellectually superior thirty per cent, but *Mrs. Barton's* account of their activities had, she said, convinced many members of this Conference that those organizations have made the greatest contribution to the public welfare yet offered.

Dr. S. Josephine Baker of New York stated that of 200 children reported to be backward and considered sub-normal in New York, more careful examination showed that 90 were normal mentally, but had other retarding defects, such as myopia.

TEACHING HEALTH TO CHILDREN

L. Emmett Holt, M. D., LL. D., Professor of Diseases of Children, Columbia University, New York

There are two things which every American woman was once supposed to know how to do without previous preparation or instruction. One was to teach school and the other to bring up children. We have learned long since the error of this first assumption and more recently have come to realize the mistake in the second also and to appreciate its serious consequences.

The other members of the animal kingdom have been endowed by Nature with an instinct which is a trustworthy guide, not only for the mother in the care of her young, but for the immature individual for its growth and protection. Unfortunately the human species is supplied with no such instinct. About the laws of life and health we know only what we have learned either from our own experience or what we have been taught of that of others. Some of our health knowledge represents family experience or racial customs. Many of these are the result of prejudice or even superstition. Much of it rests upon ideas long proven by modern science to be erroneous.

Our ancient system of domestic medicine and hygiene is now out of date. No longer can the family volume of household practice supply what parents need to know to secure the proper development and preserve the health of their children. A better and sounder basis for hygienic rules now exists and must be brought to the home, for practice should keep pace with knowledge. There should then be systematic teaching of the laws and rules of health to all the members of the community.

The idea that bad conditions affecting health can be removed simply by passing laws has long since been exploded; for unless the public has been

taught the meaning and the necessity of health rules it is impossible to get them enforced. Health education thus is a fundamental need of our day if we would permanently improve either public or personal health.

Health Teaching of Adult Not Satisfactory

Who shall be the health teacher? The natural teacher of these rules of living which are essential to health is of course the mother and the natural place for such teaching is the home, and if the mother has the intelligence and the knowledge and the home is what it should be, a foundation is here laid that is invaluable for the future. But the mother does not know by instinct, and who shall teach her? Formerly almost her sole instructor was her mother and hence there came into existence family traditions—a mass of knowledge or half-knowledge, some of it useful, but much of it without any rational basis whatever. Health education in the home we must have, but the health instruction by the average mother clearly does not fill the need today.

The next person who would naturally be thought of as the health teacher is the family physician, and certainly this should be a large part of the service which he renders. But unfortunately most families do not appreciate this and only consult a physician on the occasion of illness or accident. Besides, the great majority of physicians have given very little time to teaching how to preserve health and perhaps have considered it hardly a part of their function. Certainly as a means of general public instruction in health matters the family physician has not met the situation.

Health teaching by public health officials, both doctors and nurses, has made a great impression upon the communities where it has been carried on, especially in the last ten years. Such health education has come to be recognized as of fundamental importance; it is because of this and not because disease is more successfully treated that the great reduction in the sickness and death rate has been effected. Unless backed by educational agencies efforts at improvement in public health have almost invariably proved to be very transitory in their efforts.

Health Teaching in the Home Has Been Inadequate

The greatest mistake made in public health teaching in the past has been that the instruction has been directed almost entirely to the adults of the community. But adults are proverbially poor pupils in any school. It is hard for them to unlearn what they have been taught in childhood, whether in this country or abroad, and any modern health instruction given to them must begin by removing many of the bad health habits which they have practiced all their lives. They are often grossly ignorant in regard to the nature of disease, how it is caused, how it spreads, how it can be prevented. Their superstitions and prejudices make it difficult to influence them. Their minds are very resistant to new ideas which affect such fundamental things as their food and their health habits. It may well be said of much of the health knowledge of adults that it is not that the great mass of people are so ignorant, but, as Artemus Ward, I think it was, has said, "they know so many things that are not so." It is becoming increasingly evident that we have begun too late with our health instruction. The child is the fittest subject in which to instill proper health knowledge. He has no prejudices to overcome; his mind is virgin soil to receive any seed of truth in health or other matters; he delights in the knowledge of the simple things which relate to his daily experience.

School the Proper Place

It is particularly in the schools that the opportunities of teaching health are the greatest and this opportunity has been as yet scarcely recognized. In

the school the child is under continuous observation for eight or nine years; his attendance is compulsory; he cannot, if he will, altogether escape the influences of education; he goes to school to learn; he is at a teachable age, in a teachable mood, and the school has the machinery for teaching. The opportunity which the school offers to give instruction to groups of children is very important; for it is usually found that instruction is more impressive and commands more attention than that given to individuals. The long period of school life permits a great variety of health teaching, "from the simplest things taught the youngest to the wider knowledge which can be given the eldest. Much more can be done in school than even in the most enlightened homes. In fact, the home itself is often reached through the child, so that the parent indirectly may feel the influence of such teaching almost as much as the child.

It is easy, if right methods are employed, to interest the child in health and it is not difficult to influence him in the formation of good habits. The twig is so easily bent; in most matters habits are not yet formed, and it is just as easy to form good habits as to form bad ones. All of these things combine to make childhood the golden period of life in which to teach health.

Teaching Public Health

We have spoken of teaching health; exactly what do we include under this heading and how much may be taught to children? There are clearly two distinct kinds of health instruction. One relates to matters of public or social health and is largely concerned with the prevention of diseases which may spread through the community. The relation of these scourges to faulty hygiene and sanitation, the fact that they may be spread through milk or water supply or by mosquitoes, flies, rats, lice or other vermin, all these may easily be understood by older children. They then will recognize the importance of the sanitary laws for a city, and will generally be found to be the most conscientious observers of these laws. They can easily appreciate what it means to have milk and water supply closely watched by experts and the value of clean streets, the necessity for proper disposal of sewage, garbage, etc. They can understand also why quarantine is necessary in communicable diseases and easily accept this curtailment of individual liberty for the sake of all.

The results of the campaigns against tuberculosis, malaria, typhoid or yellow fever or small pox should be familiar to all and there is no reason why much of this should not be given in the schools. These stories, when properly presented by one who knows how to write for children, can be made quite as interesting as the campaigns of Napoleon or Alexander and vastly more profitable.

The economic value of health is something even a child can appreciate—what it has meant to some parts of the world to get rid of malaria; how this made possible the building of the Panama Canal; what it meant during the war to keep soldiers fit for duty who were serving in a malarial country. For instance, it is reported by Castellani, an Italian physician, who was stationed at Salonika, that in the Greek army, which took no precautions, 100 per cent of officers and men were attacked with malaria, while in another army in the same place, whose soldiers were protected against the mosquito and all of whom were given quinine, only 3 per cent of the officers and 6 per cent of the men were attacked.

Much good literature for children on health matters has appeared in the last few years, but it has not yet found its proper place in the schools. If only we can get the children in our schools interested in these great public health problems, it is not going to be difficult to secure adequate health legislation or public support for the enforcement of any advanced health measures which may in the future become necessary. The older children in our schools

will very soon form our voting population and their education along the lines suggested cannot be taken too seriously, if we are to have a public intelligent in these health matters.

Teaching Health Habits

The other phase of health instruction is that which might in contrast with the foregoing be termed private or personal health. It is to be carried on along quite different lines from those employed in instruction in public health. It should be begun with little children of eight or nine. Here the chief purpose should be to stimulate to the formation of good health habits; the aim, to rouse to action, not simply to impart information. For this end only such knowledge of the functions and needs of the body is required as to make the child understand what is necessary for its protection and care, or enough to form the basis of good health habits. The child may be taught to look upon his body as an engine. He knows that an engine if it is to run well must have care, must be kept clean, oiled, must have proper fuel, must have the waste removed, etc. Without these a fine automobile may soon be so damaged as to be useless. The child should be taught that his body is more delicate than any gasoline engine and more easily put out of order. But the important thing for him is to know that he is the engineer who is largely responsible for keeping it in order. One of the first things to be taught is respect for the body, so that it will not be abused.

The child can easily learn the essential needs of his body—proper food, cleanliness, fresh air, exercise, rest, regular bowel movement, etc. Also the things that do harm—improper food, decayed teeth, excess in eating or drinking, lack of proper sleep, tea or coffee, alcohol, drugs, and finally how the body may in some measure be protected against infection. Nothing is accomplished by lecturing to children and telling them what they must do to be healthy. This means little to them and it does not furnish an adequate motive. Our purpose is not to teach children rules, but to make them form habits. We must carry our point by indirection. We can no more make children healthy by telling them that is what we are setting out to do than we can improve the morals of members of a community by announcing that we have come into their neighborhood to do them good. It is self-evident that before children can be influenced they must be interested, and how to rouse the interest of children in health matters is something to which the Child Health Organization has given a good deal of thought during the past year.

How To Interest Children

Children love to belong to a club; the organization in schools of health leagues and modern health crusades, in which children are banded together with their officers, badges and buttons to observe such rules as we have indicated, has roused much interest in many parts of the United States. Group competition based upon weight and height is one of the most valuable measures. Scales should be in every school. All the children are weighed and measured at the beginning of the school year and weighed monthly thereafter. Weights are entered on a large record sheet in the school room by the child himself. One who is far below weight for height or who fails to make the normal gain per month is losing the health game. If losing, he is not following the rules. Which one is he breaking? The one relating to food, to hours of sleep, tea and coffee, or what? Now is the occasion to stress the health rules. As these records of health progress go home to the mother; her interest and co-operation can with a little difficulty be secured. It is astonishing how much influence the idea of competition in health has upon a child's mind. Other useful measures are health pictures and posters—they must be good ones, however. Some the child can make himself, which gives an added interest.

Mrs. Frederick Peterson of New York has written some health rhymes which appeal strongly to many children, especially when they are accompanied by pictures. Like this:

"There was an old man with a tooth
That ached till he said 'it's the truth,
I neglected 'em young and now I am stung.
How I wish I had brushed 'em in youth."

or this:

"There was a boy in our town whose mother was not wise.
Coffee and tea he used to get and grew up under size.
But when he failed the foot ball team because his size was small,
He cut out both and took to milk and grew up very tall!"

These suggest health motives which may be emphasized. For boys probably the strongest motive is to be strong and athletic; to make the team. For girls, an important motive is furnished by pride in personal appearance as to complexion, teeth, gait, posture, etc.

Even children who are weak or delicate should learn that health is something that can be acquired through careful observance of the rules; also the strongest and most vigorous should realize that it can be lost through violation of rules.

Health acquisition may even be made a matter of amusement. The latest addition of the Child Health Organization to its staff is a professional clown. He is also a clever prestidigitator and ventriloquist and entertains children while he discourses to them very intelligently, advising as to food, good health habits, etc. He has proven a great success in schools and playgrounds in interesting children. To some, an attempt to teach hygiene by means like these may seem absurd, even childish. But we are dealing with a child's mind and these things appeal to him and influence him.

If such measures are used in the schools several things are necessary. First, the teachers must be interested in health and realize that the school is the place to teach it. Then the teachers must themselves be given time and opportunity to learn the health they are teaching. Courses should be given in all normal schools in preparation for such work. There must also be time in the schools for health teaching. Some health lesson impressed each school day would soon make a difference in the physical condition of our school children. Of course, such teaching as I have suggested is only part of the problem. This work must be supplemented by the work of school physicians and nurses, by whom defects which interfere with proper growth and development are recognized and removed. But in this work as well as that of the school teacher, all emphasis should be laid upon the growing child's nutrition, of which his progress in weight is the best index.

Another form of instruction in health which may be well carried on in schools is to teach girls of ten years and upward the rudiments of infant care, which knowledge they have so many opportunities to apply in the care of their younger brothers and sisters, and which lays the foundation of their future responsibilities of motherhood. This has been done in New York for many years in what is known as "The Little Mothers' League."

The teaching of health, as we have considered it, is something quite different from the teaching of physiology or physical education, though it should be closely tied up with both of them. We have all of us probably studied physiology in school, but how much did it modify our health habits during school life or since? Physiology was not connected with practical life. It has influenced our health habits no more than the study of botany. So far as an aid in improving or maintaining health it might as well have been omitted altogether. The same may be said of much of the instruction in physical education that is given at the present time. It is not brought into close vital connection with the child's life as it might be and consequently a large part of the value of instruction in the subject is lost.

Let us then endeavor to concentrate upon the health teaching in the schools; see to it that time is given each day for some health lesson; that the teachers themselves are prepared to teach health, and that they understand and appreciate not only the importance and the value of health, but the great opportunity which the school offers to influence the child to form good health habits. Every teacher should, therefore, be a health teacher. The most vital thing in education and the one which we have neglected longest is to teach the weak how they may become strong and the strong how they may keep so. Every child has a right to grow up with a healthy body unless he has some physical handicap which could not be prevented or cannot be removed. But let us not rest until everything which is preventable has been prevented and every defect which is remediable has been remedied.

What can the social worker contribute to this new movement of health teaching? You are interested in relief or rehabilitation chiefly. You can at least and with little trouble have weights and measurements taken of the children in the families in which you are interested. You can have records kept of these and can thus know whether the children are making normal growth and normal gain in weight for their ages. If not, you can put them in the way of getting proper medical advice if that is needed. You can see that sufficient food and of a kind proper for growth is supplied; and finally, you can rouse your public to appreciate the fact that a child under-nourished is a child in danger—a fit subject for the development of tuberculosis or other chronic disease.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

The presiding officer at the session on *The New Health Program for Children of School Age* was Miss Sally Lucas Jean, Director of Field Work of the Child Health Organization of New York. The address of Dr. Holt was followed by an address on *Hatching China Eggs*, delivered by Dr. W. W. Peters, Secretary of the Public Health Association of China, Shanghai.

PROGRAM OF THE COMMITTEE ON ILLEGITIMACY— COMMITTEE REPORT

Mrs. Ada Eliot Sheffield, Director, Bureau on Illegitimacy, Boston

The Committee on Illegitimacy has accepted the task of developing progressive standards for dealing with unmarried parents and their children. It is not the idea of this committee that such standards are to be thought of as rules to which all who wish professional respect must subscribe. This is an attitude of mind that checks instead of furthering progress. The committee's aim will be to get a consensus of opinion as to which methods are bringing, or are likely to bring, to the child and mother opportunity to make the most of their endowment and to the father that treatment which will impress him with a sense of obligation towards his child and towards society.

To realize this aim the committee suggests the forming of five sub-committees:

- I. Prenatal, Obstetrical and Convalescent Care.
- II. After-care.
- III. The Unmarried Mother as Human Material.
- IV. Enactment and Enforcement of Laws.
- V. Construction and Education.

The following report will take up in outline some of the more pressing aspects of our problem, which it will be the duty of the several sub-committees to study in detail.

I. PRENATAL, OBSTETRICAL AND CONVALESCENT CARE.

A. Prenatal Care

1. What prenatal care are unmarried girls receiving?

The campaign for better medical care of mothers and infants which the Children's Bureau is conducting is one in which the Committee on Illegitimacy should join its efforts. Prenatal care for unmarried, pregnant girls and women is especially difficult in practice because of the social stigma which attends their condition. The pregnant girl who feels the need of earning money, who wishes to keep her condition secret, and who would welcome a miscarriage is even less likely than the married woman to seek and follow advice about her health. Where a girl can remain in her own home during pregnancy, if it is at all a good one her situation on the physical side is not necessarily worse than that of married women. This is not to say that she is sure of getting needed instruction. Ignorance on the part of her family, their mortification at her plight, coupled with a lack of health resources in the community may lead to serious neglect even in a decent home. Nevertheless, where a girl has no home, or where for some reason she cannot be cared for in the family circle, she is yet more apt to suffer neglect. Sometimes a pregnant daughter must leave her natural shelter because of the presence of younger brothers and sisters; sometimes because parents or relatives resent the disgrace she brings on them. Occasionally a pregnant widow or deserted wife with half-grown children must leave home in order to spare them the knowledge of their mother's wrong-doing. Of the unmarried prospective mothers who have no homes many are girls in domestic service; others are in various occupations, especially in factories, and may be living in lodging or boarding houses.

Prenatal provision for the unmarried, pregnant girl is oftenest made through maternity homes or through almshouses, both types of institutions taking applicants several months before confinement. How many women are cared for in these two types of institution we do not know. The homes often have accommodation for but a small number, and indeed would fail in their special function of rescue did they not limit their intake.

Certain maternity homes prefer to receive only the better grade of girl, aiming to debar sophisticated women, feeble-minded women on whom their opportunities of training are thrown away, and diseased women who make a demand for special care which the homes are not in a position to give. Almshouses, on the other hand, must accept all who can show need. They may, therefore, be expected to accept as inmates many of those declined by the homes. Even they, however, can hardly be claimed to take care of the majority of cases unprovided for by the homes. It is therefore safe to assume that a larger proportion of unmarried women than of married fail to get adequate medical attention before confinement.

There are social workers who disbelieve in prenatal care with institutions. They maintain that girls brought together on the ground of unmarried pregnancy, even though chosen because of giving promise of reform, will exchange unfavorable experiences to their mutual detriment. In order to give these women a wholesome and natural social environment, such workers advocate placing them out in selected private families up to the period of confinement. The proponents of the homes, on the other hand, contend that the supply of suitable private families who will take such girls to board falls far short of answering the need now met by the homes. Moreover, they claim, a group of girls sharing the same opportunities for moral development and for industrial training over a period of three or four months gain a valuable group morale and discipline which they would miss if placed separately. Our judgment as to which of these two methods is the better must await a comparison of the results they achieve in health, competence

and character. Should there be no distinguishable difference in these respects the choice between the two might become a question merely of the comparative expense of congregate care vs. placing-out. This committee should further such a disinterested study.

2. What inquiry into health and into social background do social workers find necessary on or before assuming responsibility for the care of an unmarried pregnant woman?

The need of a thorough physical examination of a pregnant woman is hardly open to debate. It would be worth our while, however, as a means of stimulating medical care, to know to what extent social agencies dealing with this problem fall short of securing thorough medical examination upon which to base their social work. The need of a routine mental examination will probably seem open to question. Few agencies can command these examinations except where a girl's conduct raises a clear question as to her mental condition, and many cannot even then get the services of a specialist. Should we aim ultimately to make mental examinations a part of the investigating routine? The social background of girls any agency must go into that tries to select any special class of applicants to deal with. These organizations which wish to limit their efforts to the more promising of the expectant mothers must make careful inquiry if they are not to fail of their purpose. How far this inquiry needs to go and how far it can go without injuring the girl more than it helps her is a matter on which judgment varies.

3. Should institutions and social agencies in one state accept for care unmarried pregnant girls from another state or country?

An unmarried pregnant girl will frequently go for confinement to another state or to Canada, and vice versa, in order to keep her situation from the knowledge of her friends, and sometimes in order to receive better care than that afforded by her home town. Assuming that no one would be so heartless as to return a girl to her home without first making sure that she had some one at her journey's end to look out for her, we have still a difficult question to answer. To what extent should a state well equipped with maternity hospitals and social agencies take care of the pregnant girls from another state, merely on the grounds that the former can give such girls in every way, both physically and socially, a better start towards rehabilitating themselves? And should one state undertake missionary work to persuade a neighboring state to build up needed institutions? Since prosecution of the father may be difficult, if not impossible, and the child to be born may therefore become a dependent upon public support, the answer calls for facts as to how many of these non-resident cases the various states receive.

B. Obstetrical and Convalescent Care

1. What are the standards in institutions which give obstetrical care to unmarried mothers?

It is a matter of conjecture whether unmarried women are less likely than the married to put themselves in the way of skilled obstetrical attention. One would expect to find a larger proportion of them going for confinement to hospitals. Might not this committee undertake to find out the standards of obstetrical care now prevailing in maternity homes, almshouse infirmaries, and in those maternity hospitals which take for delivery any considerable number of unmarried mothers? Such a study would need to include standards of plant equipment: ventilation, crowding, diet, etc., etc., together with the prevalence or need for state inspection and licensing of these institutions. When one thinks of the probable contrast between the best maternity home or hospital and the poorest almshouse infirmary, one has confidence that such an inquiry might result in better care for many mothers.

2. How adequately is the need for convalescent care being met?

Convalescent care is more apt to be adequately continued in homes and

almshouses than in hospitals. The latter, with a steady stream of newcomers in urgent need of admission, sometimes keep a woman only from ten days to a fortnight after confinement. More provision for convalescence is so general a need for all mothers as hardly to come within the scope of the sub-committee on illegitimacy. It is more urgent for unmarried than for married women only in the sense that the former group present the more constant demand for all the ministrations of a social service or after-care department.

II. AFTER-CARE.

1. Should mother and infant be separated shortly after birth?

We have some grounds for believing that there are hospitals as well as social agencies which make a practice of taking the child from the mother shortly after birth. This they do from an honest conviction that such a course is best for both, enabling the mother to resume her place among her acquaintance without stigma, while securing for the infant a normal home life. This early separation from the mother other physicians and social workers severely criticize. They urge that it deprives the child of breast feeding, and by too promptly relieving the mother of all natural responsibilities for her child, it tends to ill effects upon her character. The reason that opinions differ thus widely is that in mother-and-baby work the needs of two people must be taken into account, and that occasionally these needs cannot be equally well met, so that first consideration may be claimed at one time for the infant, at another time for the mother. In order to attain a fair consensus upon this question, we must first learn what results the various cities and agencies have to show from these rival methods.

2.* If mother and child are to be kept together through the nursing period, which of the various means of effecting this works best?

Respectable friends or relatives who are ready to receive an unmarried girl and her child and to give her protection of course afford social agencies a natural solution of their problem. Where there are neither relatives nor friends the agency must choose between placing its charge in domestic service, in an institutional home, or under a mother's pension in a home of her own. The comparative results of these three methods of care are yet to be discovered. Certain experienced workers who place mothers with infants at domestic service make an excellent showing of good conduct on the mother's side and of good health on the side of both; others are skeptical as to the possibility of a woman's supporting herself and caring properly for her child at the same time. Matrons or superintendents of some of the homes which keep women with their infants for several months after confinement see in the opportunity for training and for moral influence an advantage that outweighs the expense of supporting the girl through this period. Their critics, on the other hand, point to the infant mortality in certain institutions, and in other institutions to what they believe to be the demoralizing effect of herding unmarried mothers together. The effect of giving unmarried mothers an independent status under a pension we do not know in other than scattered instances. In short we have yet to secure sufficient data to afford a basis for discussing this question.

3. What happens to the unmarried mother and her child after the nursing period?

Many agencies which so far as possible insist upon a mother keeping her infant during the nursing period, fall in readily with her desire to give up the child at the end of its first year. From the facts available it would appear that most unmarried mothers give up their infants after the nursing period is over. The economic strain on the woman then begins to grow discouraging. If the child's father has contributed at all to its support, his payments by that time have often ceased; the baby is becoming a greater care, and when not well trained, is an annoyance to other people. Many children, from

1 to 3 years old, are either taken by charitable agencies or are adopted. As for their mothers, we know only in a general way that some marry and settle down as steady housewives, whereas others have later illegitimate pregnancies or lead a dissolute life. On the other hand, certain mothers, in spite of the discouragements of their situation, manage to keep their children with them in domestic positions, earn sufficient to board the children in a foster home, or at any rate to contribute to their support. Whether children cared for in these different ways become absorbed into our citizenship—their origin forgotten—whether those remaining in their mother's care suffer under social handicap, or whether either group figures more conspicuously than the other in dependent or delinquent records, we cannot say.

4. What after-care oversight should social workers undertake to give?

In their after-care work, the maternity homes have a certain advantage. The officers of these homes often encourage the girls they have helped to look upon the institution as truly a home to which at any time they can return for counsel and friendship. These return visits, together with considerable correspondence, keep the matrons in touch with many girls at a minimum expense. Is this oversight sufficient, or should a home aim to have special workers to visit mothers and babies at their places of employment or in their own families? The question is sometimes raised by social workers whether or not the homes should do all their follow-up through special visitors rather than encourage girls to continue their association with a place identified with their stigma. These workers believe that the mothers should be absorbed into normal surroundings. The serious obstacle in the way of continued after-care is that the number of mothers and children to be followed up accumulates, so that the requisite number of workers for them can hardly be employed except by an agency with ample funds. Whichever of these two methods has been followed by homes or by placing-out agencies, we know that after a time many mothers drop out of sight. Undoubtedly some, perhaps most of these mothers are doing well. Some in all probability are not. Where this happens, the agency has failed not only to give needed help and guidance, but to keep account of evidence that would show whether its methods in these cases have been wise. With the lack of such after-care as would yield a basis of fact this committee must exercise some resourcefulness in securing from selected agencies or localities the data upon which to form its tentative impressions of the rival methods of treating the unmarried mother and her child. Even such inadequate after-care as has been discussed is often lacking. Many maternity hospitals and many more almshouses allow women to leave their doors with but a perfunctory inquiry as to the provision awaiting them. It would seem as if this committee, by getting and making public specific information as to what various typical institutions are failing to do, might do something towards furthering social service and after-care for these often helpless mothers and their infants.

5. What are the results of unregulated adoptions and what safeguards should be thrown around adoptive parents and the child?

Unregulated adoption, in a number of instances, has led to serious neglect of the child's interests. The children of unmarried parents, who doubtless make up a large number of adoptions, may turn out to show an undue proportion of abnormal mentality. Should this prove to be the case, their adoption will need to be guarded by special precautions, which would include a social inquiry into the child's background. It is an obvious question to ask what public agency should be the one to impose these precautions.

III. UNMARRIED MOTHERS AS HUMAN MATERIAL

1. What type or types of women get into this special difficulty?

The answer to this question, which is not easy to obtain, will affect our whole attitude towards the problem of illegitimacy and even influence the degree of condemnation which society visits upon the act which causes it.

If unmarried mothers are distinctly subnormal or psychopathic in larger proportion than other women, then the stigma becomes more difficult to remove from either mother or child. Under such conditions the stigma which we think of as attached to illegitimacy becomes associated with the idea of inferior human material. If, on the other hand, a large or increasing number of unmarried mothers are fairly intelligent, stable girls, then the stigma against child and mother may in time become less. People would recognize that such children may come of good stock.

Again, the grade of woman involved in our problem would affect the provisions which should be established by law, and would influence the policies for dealing both with mother and with child. Should a large proportion of mothers be definitely feeble-minded, for instance, it would make a difference in the measures to be provided for treating mother and child separately after the nursing period.

In order to get this knowledge of the kinds of women involved we must have mental examinations as well as thorough social histories. Now that we can see in the near future a school and college policy of examinations for all young people as a guide to their education and employment, no one can longer regard mental tests as invidious. Since, however, it is still impossible in many places to get such examinations, this committee can do something to make or to encourage others to make studies in cities equipped with psychiatric specialists, and to unite its efforts with those of others to get psychiatric clinics in places where there are none.

The study of unmarried mothers as human material should not be thought of, however, as merely a matter of identifying those individuals who can or ought to be committed to institutional care, or even of learning their intellectual level and emotional endowment. It should be a continuous study of changing personality. But to get such a study means a juxtaposition of circumstances difficult at present to attain. Nevertheless, the committee may hold the ideal in mind as something to reach out for as opportunity occurs.

IV. ENACTMENT AND ENFORCEMENT OF LAWS

1. *Should the State Become Legal Guardian of the Child of Unmarried Parents?*

Such a provision makes the State, through some one of its authorized bodies, responsible for the protection and training of the child, for the establishing of its paternity and for the securing of support from its father. The first responsibility would entail approval of adoptions, of boarding homes, etc., and should extend to the licensing and supervision of maternity hospitals. The second responsibility would make the instituting of proceedings for paternity and support depend upon the initiative not of the mother, who may be reluctant to take the step, but of the public authorities, and would ensure action in all cases in which the identity of the father was reasonably certain. The labor of bringing a putative father before the court in many if not most instances is so disproportionate to the financial results that private lawyers and private social agencies shrink from the undertaking. It is only a public body, equipped with salaried officials, that will take up these cases in such a thorough going way as at once to do justice to the individual child and gradually to make public opinion more sensitive to the seriousness of paternal abandonment.

In Maryland, since 1916, a state board is responsible for seeing that mothers keep their children six months for breast feeding. The law was passed because of a high mortality resulting from the early separation of infants from their mothers. We should be glad to know how this law is working out. The results of the law may incline other states to copy it, or it may be that the same or better results would follow state guardianship of all children concerned.

There are a number of advantages in concentrating responsibility within the state hands, not the least of them being that it concentrates experience also, thus making more apparent changes that are desirable in social methods and in legislation.

2. What should be the nature of illegitimacy proceedings?

This is ground on which the layman is inclined to tread warily. Roughly speaking, the advantage of criminal proceedings seems to be that they secure the use of the probation system and make extradition possible. Where civil dockets are crowded, criminal action may also have the merit of being less delayed. The advantage of civil proceedings is that they make it possible to establish paternity without adding to the shame of a well-inclined man by making him a criminal and that they demand a lesser weight of evidence. As to whether the lesser evidence required is argument for or against civil proceedings opinions are likely to differ. A question to which this committee needs to get an answer is,—would action preferably be taken in the Chancery Court in all cases where acknowledgment of paternity and support can there be obtained, leaving for Criminal Court procedure only those cases which cannot successfully be disposed of by civil action? Or, should proceedings, as in Massachusetts, be criminal in all cases?

3. What can the law do to remove the stigma from the child of unmarried parents?

Statutes giving the child the father's name and the right of inheritance if he dies intestate, as well as more radical legislation, like that of North Dakota, which declares every child to be the legitimate child of its natural parents, all aim to lessen what is commonly felt to be an injustice in the status of an innocent child. It would be well if this section of the National Conference could come to a consensus of opinion as to the nature of the stigma resting on mother and child, why it came to be, what change of social ideas, not to say of ideals, would be likely to accompany its removal, and how far the law can go in mitigating a prejudice of this kind.

4. Should weekly payments be required of illegitimate fathers, or should they be permitted to make lump sum payments?

Probably everyone would agree that the father's responsibility should be for his child's support up to 16 years. Not many of the men in this predicament can give such an amount in one sum. On the other hand, men default on weekly payments frequently enough to make social workers ask whether a moderate amount of money at one payment is not better for their client than a larger amount promised by the week but not forthcoming. In case of lump payment, however, some provision may be desirable for the appointment of a trustee to see that the money is spent wisely for the child's benefit.

The committee believe that we need to give special thought to the difficulties that arise in enforcing good laws or the good features of indifferent laws. Some of these difficulties lie in the machinery of the courts, some in a lack of interest on the part of the public, some in frailties of human nature not taken into account, perhaps, by those who drew up the statutes. In any case, it is an examination of the enforcement of laws which points the way to their improvement.

There will be many other questions bearing upon the enactment and enforcement of laws which the committee will need to take up. Among them is that of birth registration and the making of vital statistics. Registration is so indispensable as a starting-point for the care and protection of the illegitimate child, and vital statistics are so necessary as a social barometer for the guiding of preventive measures that the committee must do all in its power to back up the Children's Bureau in stirring a public demand for the collecting of these fundamental data.

V. CONSTRUCTION AND EDUCATION

Since illegitimacy is but one phase of the social evil, a problem which bears a casual relation to almost every human ill,—it follows that one or another of the various aspects of unwedded parenthood is likely to be favorably affected by any measure of construction and education calculated to better social conditions in general. There are, however, certain measures which have an especially close bearing upon illegitimacy. Sex education would be one of these; maternity benefits might be another; vocational training still another; provision for defective delinquent women would surely be warranted by good case work. New directions in which constructive effort is needed will be indicated by the study of illegitimacy in Massachusetts soon to be published by the Federal Children's Bureau. Then there are proposals of a radical sort, such as the granting of some form of public subsidy to qualified young couples who would otherwise have to defer marriage. Most fundamental of all are the measures that may follow the probable change of attitude toward unmarried parenthood in European countries, due to their reduced population with the consequent disproportion between the sexes.

The Committee on Illegitimacy believe that we should consider all suggestions for grappling with the present grave situation, but that we should take ample time for study before offering positive proposals in a field of thought which above all others demands the union of statesmanship with idealism.

In drawing up this program the committee has assumed a social order in which the family is the unit and in which monogamy is the accepted ideal. In such a social order the problem of illegitimacy is a peculiarly complex one. This is because it involves the welfare of three people who are in the closest relationship to each other and yet whose interests frequently conflict; and because it comprises social consequences of a wrong act quite disproportionate to the gravity of the offense taken by itself. This complexity means that as we study the subject of illegitimacy further, we should expect that the answers we get to the questions now before us will be constantly opening up fresh questions.

HOW DOES OUR TREATMENT OF THE UNMARRIED MOTHER
WITH THE SECOND OR THIRD CHILD DIFFER FROM
OUR TREATMENT OF THE UNMARRIED
MOTHER WITH HER FIRST CHILD?

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The unmarried mother constitutes a social problem chiefly because her legal status involves social ethics on the one hand and a situation offering practical difficulties of solution on the other; the direct result being the setting apart of the mother of this class from the community of married mothers until the distinction has become so marked that there is scarcely a man or woman who is not influenced by it, and in fact, so biased that the application of ordinary case-working methods are thrown to the winds. The application of such methods is not infrequently held to be an attack upon the fundamentals of family life and is often dubiously regarded by social workers. The best that has been obtained for the unmarried mother through case-work agencies is therefore a compromise with conventional opinion and on the whole, a shoddy piece of work. It must be admitted the idea that the unmarried mother must bear the stigma attaching to her status

for the protection of society presents almost insuperable difficulties. Are social workers meeting frankly and fearlessly this issue? Is the impact of social work for the unmarried mother modifying or changing public opinion concerning motherhood out of marriage? This question is raised here because it is believed that so long as public opinion remains unchanged it is not to be wondered at if individuals have their sympathies so touched that they adopt secrecy as the way out for the mother; that professional people—doctors, lawyers, nurses and social workers employ the methods of secrecy and even condone criminal practice to hide from the world the knowledge of motherhood under such unhappy circumstances.

Case Work Versus Expediency

Dr. George Walker in his report on vice in Baltimore, tells of a nurse who agreed to strangle the child of an unmarried mother at the time of delivery. It is a significant fact that this nurse had at one time given birth to a child and bore the scars of exposure. On solicitation he found doctors, clergymen, and nurses of standing who offered their services in placing the new born infant in one of two institutions where they admitted the chances of life were practically "nil," and explained their position on the ground that exposure practically eliminated the mother's chances of rehabilitating herself, and as for the child, it would be just as well if it never grew up since it would have to bear the stigma of being illegitimate.

One result of the report referred to was a revulsion of feeling on the part of the community at the Turk-like massacre of innocent children, but it was vague, and still is vague. Solicitude for the mother who, under such treatment, is stripped of her finest instincts, has not made itself manifest except with those who have been patiently working "first hand" with the problem.

Our experience is that no matter what the disclosure may be from investigations, the community will avoid initiating or making effective, regulations to abolish the traffic in mothers and babies. Whatever is done to meet the problem of the unmarried mother must be initiated and made effective through a knowledge of the problem built up on case-work experience. It would therefore seem not the least of the responsibilities of the agencies dealing with the unmarried mother to carry to the general public a true and faithful statement of all the problems involved: For example: the legal statutes refer to the child of the unmarried mother as the "bastard child" or the "illegitimate child." The body of our law on this subject is in the main, crude and ineffective. What is being done about it? Indeed, there are institutions and agencies retaining such titles as "Home for Fallen Women"—"Bureau on Illegitimacy." Going a step farther we find the Family Case-Work Agencies passing by, like the Pharisee, on the other side of this family in need, and without evidence, adjudging the unmarried mother with a child, in reality not a family at all, though these same agencies do not hesitate to aid sham families if they hold a certificate of marriage and they never question the care of families of widows, deserted wives and widowers "with a past"; all of which indicate that there is still much to be done by way of influencing the social agencies themselves before conventional opinion—murderous and unjust as it is—can be attacked. If I am correctly informed, it is still a common practice of Children's Agencies in some parts of the country to separate the child from the unmarried mother and place it in an institution or foster home. This policy unquestionably meets with public approval; the public being not so concerned about the continency of those not married as it is that there should be no offspring to those who transgress, but the obligation of the Children's Agency is another matter. Tested by real standards, such an agency should be classified in the language of Dr. Walker as traffickers in babies; in fact, they are more than traffickers in

babies when they separate a mother from her child without cause—THEY ARE DESPOILERS OF MOTHERHOOD! Nothing will cure this kind of cancerous growth in the community except fair but unsparing investigation and statement of the facts in terms of results; most conspicuous of which are high mortality rates and the nefarious commercial traffic of the underworld in mothers and children.

Domestic Service Not a Solution

Passing to the case treatment of unmarried mothers, one is struck with the crudity of this work as compared with case-work with other types of families. Diagnosis and plan would seem to turn almost entirely upon the fact there is a child and that an emergency has to be met. The father seems to be dealt with as a mere incident and the records let it go with the statement that "the father is a married man—mother refuses to disclose his identity" or, again, where the court judgment has been invoked against the father, "the father was ordered to pay \$2.50 per week, which he paid for three months and disappeared." Families treated by Associated Charities, Protective Agencies and Children's Aid Societies, are studied with painstaking care to see not only that all aspects of their case are fully understood but that responsibility is located and discharged to the fullest extent by those who can be rightfully charged with obligation; this done, through sympathetic appeal and the establishment of social contacts, an effort is made to develop the family as a whole without neglecting any individual member. To this end the term "adequacy" has been introduced into the vocabulary of the social worker, meaning "adequacy of service and material relief."

What do we do with the unmarried mother with the one child? Is it true if she has exceptional qualifications and is able to develop somewhat her own resources, she may earn a fairly decent living for herself; either while the child boards, or with the child in domestic service, but as a rule, the exceptional qualifications do not exist. What do we do then? We all remember how the Queen in "Alice in Wonderland" had one form of punishment for all offenses; namely, "Off with their heads!" so the almost universal answer to the question is domestic service and therein lies a story which would make the angels weep.

It is recognized that there is danger of underestimating the value of this type of treatment. Domestic service does offer certain advantages; chief of which is to make it possible for the mother and child to live together and if wisely done, may further afford the very help and contact the mother needs. One case record I have before me states "When strong enough to work, the mother and Jack went to the home of Mr. and Mrs. 'A' where she received good wages and under whose influence she really made a very good start." Another record says "it is hoped to place 'A' and baby this summer in a very unusual home in the country with a woman whom we feel will be able to develop in the mother a greater sense of responsibility and self control." Of another mother the record states "she has been in one home now for about four years. She is a devoted mother and Horace is a bright child. They both own Liberty Bonds." Such placements at domestic service undoubtedly prove the value of this resource, but there are other entries in records I also desire to quote. "In the home where she was placed at domestic service, she became pregnant for the second time, the father of her child being the nineteen year old son of the family. Another states "the minister's wife with whom she was placed was so disagreeable and difficult that the girl could only stand it one month." And still another record of a girl with a wholesome fondness for life declares that the home being ten miles from the nearest railroad station, life was too lonely in the country and she left of her own accord. Was later located in a rooming house in a furnished room district."

Some Unmarried Mothers Succeed in Caring for More than One Child

That domestic service has its limitations as a cure-all appears when the second child comes and throws a wrench into our smoothly running machinery. Mrs. Bumpkins will put up with one child for its mother's services at a time when it is desperately hard to get servants, but two children are too much for that fair lady. If there is not sufficient reason for removing the first or second child from the mother, the case-worker has her resources put to a severe test, and on this point I am informed that it is a common practice to relieve the mother of the first child and place her at domestic service with the second, whether or not there is cause for the separation. It must be said, however, that the mothers sometimes work out this problem for themselves. A Boston Society writes: "Placing her with these sickly babies has been out of the question. A home was found for her where she could earn \$7.00 a week, \$4.00 of which she paid towards the board of the children. She now has a place which she found for herself where she earns \$9.00 a week and pays \$5.00 towards the children's board. She has had a love affair with a young man whom she met before the twins were born, but his people object to his marrying her unless she would give up the children, and this she refuses to do." Another instance is gleaned from the record of a Baltimore Society: "The second child Jack was born in February, 1913. When strong enough the mother took a position at domestic service. Later she boarded the children and took up practical nursing at an institution for mental diseases, where she remained until 1917, when she married an excellent man. In November, 1918, she died during the influenza epidemic, leaving a bank account of a little over \$700.00. In addition to the frugality shown in her savings account, since the war broke out she regularly sent \$10.00 a month to needy relatives." Still another instance on record is that of "X," who was placed by a maternity home in a family blacklisted by a case-working agency. They were informed of the character of the home, but refused to deal with the matter. She came to the attention of the Children's Aid Society in 1915, pregnant for the second time. When able she was placed at domestic service and her children were boarded. Here, the record states, "she met a sensible, substantial young man and was married to him in 1916." The closing entry is to the effect that the marriage has proven a most successful one. At times "X" has boarded children. She has also on one occasion been kind to a young woman who was in distress; taking her into her home and referring the matter to the Children's Aid Society.

"S" has had three children; the two younger ones lived with her, the record states.

A grave question will arise in the minds of many persons as to her fitness to mother her children. The testimony from the different boarding homes in which she has lived with them indicate that under no circumstances could they have received better physical care, and there is no evidence to the effect that "S" continued to be immoral. Under no conditions would she consent to be separated from her children. This mother has more than the average intelligence and is a very efficient factory worker.

The limits of this paper do not permit me to go thoroughly into the records to which I have referred. These cases do, however, serve to illustrate the point I am striving to make; that to conclude offhand that the unmarried mother of the second child should be separated from one or both for reasons of immorality is sheer shirking on the part of the case-worker. Such a plan for this type of family is not only short sighted but cruel in the extreme.

Does an Unmarried Mother and Child Constitute a Family?

In contrast let us summarize the treatment of a widow with six children by a Family Agency. This family was referred to the Associated Charities in 1916 by a policewoman. The mother had written the Marshal of Police asking for the privilege of keeping home from school the third daughter to mind the children while she went to work. On investigation it was found that conditions were very bad. The mother had worked so long at the sewing machine her health had given away. A doctor was called in and advised complete rest. The child was kept in school and the mother was assured that it was a privilege to assist her until she was able to go to work. Relatives and the church people were interviewed, but they were all unable to do anything in the way of providing funds. Some friends who were connected with the Church Kindergarten became so interested that they gave the older girls a business course and put into the home the equivalent of their wages. This was continued until the girls were able to take positions. The third child was kept in school until she graduated. The mother's health was much benefited by the long rest she had had. A regular allowance was made to this family from October, 1916, to June, 1918, when the third girl was able to take a position in an office as assistant bookkeeper. The services to this family were not discontinued with the allowance. The same forces that tided them over the critical period were seeking to develop the mother and the six children. The close attention given to the working out of this family plan, the co-operation secured from neighborhood and outside interests, the careful budgeting for the family needs and the ever present desire to deal conscientiously with the individuals of this household bear all the ear-marks of good casework. It is just this thoroughness, resourcefulness and interest which seems to be lacking in the casework with the unmarried mother. There are incompetent, hopelessly inefficient, immoral mothers, incapable of caring for one child or two or more, but they are not all *unmarried*! They include those who are married and at home. They include widows and deserted wives, and the state laws provide the way out in all such cases by fixing guardianship, but there are married and unmarried mothers who may become capable if given a half decent chance to improve and develop, and it is the duty of case-working agencies to give them this opportunity. There are higher types of married and unmarried mothers who are capable of caring for one or more children if reasonable assistance is given. The important thing to determine in all cases is whether or not the mother is fit. If she is fit, I can see no good reason for treating the unmarried mother differently from the married mother. The difference, if any, is purely an artificial one which in the light of the work accomplished by agencies seriously applying case-working methods, pales into insignificance.

Conclusions

In conclusion: The unmarried mother and child should be treated as a family—a family as sacred as that of the widow's, deserted wife or widower and should not be broken up without causes other than the fact that she is unmarried. The ethics of social work, to say nothing of simple justice, require that the problem of the unmarried mother without regard to the number of children, should be approached in the same way that other families in difficulty are approached, with full regard to what ought to be done rather than what public opinion will approve.

In addition to the limited resources now employed in the treatment of this problem, the community should make provision for money allowances, material relief, vocational education and personal service to be extended in precisely the same way they are to other types of needy families.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Mr. J. Prentice Murphy of Boston urged that every unmarried mother be dealt with from the point of view of the future well being of the child. That since no one has the wisdom to foresee the potentiality of any child, the effort should be made in each instance to see that the child has, especially in his formative years, the basic things upon which his future welfare in great measure depends. The first seven years are particularly critical ones in a child's life and the first two years are of the utmost importance in the physical life of the child. Under our prevailing practice in dealing with unmarried mothers, instability is the lot of most of these children in their formative years, and instability is disastrous to any child from the point of view of his physical well being and character.

In answer to questions, *Wm. Hodson* of St. Paul gave the following information about the new illegitimacy legislation in Minnesota: Briefly, the law places upon both the mother and the father definite responsibilities which are intended to safeguard the child and provide for his proper maintenance. Where issue is conceived in fornication, it is an extraditable offense for an offender to leave the state to avoid prosecution. The State Board of Control is obliged to see that proceedings to establish paternity are begun, and is obliged to act in behalf of every illegitimate child and mother in such ways as seem wise and necessary under the circumstances. All maternity hospitals and infant homes must be licensed by the State Board of Control, and the care of the child by the mother during the early months is required.

In answer to the question in what percentage of cases proceedings are brought against fathers, *Mr. Hodson* gave it as an estimate that in the larger communities this was done in from 60 to 75 per cent of the cases. As to the procedure, he stated that district courts have jurisdiction in both civil and criminal cases, and that the court holds that such proceedings are criminal in form, but civil in substance. Hearings to establish paternity are public or private, according to the temper of the judge; there is no law governing this.

In regard to the adoption of illegitimate children, *Mr. Hodson* stated that there could be no transfer of guardianship except by decree of court; if paternity has been established the father must be notified of adoption proceedings; the written consent of the mother does not constitute adoption, but may be used as evidence of her consent to adoption.

Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett of New York stated that it is the policy of the Florence Crittendon Homes not to receive again into the same institution a girl with a second illegitimate child, mainly because of the bad influence which this might have upon girls who are in the institution for the first time; also because it is questioned whether a worker can handle a girl satisfactorily a second time if she fails the first time to leave an impress which would prevent a second lapse.

Miss Eleonore L. Hutzel of Detroit raised the question whether, if the work done with a mother and her first child has been good, any one is better equipped to handle the problem of a second child than the person who helped with the first.

Mr. C. C. Carstens of Boston called attention to the fact that all illegitimate children do not fall under a single classification and cited an instance of a man who was maintaining two families. The relationship between the man and his legal wife were not harmonious, while in the illegal home five illegitimate children by the same father were receiving excellent care and the parents, though unmarried, were loyal and devoted.

In summing up, *Miss Hutzel* stated that the chief difficulties in dealing with the problem are due to the secrecy which is necessitated by present day public opinion, and the lack of adequate legislation to enable workers to approach individual problems on a case work basis.

In addition to those whose names are given above, the following, among others, participated in this informal discussion: *Agnes Carle*, Minnesota; *Mrs. H. C. Leary*, San Antonio, Texas; *Charlotte Whitton*, Toronto, Canada; *Mrs. A. T. Beckett*, Salem, N. J.; *Mrs. M. A. Gillam*, Chicago; *Julia Felsenthal*, Minneapolis; *Janet Anderson*, Brooklyn; *H. W. Thurston*, New York.

KEEPING NEGLECTED CHILDREN OUT OF COURT

Alfred F. Whitman, Mass. Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children,
Boston

Either it rains or it doesn't rain;
It doesn't rain;
Therefore it rains.

I am not referring to the doubtful aspect of the heavens this morning nor to any embarrassment in which you may have found yourselves yesterday afternoon. What I have in mind is the practice among you, or better, among us, for I am talking to those engaged in protective work for children—a practice equally illogical and unreasonable. I refer to the tendency of protective workers to say that all cases are either court or non-

court cases. In studying the case in its early stages, if it is found that there is little prospect of taking the matter before the court, the problem is simply labeled as a non-court case and little is done. I should like to urge upon you the policy of doing everything possible before thinking of court action and falling back upon prosecution as a last resort.

Now of course it would not be fair for me to shut my eyes to scores of cases that for one reason or another must be taken to court, and at the outset I am willing to concede that certain types must follow that course. May I suggest the grounds on which we decide that court action is necessary?

Legitimate Use of the Court

(1) When every reasonable plan has been tried and the parents do not respond. At this point the agent might properly ask himself whether or not the community has done everything in its power to make impossible neglect of the kind in question. As it takes a long time to bring the community up to the point where it is ready to meet such situations, the worker will have to take things as they are, at the same time making plans to see that conditions in the community are improved so that it will not recur a year hence. In many courts it is easier to secure a finding when the agent has shown the court how the parents have failed to respond to the advice and assistance of the protective worker or of the welfare organizations who are in a position to help.

(2) The character of the evidence helps determine whether or not a good case should be considered for prosecution.

a. Some cases are so serious that it is obvious to everyone that quick court action must proceed, when the agent dealing with the problem has to be the judge as to whether or not the children will suffer while constructive experiments are being tried out.

b. The permanency of the difficulty frequently warrants court action in a problem which might have been worked out without it, had the difficulty been more temporary.

c. Evidence is sometimes so opportune that the worker would gamble with the child's welfare in not using the court, as for instance in a case of cruelty where there might be clear, fresh evidence by way of bruises, cuts, etc., which would not be visible two or three weeks hence, although cruelty and neglect in an equally serious form might continue. Producing the evidence of the abuse to the judge would be much more convincing than sworn testimony at a later date that there had been such abuse.

(3) The finding of the court and the ensuing order may be used very effectively as a part of a constructive plan. Frequently the case worker may be able to evolve a splendid scheme which might put the family far above the misery line and secure decent care for its children, but he does not possess the power or authority to make the family do its part. Under such circumstances a court order might be all that was necessary to whip the whole plan into permanent form.

May I cite here a few reasons why we should hesitate or refuse to take neglected children to court? I am assuming for the moment that there is no lack of evidence with which to sustain our contention before the judge.

Reasons for Not Going to Court

(1) My first reason for not going to court lies in the following question: If satisfactory results can be obtained without taking neglected children to court, is there any reason either in principle or in practice why they should be taken? In other words, the presumption is that a case does not go to court and I am throwing on the worker the burden of showing, not that

the case can be taken through court successfully, but that there was nothing left to do but to use the legal machinery.

(2) Friendly relations between the protective society and the family and the immediate results may be more valuable than the results of court action, which might for all time make the prosecuting society the arch enemy of the family.

(3) I am afraid that prosecution of neglect cases suggests the easiest remedy. With the large number of impossible cases being poured into the office of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, there is a human temptation to turn off the work as quickly as possible for the sake of passing on to the next urgent matter. This results in two things,—in using the court, which is following the line of least resistance, we fail to find the spark of good which exists in almost every home, and to draw out the virtues on which should be built a good family life. We also fail to develop the worker's resourcefulness. This is of secondary importance in one sense and of first importance in another. If we were merely trying to make an all around person of the worker, it would be of secondary importance, but it is our intention to develop workers so that they will be more versatile in working out solutions of all sorts of difficulties with other families, and for this reason it is most important that we draw out the good in the worker as well as the parents with whom we deal.

(4) Occasionally the age of the child or the standing of the family in the community makes it a punishment to the child, which does not outweigh the advantage of court action, especially if the children are not removed by the court but for a probationary period are allowed to remain with the parents in their old neighborhood. Let me cite for instance the case of a fourteen-year-old girl who has reached high school and has come to feel that she is a part of a circle of friends. It is indeed a heavy cross for all those friends of the neighborhood and school to know that she had to go to court, whether it be on complaint or petition, on summons or warrant.

(5) I feel that it is wrong for children to become too familiar with the court and legal procedure, and as a result of neglect proceedings they frequently become pretty well acquainted with the police officials as well as the attaches of the court. A family may be before the court on a Saturday, but because of some technicality the case may be continued until the following Saturday. On that date the attorney may wish to have the case continued a week further, and on the third appearance the judge may wish to take the facts under consideration for another week, all of which might result in the children making four trips to the court, and we know that all courts are not equally well arranged and officered for the proper protection of children while actually in the court building. Furthermore, the children become familiar with every phase of the court life, and I suspect, as they become older, the fear of the court will not be the same deterrent to juvenile delinquency that it would be to a young person who never had had anything to do with the court before.

(6) Still another reason for not taking every case to court in which the evidence warrants it is a practical one rather than theoretical. I refer to the attitude of the court, some judges being very much opposed to having any family matters taken before them until everything else has been tried, even though the evidence in the first instance would warrant a finding.

The removal of the child on court order is too often regarded as a "final disposition." As a matter of fact, protective societies know that occasionally children who are removed from their homes and committed to institutions, societies or public departments again come to the attention of the same society before the year is out. Even though the case is settled permanently, the protective worker should make sure that the children are going to be distinctly better off than they were in their former surroundings. While I differ with Dr. Goddard's statement of Thursday, in which

he expressed the opinion that we should be more free than we are in removing delinquent and dependent children from bad environments, I want to agree with him in his thesis that no normal child should be placed in an institution, and if our neglected children are being placed by the court for permanent care in institutions, I question whether it would not be better to leave them in a very inferior home. The same might be said of institutions for temporary care, and to some degree it might be said of our best State Boards of Charity, Boards of Children's Guardians or Children's Aid Societies, and I hope that you will all agree with me in my belief that a child gets something from being with its own people in its own home, poor though it be, that it does not get in the most splendid foster home. It is of course a matter of degree, and the worker with his supervisor has to fix the point below which the home life is not under any circumstances worth while. I plead for the practice by which social workers will bend every effort to make the home worth while, so that the child may remain in it.

I wonder if you wish to have your Humane Society or S. P. C. C. have the reputation of a prosecuting organization. This is inevitably the result if you deal only with the problems that are bad enough to go to court, resulting in prosecution of all of them.

While I believe it would be most destructive to your doing good community work to have such a reputation, I feel that it would be a most useful thing in the community to have the reputation of going to court occasionally, and of putting through successfully such cases as you do take to court. In this fashion it is possible to make a court case serve you in a non-court case. In Massachusetts, where I am most familiar with the ratio, we find that one case in five has to be prosecuted. We find in the metropolitan (Boston) district that the ratio is about one in four. I am sure that the one case that goes to court does heroic service in the two, three or four cases that do not go.

Action Against the Parents

The prosecution of parents for neglect of their children should not be overlooked as a valuable substitute for taking children before the court either as defendants or on petition. Frequently it is found that a case which is so serious that it is possible to take the parents as defendants is also so bad that the court would feel that some provision must be made for the children. This adult procedure, however, is still much underworked, and I believe a good many family situations can be bolstered up temporarily and many improved permanently by its use.

If I am not presuming too much, I would suggest that this division make a special study of this practice during the coming year, and that each organization represented here designate one agent who shall try to work out every case without actually taking the children before the court. When court action is necessary, procedure shall be against the parents, and only in the most extreme case will the worker be allowed to take the children to court with the intention of removal.

Case Illustration

A few years ago a complaint came from a schoolmaster in one of our large cities that a family of six children were badly neglected. If they attended school at all, they went in a filthy, tattered condition, with unmistakable evidence of the diseases of filth and neglect. The teachers, the attendance officer and the school nurse had all tried to get an improvement, but made no progress. The house was reported to be in a filthy condition, but as a rule, the attendance officer and school nurse could find no one at home. Our agent found that both the father and mother were working, as was also the fifteen-year-old daughter, the five smaller children taking care

of themselves during the day and providing their own meals. The house certainly was in a deplorable condition of filth and chaos, with a good sprinkling of empty beer bottles. The agent tried to get the parents to take better care of their children, but the mother would not stay at home because she was helping pay for the new piano. The children continued to be excluded from school because of disease, and there seemed nothing left to do but to prosecute in court. Accordingly a complaint was made against the father for neglecting his children. He was represented by an able criminal lawyer who was also a politician, who argued in court that the society was most unreasonable in bringing complaint against the father, who could not be expected to stay at home and take care of his children. The court in unmistakable terms told him that he need not argue further in that direction, for it was clearly his responsibility to see that his children were brought up in decent surroundings and with an education. The man was put under bonds and during his year's probation, as well as since, his wife has stayed at home to take care of the house, and the children have been in much better condition than ever before.

What Can Be Done Without Court Action

So far I have dealt with the merits and theory of keeping neglected children out of court. Now for a few brass tacks which might be used both in cases which can not be taken to court because there is no evidence, as well as in the cases which are bad enough to go to court but do not. The same procedure might be used in some cases which are taken to court where the family is allowed to remain intact on probation. I wish to illustrate some of the methods by a case which was worked out by an agent of the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

On Saturday afternoon the social service department of one of our large hospitals called on the telephone, saying that Rosa, the two-year-old child of Italian parents, had fallen against a stove, fracturing her skull. She was taken by her mother to the out-patient department, where it was insisted that she be kept in a bed at the hospital under very close observation. This the mother refused to allow. Although the child was running about and apparently well, the doctor at the hospital said that it was a dangerous case and might result fatally if the right things were not done at the right time. The social service department asked our office if the hospital might threaten the mother that the case would be reported to us if Rosa were not allowed to remain as they directed. To this we gave an affirmative answer, and the mother agreed. On the following day, which was Sunday, the father went to the hospital and demanded the child. Early Monday morning the hospital referred the case to us, leaving it definitely in our hands. The doctor in charge was interested and was quite willing to go to court. Although he could not say positively that the child must have an operation, he could say definitely that the case was serious and might result disastrously unless she were under constant observation for a few days. On the same morning our agent looked up the father at the hotel where he worked and talked with the manager as well as the chef who had immediate control of the father's work. They were very much interested, and the chef told him very emphatically to do as he was told by the agent or he would be discharged. He promised to go home that afternoon and take Rosa to the hospital that same day. Our agent, anxious to see the job through, went to the home before three o'clock and found that the mother was still obstinate. The agent found relatives near by and interested them, who in turn tried to persuade the mother to do as she was advised, but she still refused. About three o'clock the father came in. He had again changed his mind, now refusing our request. After more than an hour of effort, the father was persuaded to do what the agent told him to do, and the child went to the hospital. Fearing that this might be as ephemeral as the trip on Saturday, the agent went to the Italian priest in the neighborhood, interested him and he in turn saw the mother, and told her that she must allow the child to stay in the hospital under the eye of the doctors and nurses. She went to see Rosa every day, but did not interfere with the plans at the hospital, and at the end of eleven days the child was out of danger and no operation was necessary. The case could have been taken to court and no doubt would have if the parents had not come to terms on Monday. There were good reasons for not rushing to court. The problem was very temporary and if once worked out without court action, there was no opportunity for constant recurrence, month in and month out. There was nothing vicious in

the home. No feeling of animosity had been needlessly created and the friendship and co-operation of the parents would be an asset in any future dealings between them and any charitable organization. There were two or three practical difficulties not serious enough to be called obstacles. There might have been a greater delay had we gone to court and been opposed by an attorney. Furthermore, the parents might easily have produced a physician of good standing who would have testified contrary to the experts at the hospital, which would have considerably lessened the chances of the success of our action. Still another difficulty is in getting busy specialists, who are giving their time to a hospital, to go into court and wait for hours to be called upon to testify.

In summing up the treatment of Rosa's case, it is obvious that the agent worked out the problem by use of the following: Tact, personality, persistence, moral suasion, the parents' interest in the child, and appeal to reason; also by the use of threats, warnings, and the co-operation of the father's employer. Hospital, church and relatives were also used. The agent in this case was a woman of wide experience as a nurse, and no doubt experience enabled her to speak as one having authority.

The following illustrates an entirely different treatment:

The Brown family consisted of father, a boy of twelve, and Mary, ten, living in a backwoods shack of a hill town, the father sleeping in the same bed with the children. There was no woman's influence in the home, but the court would probably not remove because of this or because of filth or congestion. One of our agents while working on the case of Mary's fifteen-year-old cousin, Lena, a number of miles away, learned through Lena that her uncle, Mr. Brown, had been guilty of criminal relations with Lena. The prosecuting attorney, before whom the evidence was laid, felt that he had better focus his efforts on prosecuting another man, against whom the evidence was very clear. At the same time he authorized our agent to use the statement of Lena in getting him to do what she wanted for the protection of his own children. When acquainted with the charge of his niece, he made no comment, but apparently feeling that we possessed too much information against him, was quite willing to fall in with the agent's plan for Mary and her brother. He allowed the agent to place the girl in a good family and our agent in turn allowed the boy to remain with him, on condition that he go to school and Sunday School regularly. The father's opportunity to see Mary would be at the same Sunday School, and he soon acquired the desire to go there weekly, and become interested in the church services, soon developed the habit of dressing well and appearing respectable, which we believe was an index to a change that was more than skin deep. Two years later he agreed to the appointment of a woman guardian for Mary, which we might not have been able to carry through, if forced to court.

The outstanding point about the treatment of this case is the fact that the damaging evidence was used as a sort of refined blackmail in getting the father to do what we felt should be done. The tact and personality of the agent and the use of the church and Sunday School were also helpful in working out the plan.

How to Keep Children Out of Court

May I enumerate a number of things which any protective society ought to do in its effort to keep children from court. This is far from being an inclusive list.

(1) Use of such virtues in the agent as tact, patience, persistence, force of personality, appeal to reason and of all that is good in the parents, moral suasion.

(2) Appeal to fear, use of threats, direct and indirect, giving of orders, warning; use as a lever of damaging evidence or embarrassing secret.

(3) Use of other agencies in the community—Boy Scouts, Girls' Clubs, Fathers' and Mothers' Clubs, relief organizations, health agency, summer outings, relatives, church and child placing societies.

(4) Securing readjustment of employment; co-operation with the parents' employers.

(5) Miscellaneous devices which ingenious agents may work out; informal hearing at headquarters of agency as worked out in the Buffalo

S. P. C. C. at Buffalo; use of housekeeper and neighbors in emergency matters; use of language which is readily understood by parents, eliminating the necessity of an interpreter.

(6) Direct action against parents.

I would suggest that every child protective worker frequently ask himself the following questions:

1. Shall we take neglected children to court at all times when the evidence warrants a finding?
2. If not, what determines whether or not we shall take court action?
3. Are your answers theoretical or practical?
4. Is the court action against children the easiest method?
5. Which method tests and develops resourcefulness?
6. Is the settlement without court action more constructive, and are you trying to make court action constructive?
7. Are you bending every effort to find the good points in family life and to draw out and develop the hidden virtues?
8. Do you find the temptation to decide that where a case can not be taken to court it had better wait until new evidence comes in which warrants you in taking it to court?
9. Do you correct home conditions by taking action against the parents, making them the defendants instead of the children?

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

On informal discussion, *Mr. J. M. Hanson* of Youngstown agreed with the policy of keeping children out of court. In Youngstown they reach children in the home through agents in the schools, attempting to make adjustments before the child suffers. A truancy case is first passed on in the principal's office, and attempts are made, such as by moving, etc., to adjust the difficulty. The city is districted and they aim to put enough workers in each district to know the situation. The care of the normal child is the center of the plan, but they aim to take care of the problem of social neglect also. Each school principal is a sworn deputy of the Court of Domestic Relations.

Rev. M. V. Crouse of Cincinnati cited a case where a woman was bad and deserted her family. The husband seemed decent, found a housekeeper and supported the family in good shape, but admitted immoral relations with the housekeeper. Mr. Crouse was asked to help break up the family, but refused. Did he do right?

Mr. C. C. Carstens, Boston, Mass., stated that there were two reasons why the group should be broken up. "We are working for the long rather than the short run. In place of the original illicit couple, five children will grow up with the same ideals as the parents, and these bad ideals will thus be multiplied by five. We have been in a race struggle for thousands of years to reach the present level of morality. We are either fighting with or against sound community standards. We are working for good family standards. Such a situation strikes at the institution of the family itself."

Miss Frances Knight, Detroit, felt that a boy or girl of nine or eleven knows the situation, and would be affected by the vicious surroundings. She questioned how much of a dividend can be declared if we tolerated conditions where a boy and girl grow up in immoral surroundings, and go out and reproduce the same in the next generation.

Question: Is it a moral situation or a legal one, and if the latter, why not adjust the legal?

Miss H. Ida Curry of New York felt that the situation was both a legal and moral problem. She suggested taking the children at once and keeping them until by legal readjustment the home can be re-established.

Mrs. Ophelia L. Amigh of Alabama: In Alabama we have had so much of living together in this promiscuous sort of way that the sacredness of the marriage tie seems to be an unknown quantity to at least one class of the present generation. Illiteracy and inferior mentality, I believe, are largely to blame for these deplorable conditions.

Miss E. M. McChristie, Cincinnati, stated that a decree of divorce can be legally granted, but what effect would it have on the minds of the children to know that immoral conditions previously existed.

Mr. Carstens felt it would be good for them to know that the law must be obeyed.

Miss McChristie inquired about the effectiveness of prosecuting the parents, and how often too much delay occurs in completing the prosecution.

Mr. Douglas Falconer of Buffalo stated that in his organization they have a mock trial for cases in the office of the society. The agents have the psychological advantage of meeting the parents there when an extra jerk is needed for the situation. The recalcitrant father is called in by letter and generally responds.

Mr. James E. Ewers, Cleveland, discussed the Protection of Girl Witnesses in the

Prosecution of Adults in Sex Offenses. Under the present procedure in most states the girl must first tell her story to a male police officer; again at the lower court hearing; next to the grand jury and finally at the trial court before a jury. This constant repetition of the story has a very demoralizing effect upon the girl. He advocated doing away with the lower court hearing or the grand jury hearing whenever possible. If the grand jury hearing is required, he would have the testimony presented by affidavit or deposition when possible.

Among others who participated in the discussion of the case problem presented were: W. J. Sayres, Muncie; E. E. Bishop, Saginaw; Mrs. Evelyn F. Stires, Cleveland; James F. Murray, Newark; H. L. Hosford, Wooster; Robert E. Mills, Toronto; Sophie Theis, New York.

THE INTER-RELATIONS OF THE SCHOOL AND SOCIAL WORK

An Entirely Informal Discussion

Dr. Helen T. Woolley of Cincinnati: The relationship between the social worker and the public school man is already established. Both school teachers and social workers are primarily educators, their object being to make citizens well-behaved and self-supporting. When the school fails to realize that aim, the social worker tries to find out what is wrong. It is the favorite sport of the National Conference to take a shot at the public schools and the conference sometimes gives the impression that the public schools are the most pernicious institutions in the country, whereas they actually make a bigger contribution to the public welfare than any other single institution.

The social worker soon discovered he, too, must become an educator; he must educate the child to behave differently, and to do that he must educate the public first to see what is fundamentally wrong, and then to understand and support his methods. On the other hand, the schools in carrying out the educational program find themselves launched into social work. Their problems become social ones: enforcing school attendance, providing medical inspection and visiting nurses, supervising children in industry and issuing employment certificates. The schools take an active part in the child labor campaign. However, the social workers, more frequently than the schools, take the initiative in these campaigns because public institutions are slow to move and are hampered in making experiments. They only undertake these campaign when popular opinion has created a demand for them.

The kinds of cooperation now existing between the schools and the social agencies are related to health, child labor and delinquency. In Cincinnati the schools have adopted a medical program and equipped themselves with machinery for carrying it out. Hospital beds are at the disposal of the school children. There are clinics for eye and ear, and glasses are furnished. There are special schools for the blind and deaf. The Anti-Tuberculosis League controls the admission of children into open-air schools. There are schools for crippled children and transportation provided for these children. This work is done in cooperation with the Council of National Defense. In Cincinnati, too, there is a very insistent demand for mental hygiene clinics and three or four psychiatrists have agreed to examine any children recommended by Mrs. Woolley's committee.

In Ohio the child labor program was a joint campaign of the schools and the child labor committee. In 1910 Mr. Dyer, Mr. Clopper and Miss Campbell put through the state legislature a law providing for supervision of the working children. A place to work and the authority to work were secured from the school. The money to finance the office was collected from individuals. Out of this cooperative effort grew three important features: a system of issuing employment certificates, a child study laboratory, which serves the needs of the social agencies and the schools, and a Placement Office, including a set of records which make over-lapping impossible. The Board of Education is now paying two-thirds of the expense and the Council of Social Agencies one-third.

The system of child study has reacted on the school system in a variety of ways: (1) It has started classes for superior, rapidly progressing children; (2) it has started slow moving classes; (3) it has developed a scholarship fund now being financed by the Council of National Defense, but which will be taken over by the Council of Social Agencies; (4) it has organized Observation Classes for early diagnosis and treatment of children who fail, including a social investigation of the home in order to diagnose the causes of failure and interpret them to the families.

Problems of behavior prove to be sometimes questions of personal adjustment, sometimes of school adjustment when children are in wrong classes, sometimes a need of sex instruction, and very frequently a need for recreation. In connection with recreation the schools have cooperated with the Boy and Girl Scouts and with the community centers. A colored community center was recently opened, initiated by the schools; the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A. and the War Camp Community Service cooperating.

Mr. C. M. Bookman, Judge Charles W. Hoffman and Mr. Condon have discussed a plan for the schools to take over a part of the work now done by the courts, because the schools can begin preventive work earlier and the children should be kept out of court. The Civic and Vocational League by training children in practical citizenship also helps to prevent delinquency.

Additional facilities for understanding the child which might be undertaken by the schools are two: First, a cumulative record card, worked out to follow the child through school, including academic records, physical examinations, social records of the family

conditions and teachers' estimates of the children's ability and personality; and second, the visiting teacher who should make regular and more frequent visits to the home.

The field of social work furnishes an advanced laboratory in which educational recommendations can be worked out and when the experiments have been tried and the public educated they will become a part of the educational program of the country.

Mr. C. C. Carstens of Boston: The relationship of social work to the public school from the standpoint of the social worker is the subject of my brief remarks. While there are definite efforts under way to have the public school assume all of the functions of social work which seems at the present time millennial if not quixotic, there is no social worker dealing with children's problems who does not recognize a very intimate relationship. The social worker deals with truancy, special classes, medical inspection, juvenile delinquency, feeble-mindedness, and other problems of the community. Likewise the teacher. It is important that each should know not only of the other's existence and of his interest, but that their interests should be so dove-tailed that there should come out of it a joint program of service for the community.

Other speakers participating in this discussion were: Henry J. Gideon, Philadelphia; Nellie Flannigan, Kansas City; Mrs. Blanche J. Paget, Philadelphia; Henry W. Thurston, New York; E. Caulkins, Washington, and Anna B. Pratt, Philadelphia.

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II. DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION

DIVISION COMMITTEE—1918-19

Chairman, Col. Cyrus B. Adams, St. Charles School for Boys, St. Charles, Ill.

Secretary, Leslie F. Hayford, Trustees of Massachusetts Training Schools, Boston.

Rowland F. Beasley.....	Raleigh	Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder.....	Framingham
Demarchus C. Brown.....	Indianapolis	Charles W. Hoffman.....	Cincinnati
Edith N. Burleigh.....	Boston	Maj. Bascom Johnson.....	Washington
Joseph P. Byers.....	Philadelphia	F. Emory Lyon.....	Chicago
Frank L. Christian.....	Elmira, N. Y.	Maude E. Miner.....	New York
Charles L. Chute.....	Albany	Lottie S. Olney.....	Columbia, S. C.
James A. Collins.....	Indianapolis	Mrs. Jane Deeter Rippin.....	New York
Edwin J. Cooley.....	New York	John J. Sonsteby.....	Chicago
Bernard Glueck, M. D.....	Ossining	Arthur J. Todd.....	Minneapolis

DIVISION COMMITTEE—1919-20

(Year of expiration of term of office appears in parenthesis after each member's name.)

Chairman, Dr. Bernard Glueck, New York School of Social Work.

Secretary, Dr. Horatio M. Pollock, State Hospitals Commission, Albany, N. Y.

Col. Cyrus B. Adams (1922).....	St. Charles, Ill.	Burdette G. Lewis (1922).....	Trenton
Demarchus C. Brown (1920).....	Indianapolis	Emory F. Lyon (1921).....	Chicago
Edith N. Burleigh (1921).....	Boston	Maude E. Miner (1920).....	New York
Joseph P. Byers (1921).....	Philadelphia	Samuel D. Murphy (1922).....	Birmingham
Frank L. Christian (1920).....	Elmira	Mrs. Jane Deeter Rippin (1921).....	New York
Charles L. Chute (1921).....	Albany	Henry K. W. Scott (1922).....	St. Cloud, Minn.
Edwin J. Cooley (1920).....	New York	Dr. Carrie Weaver Smith (1922).....	Gainesville, Tex.
Bernard Glueck (1921).....	New York	John J. Sonsteby (1922).....	Chicago
Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder (1922).....	Sherborn, Mass.	Arthur J. Todd (1921).....	Minneapolis
Charles W. Hoffman (1920).....	Cincinnati		
Rabbi Emil W. Leipziger (1922).....	New Orleans		

SUB-COMMITTEES

Causes of Delinquency, Dr. Bernard Glueck, New York, Chairman.

Probation and Parole, Herbert C. Parsons, Boston, Chairman.

Protective Work for Women, Maude E. Miner, New York, Chairman.

Statistics, Dr. Horatio M. Pollock, Albany, Chairman.

PROGRAM

At the meeting of the National Conference at Atlantic City, June 1-8, 1919, 322 delegates registered as members of this Division. The Division Committee, as elected at the 1918 conference at Kansas City, is shown on the opposite page. Seven meetings for discussion were held as follows:

	PAGE
June 5, 8:15 P. M. The State and the Criminal.....	99
June 2, 10:00 A. M. Labor Problems	107
June 2, 3:00 P. M. Probation and Parole	113
June 4, 10:00 A. M. The State Training School.....	125
June 5, 3:00 P. M. Causes of Delinquency.....	130
June 6, 10:00 A. M. The Policewoman and the Girl Problem.....	134
June 7, 10:00 A. M. Truancy	143

The meeting on June 2, forenoon, was a joint session with Division VI, on Industrial and Economic Problems; that on June 2, afternoon, a joint session with the National Probation Association; that on June 5, afternoon, a joint session with Division VIII, on Mental Hygiene; and that on June 5, evening, a joint session with Division IV, on Public Agencies and Institutions.

A luncheon for officers of public training schools for boys and girls was held on June 7, the following constituting the Committee on Arrangements: Leon C. Faulkner, Hobart H. Todd, Charles Dunn, Jr., W. F. Penn, and Amy F. Everall.

TRANSACTIONS

At a meeting of the Division held on Monday, June 2nd, 1919, a Committee on Nomination was appointed to recommend a chairman and members of the Division Committee and Secretary for the ensuing year. The following were named members of the Committee:

Cyrus B. Adams, St. Charles, Ill.
Miss Edith N. Burleigh, Boston.
Mrs. Jane Deeter Rippin, New York.
John J. Sonsteby, Chicago.
Amos W. Butler, Indianapolis.

At a meeting of the Division on June 3rd the Committee reported recommending the following named persons for positions indicated, in addition to continuing members of the committee, and the report was adopted.

For Chairman: Dr. Bernard Glueck, New York.

For Committee: Dr. Carrie Weaver Smith, Texas; Rabbi E. W. Leipziger, Louisiana; Mrs. J. D. Hodder, Massachusetts; Col. Cyrus B. Adams, Illinois; Mr. H. K. W. Scott, Minnesota; Mr. Burdette G. Lewis, New Jersey; Judge Samuel D. Murphy, Alabama; Mr. John J. Sonsteby, Illinois.

For Secretary: Dr. Horatio M. Pollock, Albany, New York.

(Signed) C. B. ADAMS, Chairman.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE TREATMENT OF LAWBREAKERS

Col. C. B. Adams, Superintendent, St. Charles (Illinois) School for Boys.

When you see the outside of some great prison you may be carried back to that stage in prison work called by Wines the "stage of repression." But we do progress, and prison management and the directors of prisons, wardens and superintendents of reformatories are doing real things today which would not have been thought possible fifteen or twenty years ago.

The old contract system so long in vogue in this country has been done away with practically in every state except, I think, two; a system that was vicious both for the contractors and for the prisoner, as well as for every laborer outside. In its place have come the "state use" and the "state account" plans. Generally these systems have worked out successfully, particularly in the states of Massachusetts, New York, Michigan, Minnesota and Illinois.

But we are going beyond that. We think today of the outdoors, of the land, for the man who has been committed to reformatory or prison. In the south, where for so many years the contract system was in vogue, in the great states of Louisiana and Mississippi, they have bought large tracts of land. I think Louisiana has 27,000 acres and Mississippi over 20,000, where the prisoners are working not under contractors but under the state, on great farms on the state account plan. There is no better place in the world to build up those who possibly are defective, both in mind and in body, than the great outdoors. There are two middle western states that now have under construction new prisons. The state of Illinois has a farm of 2,200 acres near Joliet where they are building a new prison supposedly the most modern in the world. On that farm they will have colonies where prisoners will live. In Michigan in recent years at Jackson they have formed colonies on a great farm of over 3,000 acres, where the prisoners live in cottages, in communities of about fifteen or twenty, where men who have been committed for serious felonies live. There was one cottage community of sixteen men without an officer in charge when I visited there. Ohio has purchased a large tract of land and a new prison for that state is already planned.

Massachusetts two or three years ago established camps in the country for land reclamation and work on the public highways. I know something about these camps, as the first one was established through my own efforts. A community of forty men lived in temporary buildings on the land of the Rutland Sanatorium for the purpose of cleaning up and draining a large tract. Later there was another camp at Sherborn, on the farm land of the women's reformatory, and still later two road camps were established made up of men transferred from the reformatory and the house of correction.

One in the northern part of the state was a community of forty men from state's prison. How many officers do you suppose we had in charge of that camp, and how many guards? One officer and a foreman. Not a man attempted to escape. You must remember this, that in all our prisons and reformatories there is a class called accidental criminals. Quite a large percentage of these are trustworthy, dependable, and also loyal to the right sort of prison management. From that class you can make up communities for road work, for land reclamation, and they will carry it out successfully, working one hundred per cent efficiently.

This is one of the developments in the modern treatment of lawbreakers that is coming about these last few years. More important, possibly, than

that is the study of the individual prisoner. We used to look upon them, in the stage of repression, en masse. They all looked alike to the old time warden, but today the individual is being studied. Three states have established, or are about to establish, clearing houses for such study,—New York, Illinois and Massachusetts. Instead of committing a man to a particular institution he is now committed to the custody of a board of control, or a bureau of prisons, as it is called in Massachusetts, there to be examined first by the physician, then by the psychiatrist, and then by the psychologist, to determine just where he will fit in to school or industry. That is a great step in advance. The man will be assigned by this board, or bureau, to the particular prison to which he is best suited for mental and physical treatment. A bill recently passed the Senate in Massachusetts requiring every man and woman committed to be examined as to his or her mental condition.

We do progress. The prison of tomorrow will be an improvement upon the old type of prison,—a prison with walls and cells for a certain class of prisoners requiring custodial care,—with cottages inside the walls, with dormitories, and outside the walls will be farm cottages and colonies. Mr. Whitman, superintendent of prisons of Illinois, has in mind such a graded system, passing the man from one to the other, from the cell to the cottage inside the walls, and then finally to the cottage outside. No man should be permitted to go upon parole if he cannot live in a cottage outside the walls.

We do progress, and we will continue to progress. The reformatory and the prison of today are simply following in the footsteps of the schools for delinquent boys and girls which long ago put into effect what is now being carried out as the new preventive measures. I have had long experience in being superintendent of reformatories and director of prisons and as superintendent of a boys' school, and I know that these institutions for delinquents were the first in the line of progress in modern prison reform. Possibly now the prisons will take the lead in matters of reform.

PUBLIC CHARITABLE AGENCIES AND SOCIETY

Robert W. Kelso, Executive Director, State Board of Charity, Boston

In the evolution of our public institutions we are emerging from the Stone Age. You, lovers of fiction, will recall that altogether dreadful dungeon in the Chateau d'If, where the sun never shone and where the light of day did not penetrate, where walls dripped unnatural dew, and where sorrow and deadening despair hung like a pall over that future Count of Monte Cristo as he lay upon a stone slab the round of each twenty-four hours for an eternity of seventeen years. A little while ago I stood in a cell built of granite block four feet thick. Its window, of reluctant dimensions, was filled up with chilled steel bars each an inch and a half in thickness, set in four rows, staggered. It was the lightest, the roomiest, the airiest, the best of the series of dungeons in which an American citizen of an enlightened American State had moped in "solitary" for the space of forty years.

That cell is a relic of the Stone Age. Today Pomeroy, the luckless, still in custody, walks out into the light of day. The cells of that prehistoric pile have opened, and into them have gone the physician and psychiatrist. They have found over half the inmates mentally or nervously abnormal—so abnormal as to make their offenses the proximate result of their defects. They have found a third of them feeble-minded.

And behind these advance agents of the age of reason has come the camp administrator, with the result that the normal men and many of the defectives—lifers and thieves, murderers and plain crooks—have gone out onto the land, still in custody, to earn their daily bread—out under God's sunshine where God has ever intended them to be. Man's puny efforts at

banishment, in favor for a time, have failed. We are emerging from the Stone Age.

In speaking thus about our prisons, I do not depart from my subject. In respect of this march of progress, the charitable institutions of the United States do not differ, nor are the signs they manifest any less remarkable.

Chauncey Depew once said he was a believer in signs. He became so, he said, from having spent his early life in the family of an undertaker. He learned there to tell when business was brisk by the fact that at those seasons they always had flowers on the table and ice on the butter. These were infallible signs!

I am a believer in signs. When departments of charities begin to advance their research divisions to a position exalted above that even of the architect; when legislatures appropriate money for survey and analysis even though they may be pinched a little for funds with which to buy cows or to extend the piggery; when Miss Lathrop is forcing the entire Nation into a brown study upon the problems of child rearing—when these new departures begin to show all over the land, I think I see in them the infallible signs of a new day.

Public charities in days gone by have been engaged—and they are still so occupied—in the never ending pursuit of *gathering up the remains*. Public charities of the future are to bend their greatest thought to reducing the causes that result in social debris.

We have talked of prevention in this conference for decades. The difference between *then* and *now* is that where formerly we merely hoped, now, in this year of returning peace, the forward looking nations come as one people to a re-appraisal of the individual and his relationship to the Sovereign. Man-power for the purposes of peace is a new realization. The prevention of social decline is a new faith.

The other day I passed along a row of infants lying in their cribs in the nursery of a state institution. Among them was one much larger than the rest, yet plainly an infant in face and form—if one can say that it really had a face—more repulsive features I have not seen. It could move a little and open its eyelids slightly. It had never taken any nourishment but milk. The doctor told me that it was a case of congenital cretinism; that its mother had died recently of influenza. It was twenty-five years old last month. The state provides care by a graduate nurse throughout each of the twenty-four hours of each day for this helpless being. A competent physician is in attendance at all times. Such care is no more than humanity in these days demands. And yet—I ask you the fair question—when, out of human sympathy, we set aside the obvious law of nature in this way, do we not owe to Society the positive obligation of bending every effort to discover and defeat the causes which bring such hopeless creatures into being?

This turning from the gathering up of wreckage to the attack upon causes comes out forcefully in the vigor with which venereal diseases are now being attacked. To spend years of special nursing upon mal-formed, half-made, congenital syphilitics is humane, but it does not advance the vigor of the race. The pursuit of venereal diseases through the clinic, the hospital and the suppression of prostitution is preventive social service.

We pride ourselves justly upon the development of farm colonies for inebriates. But have you ever stopped to think what dupes the Public have been in this business? They legalize the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors, knowing full well that by this means a large proportion of the domestic tragedy, the abuse of wife and children, the neglect and the debauchery that wreck American homes is produced. And having done this good turn to a predatory business, we have developed a truly remarkable system of institutional care, out of public taxes, for the poor devils who are

thus debauched. We know that the social damage of alcohol is beyond money calculation. We know that in mere dollars it costs more than it yields by many fold. Yet, we excuse ourselves—or we used to excuse ourselves—by saying that the individual has rights which should not be abridged. The development of farm colonies is in the broader sense only a sorry manipulation of end results—a child-like confession of the Community's inability to keep itself fit. It is a salve-rubbing process, seeking to rehabilitate that which is beyond remedy.

Removing the sanction of law from the makers and vendors of alcohol and habit-forming drugs is preventive social service; and the more whole-hearted the Administration and the Public in their prohibition, the more effective the prevention.

It was sympathetic and truly charitable to establish maternity wards for the delivery of unmarried mothers. It is the practice frequently throughout the land this day to relieve that mother of her child, thus freeing her for a repetition of her very natural performance. There, again, we merely gather up the remains. It is preventive social service to examine backward children for their mentality and to give supervision and segregation, where necessary, to the feeble-minded girl with sex tendencies. The greatest facts about professional prostitutes are first the certainty of their venereal disease and second, their feeble-mindedness.

But this changing point of view in the social field is not a mere popular style in thought. It goes deep into the consciousness of the individual citizen. It is native to the Anglo-Saxon mind to judge the individual by his conduct, rather than by his condition. In one way, it may be said that the process of treating end results—the characteristic of public charity of the past—is judgment according to conduct; it follows after the fact. And in that same way it may be said of the preventive charity now dawning that it treats the individual rather according to his condition. Yes, it goes farther: it is apt to reason that one man's conduct can be evidence generally of another man's condition. That is a tenet hard for the Anglo-Saxon to square with his legal concepts. The movement from sympathy to prevention is, therefore, a deep-seated change in the thought of the world.

The true explanation of this revolution in thought I believe to be the demonstrations of science. The citizen is coming to know in spite of superstition and inertia that hereditary transmission of physical and mental characters is a reality, subject to definite and ascertainable laws; and he sees that so long as the causes continue to operate, there is no limit to his process of gathering up the remains. Even legislatures are beginning to perceive.

In the days when Kansas was not such a bower of roses as now, there dwelt a farmer, a native of that state, who owned two 80's of land. He traded one of them for a cow; and the fellow who owned the cow was so stupid that while he wasn't looking the farmer slipped both 80's into the deed! This vast domain in institution lands and far-reaching collonades of public buildings which we own are not an asset in the great ultimate social meaning of the term. They are but a confession of weakness. Our social program must seek by every means to remove the causes which under present conditions make those institutions necessary. It must seek to analyze causes. It must undertake painstaking researches into the laws of heredity; into the human waste in industry; into the heavy infant death rate and the increasing mortality among mothers in childbirth.

And it must regulate that sympathy which is the soul of philanthropy. There was once a man—and I suspect he was a charity director—who owned a dog and a cat. Observing that the dog must leap the high board fence whenever he came into the yard this sympathetic master sawed a sizable hole at the bottom through which the dog might walk without effort. And then, being just and impartial in his sympathy, he sawed another hole nearby for

the cat! What we need in modern philanthropy is not less sympathy but more reason—a sympathy tempered by common sense.

And finally, my friends, it requires faith—a towering faith—to see and to believe in this future of public charity. You may have heard of that venerable divine who announced his text for the following Sabbath. In the meantime, two bad boys secured access to the pulpit Bible and glued the pages together. Sunday came, and the minister, adjusting his specs, opened the Scriptures at the appointed place and began—"And when Noah was an hundred and forty years old, he took unto himself a wife and she—he turned over the double page—was three hundred cubits long, fifty cubits wide, made of gopher wood and lined with pitch inside and out!" There seemed to be something wrong somewhere, but there it was in plain writing. Finally the minister looked fondly over his flock and said, "My friends, I do not recall having seen these words just this way in the Scriptures before; but I accept them as incontestable proof that we are fearfully and wonderfully made!"

The public charitable service of the future requires an abiding faith. It cannot be done by the time server. It must have breadth of view; it must have skill; it must have courage. It must have a faith that can remove mountains.

SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

Prof. Roscoe Pound, Dean of the Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass.

Mine is a subject which men have been discussing from the time of Socrates, and are likely to discuss throughout all time. One might perhaps think of the proud parishioner of the colored clergyman who was dwelling on the reverend gentleman's powers, and said "he knew the unknowable, did the undoable, and unscrewed the unscrutable." One must needs feel in dealing with such a subject that he is indeed endeavoring to unscrew the inscrutable; and in attempting so ambitious a task I suspect he is much more likely to find he has done little if anything beyond elucidating the obvious. But this ancient theme is of importance for us today because undoubtedly we are in the presence of a reaction from the emphasis upon the social that characterized our thinking in all the social sciences during the past two decades.

The Individualist Reaction

For a time the nineteenth century individualist was doing no more than fighting an obstinate rear-guard action. He was content to protest against extravagant emphasis upon the social, and to urge a certain verity in the extreme individualist point of view. Of late he has begun to halt and hold his head high, and indeed even to make counter attacks. Some have gone so far as to urge that recent theories of social interests have "abolished the individual." In large part this reaction seems to me to proceed upon a misunderstanding of the significant features of the social point of view. Indeed, I venture to believe that we are only just beginning to grasp the importance and to perceive the possibilities of that point of view.

Our thinking, like our institutions, like our speech, like our spelling, yes, like the ground plan of our cities, is largely conditioned by the past. One of our fundamental local units is the county which in its very name preserves the memory of the days when the earl and the bishop administered in their territorial domain. In our representative government the representatives still represent soil—the paramount interest of the Middle Ages—not directly modern interests. The words we use by which our thinking is

conditioned have thousands of years of history behind them, and our spelling records the vicissitudes of that history. In the larger and older cities of the Atlantic coast the very street plan of the city represents, not the needs of the traffic of today, but the caprice or convenience of the first settler in pioneer days, or perhaps in the case of one of our oldest cities, the caprice or convenience of the seventeenth-century cow. In like manner our thinking on the relation of society and the individual is conditioned not primarily by the circumstances of modern society, but by two ideas of the past.

Older Interpretations of the Social Order

One of these is the idea of society as a voluntary product of individual agreement, like a partnership or a corporation—an idea by which after the breakdown of the medieval social organization men sought to give expression to the social interest in the individual life. The other of these ideas is the Byzantine conception of the state as authority from without, not public service from within, revived with the rise of the national idea after the Reformation, and given strength by the development of strong central national governments in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Under the influence of these ideas we came to think of the conflict between individual interests and the interests of politically organized society—or rather the interests of the personified political organization of society—as a fundamental antithesis between society and the individual. The circumstances of the contest between the courts and the Crown in seventeenth-century England intrenched this mode of thought in American law and American politics, and our Bills of Rights are full of it. Accordingly in the nineteenth century we were wont to read the history of civilization as a history of individual struggle against organized society to establish and secure individual rights, and our classical legal and political thought put society and all social groups as products of individual agreement.

As anything more than an attempt at a rational account of the social interest in the individual human life nothing could be more untrue. Metaphysically the individual conscious ego may, if you will, be the unit. But it is a profound mistake to take that ego for the ultimate reality in the social world. You and I are born into the great stream of society. We die out of it. But it went on before us and will go on after us, and if some of us are able to do something to shape some part of its course, yet how much more will it have shaped us, molding our thoughts by fixing the conditions under which and words by which we think, controlling our actions by bonds of convention, fashion, general opinion, of which we are hardly conscious, which we can resist only here and there, and then often but feebly, and forming our very personality by the pressure day and night of a thousand points of contact with our fellows in the stream. So true is it that the individual is a social product or a social outcome rather than society an individual product.

A few years ago all this was, one might say, trite. But a reaction has set in. Men have come to fear that in this emphasis on the social stream the interests of the individual in the stream will be overlooked and neglected—as it has been said, that our social thinking would abolish the individual. Thus there is coming to be a marked revival of the abstract individualism against which we were all in revolt a decade ago.

I submit the way to meet this reaction is to recognize the kernel of truth in the old individualism—that is, that one of the chiefest of social interests is that each individual have an opportunity to lead a human life; to recognize a social interest in the moral and social life of the individual, and to recognize that one of the chief agencies of social progress is individual freedom and individual initiative.

An Engineering Interpretation

Much of the progress in thinking consists in new ways of putting old ideas, and new ways of stating old problems. In the past we have tried to state the problem of society and the individual in terms of law by theories of a social contract, in terms of metaphysics by theories of the general will and the state personality, and in terms of biology by theories of a well-ordered struggle for existence. I venture to think we may gain something by stating it in terms of engineering. In this belief I have on several occasions hazarded an engineering interpretation of sociology, jurisprudence and politics. Let us think of a great task, or rather a great series of tasks, of social engineering. For our problem is not one of abstract harmonizing of human wills; it is one of concrete securing or realizing of human interests. The central tragedy of existence is that there are not enough of the material goods of existence, as it were, to go round; that while individual wants are infinite the material means of satisfying those wants are finite; that while, in common phrase, we all want the earth, there are many of us but there is only one earth. Thus our task becomes one of conserving these goods of existence in order to make them go as far as possible, of eliminating friction and of eliminating waste, in order that where each cannot have all that he claims, he may at least have all that is possible. Put in this way our problem becomes one of securing as many interests as we can with as little sacrifice as possible of other interests.

Thus our first consideration must be to take stock of these interests which we are to secure, our second to weigh and balance them and determine which we are to secure and within what limits, and our third to find how to secure those which we have recognized and defined.

Of these three problems the last two are foreign to the present purpose. Let us look a moment at the first. When the late Professor Ward sent a copy of his epoch-making "Dynamic Sociology" to a friend in Russia, the censor, whose zeal was strong but whose English was feeble, carefully blocked out the words "dynamic," "sociology" and "social" wherever they occurred. He was not sure just what they meant. But he wanted to be on the safe side, and they looked suspiciously like dynamite and socialism. There is not much in a name, and yet one would wish to use names which even the sensitiveness of the Russian censor of the old regime could not misunderstand. Protesting after the fashion of the common-law pleader that I mean nothing more than to classify, I would venture to suggest that the interests of which we must take account fall into three great groups. One group is individual interests—the claims which the human being makes simply because he is a human being. For example, the claims to be secure in his body and life, in his physical existence; to be secure in his reputation and honor, in his social existence; to be secure in his belief and opinion, in his spiritual existence; to be secure in his domestic relations, in his expanded individual existence, and to be secure in his substance, in his economic existence. Another group may be called public interests—that is, the claims which the state may make simply as such—the claims which are involved in the very existence of a politically organized society. Both these and the next group were thought of originally as individual interests of a personal sovereign, and our thinking ever since has been conditioned too much by this circumstance. Our legal thinking today thinks of the next group as interests of the state in its capacity of guardian of social interests. Let us, however, think of them for the moment directly; let us think rather of the state as an instrumentality through which all interests are, or are sought to be, secured. Looking at it in that way we may put for our third group, social interests, the claims of human society, simply as such—the claims involved in the very existence of civilized human society. Such claims, for instance, are the general security, including in modern times security of acquisitions

and security of transactions, the general morals, the security of social institutions, domestic, religious and political, the conservation of social resources, the general progress, economic, political and cultural, and last, but by no means least, the social interest in the individual moral and social life—the social interest in the individual human existence. Here I venture to think we have the key to our problem. Social control is a matter of compromise. If I assert myself by driving an automobile forty miles an hour, I come into conflict with your interest in freely crossing the street. Men used to think this was simply a problem of compromise between you and me. But it is more than that and more even than a compromise between you and me and politically organized society as an entity. Over and above the claims of individuals and the claims of the sovereign political organization there are the claims made by human civilized society, inherent in the very nature of such society. We have lost sight of most of these in the first great claim of society, the claim to peace and order and health and public safety, and as incidents, to the security of property and contracts; but beyond that there are the other social interests already enumerated, and above all, and the one I want to emphasize here, the social interest in the individual moral and social life—that each human being in society may be able to live a human life. What we have to do is through some system of social engineering to conserve the objects of human claims so as to eliminate friction, eliminate waste and give to these claims the widest possible satisfaction out of the objects to which they apply.

An Engineering Interpretation of the State

Out of this engineering interpretation of the social problem comes a significant change in our idea of the state. Let us for a moment think of it not legally as a relation created by a social compact, nor metaphysically as the general will, nor biologically as a huge super-organism, but functionally as the chiefest of human agencies by which human society achieves its tasks of social engineering. For after all the state is by no means the sole of these agencies. Religious organizations, fraternal organizations, vocational organizations, social and benevolent organizations, even business organizations, do a large part. The state is simply the chiefest and most enduring and most efficacious of these agencies. Thus in this sense we may think of it as a great public service institution—one might say a great public service company, as truly as a railroad company, or a lighting company or a telegraph company—bound from the nature of its undertaking to furnish a reasonable service to all alike at reasonable rates and without discrimination, and to provide a reasonable incidental service and incidental facilities.

Looking at the state in this fashion we may see that it is neither the Leviathan which Hobbes pictured—the monster armed with the sword of war and the sword of justice ruling us from without—nor the benevolent and all-wise father which others have pictured, feeding us, clothing us, educating us, and setting us to wholesome tasks according to our capacity. Lord Coke translated S. P. Q. R., *Stultus populus quacrit Roma*—"A foolish people runneth to Rome." The individualism of the seventeenth-century common law saw no reason why men should run to the great center of authority at every turn.

Much undoubtedly can be done, and must be done, through the organized effort of all of us directed from the center. But the great central machine may attempt too much. Friction and waste are not necessarily eliminated by setting this machine to do what may be done better by spontaneous individual initiative. For, let us repeat, what we are trying to do is to conserve the goods of existence, eliminate friction in the use of them, and prevent waste in the enjoyment of them. Our political organization seeks to do this, and in doing it above all to secure the social interest in the moral

and social life of the individual. If it functions aright it enables each of us and all of us to live a truly human life in civilized society. But in doing this it does much more. If it functions aright it preserves and orders and advances civilization, which is something older and more enduring and more precious than any of us or all of us, and older and more precious and perhaps more enduring than any single organization—to which indeed all human organizations are but means. And what is civilization after all but an increasingly perfect social engineering?

THE LABOR PHASE OF CORRECTIONAL TREATMENT

Burdette G. Lewis, State Commissioner of Institutions and Agencies of New Jersey

Before we countenance the introduction either of Chinese Coolie laborers or of more undesirable European laborers, we should give the inmates of our correctional institutions and of our almshouses an opportunity to do useful work.

The unanswered call for agricultural laborers is heard in every state and the alarm because of the emigration of desirable aliens is becoming general as the days go by. We seem to have a surplus of soldiers in Atlantic Coast cities, but not all of them feel they should become day laborers.

These conditions offer correctional institutions, almshouses, the police and the courts an unparalleled opportunity. Apparently they are to have the same or greater opportunity to help utilize to the utmost the man-power of the country during the period of reconstruction as they saw within their grasp during the latter part of 1918. The times call for straight thinking, for elimination of prejudice, for careful planning and for united action so that the country may profit through the employment of unused labor forces and through the decline in delinquency which the war shows so clearly employment of offenders brings about.

The times are particularly auspicious for inmate labor, since the greatest present demands are for unskilled workers and since most offenders are so utterly unskilled and so uniformly lacking in the ability to concentrate upon the work at hand.

The employment of offenders offers almost immediate relief to the taxpayers who now support so many thousands of them in utter idleness and a promise of better things to the faithful officers of our already overcrowded and poorly constructed and equipped correctional institutions and almshouses. For good wholesome construction work for the offender who is able to work at all lies at the very base of the structure of reformation. Idle brains and idle hands do not afford effective bases for effective correctional work.

Difficulties of Employing Offenders

On the other hand good intentions, big promises and extravagant estimates will never employ many offenders. The problem is too difficult, the offender is too short sighted and too easily discouraged or diverted, while the amount of analyzing of jobs and of planning of work which is required is so great as to discourage the "small fry" political warden or the visionary emotional superintendent before he is well under way.

The size and character of the job is well indicated by the failure of private contracts in prisons, by the failure of the state account system and

by the almost universal failure of the State Use System in our states, to which latter type of failure Minnesota and, to some extent, Michigan, Ohio, and New Jersey are happy exceptions.

The private contractors were too short sighted. They drove the men, made much money for a while, only to find their poor product saleable only in the backwoods or in the West Indies: The state account shops were allowed to deteriorate and never were they of any real help in training the inmates for definite skilled trade or for definite skilled industrial pursuits. For the most part State Use employment has been made impossible at the start by its inheritance of all of the accumulated evils of the private contract and state account employment and still further by the scheming of skeptical private prison contractors who are so skeptical of the success of State Use employment that they are often willing to spend money and to do political work just to make it fail, although they know very well that private contract employment of prisoners was disapproved because it was outlawed by the state before it was outlawed by the Peace Treaty of Versailles.

How Offenders Are to be Employed

A careful analysis must be made of the prison population so that the nature of the human labor problem may be appreciated. Then industrial and other work must be found for each type so that men and women may be trained, not only to turn out more work and a better product, but above all so that they may leave the institutions ready to do something worth while. In order to do this the correctional institution must provide:

1. That the administration of the prison increases rather than decreases the prisoners' incentive to work.
2. That the prisoner is credited for what he does and is not credited for what he does not do.
3. That the prisoner is paid for work actually performed, either in time, in money or in both if possible, with a graduated money payment based upon "effort," "conduct" and "performance," not merely upon "effort" or upon performance.
4. That the prisoner is given work to do which is suited to his abilities and that this work is vocational and developmental in character.
5. That the unskilled and semi-skilled worker is given a chance to work for the most part upon public improvements, in pleasant surroundings and in the open air so that he may become as strong and vigorous as possible.
6. That the semi-skilled and skilled who remain inside the institution are provided with proper equipment and supervision and with adequate materials and working capital.
7. That sabotage and carelessness be checked by humane, kindly and sympathetic but firm supervision and by the spirit of a square deal permeating the whole institution.
8. That the prisoner be made to feel that representatives chosen by him have a voice in the management.
9. That the prisoner be encouraged by higher pay to work with less expensive supervision and to undertake supervisory work himself.
10. That the prisoner be allowed or required to give some of his earnings to support those dependent upon him.
11. That the prisoner be made to realize that the administration of the prison and the parole work are different stages of the same correctional process.
12. That outside work be made, as far as possible, pre-parole stations, that is, try out stations for parole, so that the institution may not be placed in the position of not trusting a man at all up to a certain day and then of trusting him completely the next day or week.

The reorganization of the administration of the prison labor and industrial work to conform to the modern conception of efficient handling of the offender so that all assignments to work are made with a view to rehabilitating the men through proper discipline, up-to-date organization and vocationalized industrial work, requires the most careful planning by the best experts in educational, industrial and reformatory work. The correlation of the parole merit marking system with the wage payments to inmates, requires careful planning and a definitized procedure which comprehends all phases of prison labor, vocational training and educational work.

Wage Payments

The payment of wages to prisoners marks the beginning of a new epoch in the history of prison reform. The abolition of the private contracts in the prison and the substitution of the State Use or State Account Systems does not materially change the attitude of the prisoner and does not provide an incentive to apply himself unless the state is willing to share with him the profits of his labor. If the state substitutes a system which capitalizes inmate labor and does not provide a fair and just wage payment system for the inmates, the flagrant evils of the private contract system are continued under another name and perhaps under more sanitary conditions. State Use and State Account Systems should be planned solely for the purpose of furnishing useful employment that will enable the inmate to develop mentally and physically, to earn sufficient money to tide him over the period of readjustment after release from the prison and to enable him to contribute to the support of his dependents while he is in prison. In the past, we have not fully appreciated that considerable of the mental disturbances of the prisoners were due to worry, and to the constant realization that their dependents are in want and suffering; also the haunting thoughts of the dark future after release from the prison, the time when he must face the world with the stigma placed upon him, weak physically and mentally, and without sufficient funds to carry him through a period which requires money, grit, determination, character, and the assistance of those who will offer an opportunity to him to make a living.

In New Jersey I have planned to place the State Use Work on a business basis. The law provides for the employment of reformatory and prison inmates on state public improvements, for the manufacture of articles for state use, and provides for wage payments to inmates. Inmates of the state prison and the reformatory at Rahway, have been employed by the State Highway Commission on road construction work. The State Highway Commission has contracted with the Department of Institutions and Agencies to pay the prevailing rate of wages, less the cost of extra supervision, plus the cost of housing, furnishing water, maintenance and upkeep of sanitary appliances, less deductions made for inability of inmate labor to perform the standard day's work of free common labor, which is due to the physical inability, inexperience of the men, and the manner in which the work must be performed in order to minimize the possibility of escapes. From experience in cost accounting, it was agreed that twenty-five cents per day, per inmate, was the cost of extra supervision, maintenance and upkeep of buildings, furnishing water, and for the maintenance and upkeep of sewage systems and sanitary appliances; that seventy-five cents per day, per inmate, represented the difference between the value and amount of work performed by inmate labor and that performed by free common labor. The Engineering Department of the State Highway Commission has computed the productive value of inmate labor to be seventy-five per cent of the productive value of free common labor. The cost of maintenance is deducted from the earnings of the men.

Present wage payments to men engaged in road work have been made at the rate of from twenty-five to fifty cents per day.

The United States Army, Salvage Division, entered into a contract with the Department of Institutions and Agencies of New Jersey to employ the inmates of the state prison in repairing and reclaiming army shoes. Compensation and hours of labor for inmates working upon such work were based upon the standard hours and wages prevailing in the vicinity in which the institution is located.

The Motor Vehicle Department contracted with the Department of Institutions and Agencies to furnish the auto license tags for the state. Thirty-six men were employed in the tag shop and received from ten to twenty-five cents per day.

A contract was made with a state institution to furnish bread. The institutional bakery force was increased, and the men paid at the rate of from ten to twenty-five cents per day.

The State Highway Commission has placed an order with the Department of Institutions and Agencies, to make highway signs. The men in this department will be paid from ten to twenty-five cents per day.

The laborers and cleaners in the shops will receive from ten to twenty-five cents per day. All runners, clerks, house men, waiters, and kitchen men receive two and one-half cents per day. The institutional mechanics have been paid at the rate of two and one-half cents per day. It is planned to increase this rate to from ten to twenty-five cents per day. The cleaners, kitchen men and cooks at the road camps are paid at the rate of twenty-five cents per day.

The men engaged at the prison farm on farm work and on clearing the land, will, after the first of July, be paid at the rate of twenty-five cents per day. The state legislature appropriated eleven thousand dollars to provide for the wage payment to the men employed on the farm.

The parole merit marking system is correlated with the wage payments, so that a man who does not come up to the standard of conduct, effort and performance does not receive the standard day's credits, and if his effort and performance falls below standard, he is demoted and deprived the privilege of employment, which enables him to receive the benefit of wage payments.

A Goodyear Welt Shoe shop has been installed in the prison, with the most modern equipment. It is planned to manufacture shoes for the state institutions and to pay the men at the rate of from ten to twenty-five cents per day.

These are statements of how we pay men in money; of equal or of even greater importance are our rules, methods of administration and systems of classifications pursuant to which we pay men in time through a credit and marking system. This credit and marking system is the latest modern development of the credit and marking systems developed originally in Irish prisons. It is, if scientifically planned and properly and honestly administered, the most important instrumentality in modern prison administration. It eliminates the outstanding evils of the old prison commutation plan, which was supposed to grant commutation in accordance with effort, conduct and performance, but which has been in practice little less than a device for shortening prison terms regardless of the prisoners' conduct, effort and performance.

Under the New Jersey law, the State Board of Control of Institutions and Agencies is empowered to adopt general rules governing the administration of institutions and parole of inmates. The local institutional board, however, is held responsible for the administration of the general plan and for the parole of institutional inmates. It is, therefore, apparent that the general rules adopted by the board, which have the force of law, must be

broad and comprehensive enough to cover the different classes of institutions subject to the jurisdiction of the board.

The reception, classification and credit marking plan of New Jersey adopted by the State Board of Control of Institutions and Agencies after a conference with institutional boards of managers and superintendents was promulgated on January 19, 1919.

Industrial Work As Contrasted with Common Labor Effort

One of the all important features of any administration and employment program is the system of classification adopted. This must be so synchronized with the administrative work of the institution as to separate those who are capable of industrial training from those who are not so capable.

One of the points of controversy in prison management is between those who wish to employ men within prison walls and those who wish to employ them beyond prison walls. I have just returned from a brief visit to many of the leading progressive states of the country, more convinced than ever that the warden or superintendent is the principal factor in determining whether or not a state is able to employ a maximum number of men upon public work beyond the prison walls. If the superintendent is a man of vision, if he is a good judge of men, if he is a man who inspires confidence in himself as a just man and is a capable employer, if he is the kind of a man who will employ all the best methods which experience in employing men shows to be necessary, he will be able to employ many scores of prisoners beyond prison walls, whom the old fashioned skeptical warden dare not permit to go, even for an hour, beyond the walls of his institution. Assuming, however, that we have a prison superintendent with the proper modern point of view and that he is in turn supported by a proper corps of capable officers there still remains the big problem as to how far we should go in attempting to employ men in machine industry and in other work requiring a relatively high degree of skill.

The Joint Committees on Labor and Employment and on State Use, of the State Board of Control of Institutions and Agencies, the Board of Managers of the State Prison, the Principal Keeper and the members of my staff have given a great deal of attention to the consideration of this problem in the New Jersey State Prison during the past year. Recently the Joint Committee rendered a final report, which was adopted unanimously by the State Board of Control of Institutions and Agencies. This report was the result of a careful analysis of the abilities and character of the inmates constituting the 1,000 average population of the prison. This report states in part:

1. Organized labor is thoroughly in sympathy with the efforts made to find work for unemployed prisoners, and, as reported by Commissioner Lewis, organized labor has been most helpful and has co-operated in every way to help us solve the problem of employment and of vocational training, not only in the state prison but also in the state homes for boys and girls and in the Rahway reformatory.

2. It is unwise to provide machine industry for more than 200 of the present average population in the state prison.

3. Outdoor work must be found for at least 400 of the present average population of the state prison.

4. No evidence has been forthcoming to justify in any way the pessimism which prevailed, when the State Board took charge, about the possibilities of the state farm at Leesburg.

5. Mosquito extermination work is a desirable outside occupation for prisoners, since it may be carried on during eleven months of the year, and since it is the kind of work that unskilled men may perform easily.

6. The general policy should be adopted of paying a larger return to officers and inmates, either inside or outside of the prison, who do work

which yields a substantial return to the state, either in increased production or reduction in the number of prisoners who fail upon parole and are returned to the prison.

The Joint Committee's report draws a very careful distinction between machine industries which require relatively high degree of adaptability, skill and experience and the various kinds of semi-skilled work which has to be done inside of the prison as well as in the outside world. The Committee came to the conclusion that there is a great deal of outside work to be done which calls for a great deal more than the ordinary common laborer's skill, experience and adaptability. On the other hand, the committee felt that it would be unwise from every point of view to invest in expensive machinery if that machinery were to be operated by one or two men possessing considerable mechanical skill and by a large number of very mediocre persons, who are incapable of profiting by efficient mechanical instruction and experience, who would never be employed upon such class of machines when they are released, where the main purpose of work is to supply occupation for a large number of helpers and assistants, who would, of course, be incapable of profiting by any mechanical training or experience. Such enforced employment would mean that the time of these men would be wasted inside of the prison and they would be deprived of the opportunity of doing constructive work in the open air where they could be built up physically and mentally and at the same time taught to do something which would permit them to earn a living when they leave the institution.

In conclusion, may I suggest that organized labor is deserving of praise for its splendid backing of the plan of training prisoners to do proper occupational work in the correctional institutions of this state and of fitting them to earn a living when they leave the institutions.

Classification

In the last analysis, provided we have the right warden and the right opportunities for employment, our correctional employment program depends upon our study of the individual and upon our classification of him into groups so that he may have the advantage of a system of government and of opportunities of work which are suited to his ability, experience, adaptability and training. There is not sufficient time to discuss the inter-relation of government and discipline with classification and employment. They cannot be handled separately, they are part and parcel of the great correctional problem.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

SALEM COUNTY ROAD CAMP AND PORTABLE JAIL

Mrs. Albert T. Beckett, Chairman of the Committee on County Institutions of Salem County, New Jersey, presented a description of a road camp and portable jail, as follows:

Salem, New Jersey, is largely an agricultural district near the Delaware River, about thirty-two miles south of Camden, and has had no serious problems of a social nature to meet until war was declared in 1914, after which the development of the extensive munitions plant of the DuPont de Nemours Company at Pennsgrove and Carney's Point greatly increased the population. Owing to the great influx of a rough and reckless element about the powder plants and "boom towns," viciousness, in all forms, was rampant. Comparison of annual commitments to Salem county jail show 258 commitments for 1914, and 617 for 1915, more than double in the year. The Board of Freeholders of Salem County, Sheriff, Judge and Prosecutor all realized in the spring of 1915 that the situation was alarming as well as complex, and contemplated enlarging the county jail at a cost of \$30,000.

In May, 1915, the attention of the Board of Freeholders was called to Chapter 119, page 206, Laws of New Jersey, passed March 30, 1915, the operation of which seemed to offer a solution for the tremendous problems that had been thrust upon the county officials.

The Freeholders met with the County Judge, Prosecutor, Sheriff and County Solicitor

to consider the law and the mode of procedure by which such a law could be enforced in Salem county. Sheriff Fox presented plans for a *portable jail* to be used as a county road camp, which were approved by the Board. The work house, or portable jail, was 12 feet wide, 28 feet long and 9 feet high. There were two compartments; in one, bunks for 16 men; the other was used as a dining room and kitchen, cooking being done on oil stoves; at night the superintendent of camp and guard slept in this part on cots that were lowered from the ceiling; a special ventilating device gave plenty of air to inmates.

There were iron bars at windows at the head of each bunk and at the doors. Mr. Thomas F. Waddington, who planned the portable jail, was placed in charge of and developed this unique institution, which not only served as a means of solving the serious problem of housing prisoners committed to Salem County Jail but at the same time inaugurated the work of prison reform in the county. Under the successful operation of this road camp, the county jail has practically become a house of detention for prisoners held for court who cannot secure bail; for those charged with crimes that are not bailable, murder and manslaughter, and for the detention of important witnesses, notably aliens.

Prisoners sentenced for ten days, or with fines and costs that were nominal, were sent to the road camp to work out time and fines and costs. Sentences have ranged from ten days to eight months and fines from \$10.00 to \$1,000.00. Prisoners at camp have numbered from eight on July 12, 1915, to twenty-five in May, 1919.

According to law, amended in 1917, prisoners are paid 50 cents per day of eight hours in the construction of county roads; in case of dependents the earnings may be applied to their needs, provision having been made for same in the law. There is no restraint placed upon the prisoners other than that they are under guard. The food is wholesome, and the men, generally speaking, enjoy the work in the open air, the freedom of moving about from place to place, as well as the opportunity of working out their fine and costs and serving time. The honor system obtains, and credits are given for good behavior and faithful performance of duties imposed.

The experiment was started on July 11, 1915, with eight prisoners. Superintendent Waddington and guard. Men were taken to the county almshouse where they were housed in unused upper stories of the County Asylum. Meals were supplied by the institution at the expense of freeholders. Men were transported morning and night until July 31, when the portable jail was placed in position near the almshouse and occupied by county prisoners continuously to date. On July 31st there were fifteen prisoners, superintendent and guard. From there the portable jail was moved to Daretown, where it was placed on wheels. Twelve horses were required to move the building.

In October a second portable building, used as a cook house and recreation room, was built and added to the camp. From Daretown, in 1915, it was moved to Alloway, N. J., for the winter. Since that time four other moves have been made.

Present equipment includes administration building, bunk house for twenty-four prisoners, cook house, barns and stables for four two-horse teams, tool house, supply house and well of excellent water.

From July 12, 1915, to May 6, 1919, 528 prisoners were committed to the road camp. Of these, 13 escaped and 7 were recaptured.

The prisoners wear ordinary khaki colored or blue overalls and jackets.

This portable road camp for county prisoners was the first of its kind established in the state of New Jersey, and is also accredited with being the first in the United States.

PROBATION AND PAROLE; REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE

Herbert C. Parsons, Secretary, Massachusetts Commission on Probation, Boston

Exact information as to the development of probation and parole in the states which have, with various modification, adopted the use of these instruments is difficult to obtain. Only in the very few states which have provided a supervisory commission or other device for centralized direction of the work are there gathered such facts as give a basis for a comprehensive view. In the other states the development has been local, depending upon the initiative of a particular court, of a county or of a municipality, and where this is the case, as it is most generally, the extent of the work and the methods employed are revealed only in the records of the office or the court. Hence, a report which would deserve the name as constituting a real survey could be produced only by the expenditure of time and by a comprehensive questionnaire. The creation of this committee as a permanent one of the Conference opens the way to such study and it may be hoped, if not definitely promised, that in subsequent years its report may present a close review of conditions and attainments. What is now undertaken and

is herein submitted is only a generalization upon the present standing of these functions and suggestions of their claims to a more advanced and more general employment. If they have justified themselves in experience within territorial bounds, then the plea is justified for their universal application and the public interest demands a vigorous promotion of their extension to universal use.

Purpose of Probation and Parole

The primary distinction between probation and parole is perfectly clear, but needs frequent re-statement. While the words have been popularly interchanged and while they are not always used definitely even in the statutes, their meaning has crystallized to this point,—that probation is the exercise by the court of its power to place in the hands of an officer responsible to the court of ascertained offenders, with a view to their control and particularly to their reformation; and that parole is the exercise by the government on its administrative side of the power to release persons from penal confinement in the expectation that they will conduct themselves properly, with a view to their restoration to normal relationships. Neither of them carries the color of the old order of clemency or leniency. That is to say, they are not fantastic; they are not properly employed as grants of personal favor; they are not sentimental or prejudiced by any considerations contrary to the public interest in the protection of life and property. They are, to be sure, an expression of a humane purpose as to offenders. They are the legal recognition of the desire to help, to restore, rather than to hurt and pull down. They are the legalized and organized expression of the accumulated opinion that the old punitive, retributive policy was injurious to the state just as it was injurious to the offender. And they have their warrant in the belief that the kindlier attitude has possibilities of bringing about a fuller respect for law and order than is attained by a policy of unmitigated punishment. They are a part, and the major part, of a well ordered, discriminating and constructive plan of correction; and they justify themselves to the exact extent that they prove their worth as correctional instruments.

How the Purpose Is Accomplished

It is no longer an unapplied theory that correction can be accomplished through an out-patient care for the possible inmate of a penal institution. Precisely as the treatment of the physically ill or the mentally disordered is coming to be undertaken outside the confines of institutions, the treatment of the offender has moved strongly in the direction of extra-mural control, coupled with a perfectly definite intent to lend an actual helpfulness under normal conditions of life. Whether the ill to be corrected is one of physical ill health or disorderly behavior, the first essential is a clear understanding of the case,—accurate diagnosis, if you please. As to the jail, as well as to the hospital, if commitment is to be avoided or if release is to be granted, there is the inescapable necessity that there shall be supplied a skilled, faithful and considerate care. Hence, both probation and parole, the accepted substitutes for institutional treatment, are successful only when developed with adequate equipment for investigation, prior to their use, and an ample and competent force for supervision.

Universal Application

In the statutes of practically all the states there is some sort of recognition of both probation and parole. What is written into law is not necessarily introduced into practice; but it is token that legislatures at least have felt the pressure of public opinion that these instrumentalities are not ignored in the legal structure of the American state. The variations in the application of the principle are wide and even in the statutes display a caution

against radical departures. The statutory qualifications may be briefly noted to show the lack of logic in the restrained use of a rather new device.

First is the restriction as to the age of the offender. The juvenile court with its necessary accompaniment of probation is common to the states but a full third of them deny the grant of probation to adults. Just as the first steps in building reformatories were the juvenile institutions, so it appears that there is a ready recognition of the warrant for out-door reformation of children but a slower one as to adults. The distinction is false in theory. It is equivalent to saying that when a person arrives at a certain age, generally a very tender age, the hope of correction by helpfulness is to be abandoned; or, if it is to be indulged, must be fulfilled within the walls of an institution. Ordinary knowledge of human nature includes the fact that it is never too late to undertake a change of behavior, that a man or a woman is never too old to be callous to the appeal of a kindly and helpful interest. Public dealing with the sick or with the poor in the application of remedies or in the stimulation of self-help would never draw an age line. By the same sensible rule, the correctional undertaking, through assistance and guidance, has no ground for an age distinction. But that probation for adults does not depend upon theory alone is made clear by the already rich accumulation of experience. The building of additional jails has been stopped and cells have been vacated of their adult tenants far too widely to leave in doubt the prudence of the policy of another sort of restraint coupled with assistance. In the states where adult probation has been longest in use, it has assumed proportions far beyond the juvenile and is as freely employed. In Massachusetts, where the number of cases placed on probation by the courts reaches 25,000 in a year, the percentage of adult cases is 85 and the largest number of persons so cared for is between the ages of 21 and 30, with nearly the same number between the ages of 31 and 40. In New York, in the year 1917, of the 16,991 cases placed on probation, 10,344 were men, 1,268 women, 4,501 boys, 878 girls, the adult percentage being 68.3. Evidence from other states would go to confirm what is indicated in these two, that adult probation, once it gains a foothold, comes to be the major fact as to the state's policy. It is clearly established that wherever the courts are given the opportunity to deal with adult offenders under supervision in lieu of confinement and are equipped with the machinery for its employment, they embrace the opportunity and steadily expand its employment. The courts are under no delusion as to the effectiveness of this instrument. They are led into its use by no careless sentimentality. That they use it more freely and extensively as experience accumulates is evidence enough that it proves its worth.

It seems needless to canvass the reported results of adult probation cases to support the plea for its extension. Such statistics are indeed illuminating and conclusive. But the case for the wider adoption of the method by every court where offenders are presented may well rest upon the fact, established beyond question, that all the courts which have given it test are using it to a rapidly increasing extent. The experience that convinces the justices who have given the method a trial ought to be equally convincing to those courts which have not yet ventured upon it or have not been empowered by state laws so to do.

Another limitation without logic is that which permits only urban courts or those of populous districts to employ probation. The statutes which deny the extension of probation to courts in rural sections simply deny the right of the offender, if he be one of few, to benefits which would be accorded him if he were one or many, and further deny to smaller communities the gain which flows from a scientific and humane dealing with those who offend against them.

Next, we encounter the limitations as to the nature of the offence, the

denial of its use except as to first offenders and its refusal to persons convicted of certain offences. First offence, in the sense of being the first appearance of the person on a criminal charge, is without value as a measure of criminality and positively worthless as an indication of exclusive reformativity. The search for the elements of offending and the determination of how those elements may be removed is a lame undertaking if it stops with the question, "is this the first time?" Statutory limitations are without warrant in the light of experience which undertake to draw a line between the reformatory and the hopeless according to the nature of the offence. They ignore the implication of the whole undertaking, that it is the dealing with a person according to his needs instead of according to a single event in his life. Again the mass of evidence goes to establish the wisdom of the courts being fully empowered by its showing of the greater success in dealing with those who are guilty of precisely those offences which in another state are set up in the law as bars to consideration for probation. Previous prison confinement, in certain states a legal barrier, is another illogical consideration, whose absurdity is demonstrated in the success of dealing with the repeated occupant of prison cells by the other method and his response to its effort.

Essentials of the Probation Service

Complete accountability to the court is the foundation of the probation service. It would seem to require the judicial appointment of the officers. But that the probation officer should be appointed by and serve during the pleasure of the justice is not a unanimously held opinion among those who have given study to the service. It is thoughtfully advocated that the office is in a measure, at least, administrative and may derive its authority from outside the court without detriment. Whichever view is accepted, a prime essential is that the officer be free from influence which would contravene the carrying out of the court's duty toward the offender. This leads to the assertion that if not appointed by and removable by the court he should be selected under a merit system. No service would suffer more acutely from the intervention of politics.

Wherever the probation service has been established there has come about such an overloading of its officers as to threaten if not actually to impair the quality of its work. The requirements placed upon it as to prior investigation, and, again, as to the quality of the supervision increasingly absorb the time and energy of the officer. But presently there comes, also, such an appreciation of its work that the proportion of cases given to his care grows apace and he is seen struggling with a number of charges so great as to make adequate handling of them impossible. In New York, where the number of paid officers is 197, the number of persons in their care at a given time is 14,552, an average of 73 charges for each officer. In Massachusetts, with her 154 officers and the number of cases at one time, 14,990, the average per officer is practically 100. But these figures by no means reveal the load carried in many instances. It sometimes rises to as many as 350 persons in the care of a single officer. When it is considered that his services to his charges combine not only restraint but helpfulness and demand a varying number of duties of him, the impossibility of justifying the service is apparent. An unavoidable consequence of such an overload is a lack of that thorough attention which is the most obvious requisite in order to warrant the undertaking. And what is to be apprehended, in the words of the chief adult probation officer of New York City, is that, "the real work of intensive, constructive service will deteriorate into a mere police surveillance." It is a settled opinion that not more than 50 persons should be in the care of a probation officer. The chief value of that estimate is as a contrast in theory to what actually exists in fact. In it, however, is

locked the most precious truth as to the humanely restraining and upbuilding service that our criminal courts may hope to do. Legislation should provide elasticity as to the number of officers,—an observation that has force by reason of the fact that statutes commonly provide a single officer to a court, or possibly to a county, and make additions to that number difficult, even to the extent of amendment of the law to meet a local situation which has grown beyond endurance. All the social forces,—and there are none that are not interested in the proper development of this work,—should be brought to bear upon legislative or judicial authorities to secure such a corps of officers as could hope to accomplish what is intended they should do.

Reliance upon volunteer service is showing itself to be mistaken. Accountability in the strictest sense is essential, and accountability is precisely what volunteer service fails to show. The probation service, indeed, has great possibilities of added effectiveness, through linking with other social agencies. But the undertaking must be keyed to a paid and fully responsible official.

The pay of probation officers is notoriously meagre. The hesitation to create a new corps of public servants and open a new draft upon the public treasury operates to a grudging recognition of what these officers may do, even judged by the narrow standard of financial saving. States can well afford to provide such a salary as will call to the service properly equipped persons and maintain them there so liberally as to free them from harassing thought as to their support. A man in jail is the most useless member of the community and about the most costly. The man at work is one of its best assets. Comparing the cost of jail treatment and probation supervision in the case of the only state as to which the figures are at hand, it costs \$19 to carry a probation case for a year, while the cost of a year's maintenance in jail is \$385. No possible expenditure up to the point of securing a complete and competent probation corps of officers can be other than the wisest economy.

Requisites of Parole

In addition to those points already made as to the probation service relating to its adequate number, its compensation and its freedom from political interference, there are peculiar features of the parole service which warrant comment. The outstanding one of these is that the parole service should be independent of the institution from which the person is released. It is a function which undertakes to remove not only from the restraint of confinement, but from association with the penal or reformatory institutions. The conclusion as to fitness for its benefit is not an institutional question. It is grounded on the broadest consideration of the welfare of the person, of the protection of the community from his misbehavior, his restoration to normal relationships and his complete upbuilding. It cannot be reached by any gauge of his conduct while confined, the natural process of measurement used by the institution official. And, as well, the actual dealing with him in either case of adult or juvenile is a duty so distinct as to need the highest specialization. Hence, we are led to say that the minimum of the state's equipment for the competent conduct of parole is an independent tribunal to pass upon the question of release, and a separately organized corps of officers for the reconstructive work.

State Control

Because the concern in these two services is a general and not a local one and because the lifting of the standard and the application of a consistent well-ordered policy cannot be secured through any smaller unit than the state, there is need, wherever it has not been supplied, of a state commission to supervise their work. Only two states have thus far so equipped

themselves. But their experience amply justifies the broadest claim for added efficiency in the work flowing from their direction. New York made the probation commission very nearly an initial feature in the system. In Massachusetts it came many years subsequently to the requirement of the appointment of a probation officer for every court. The New York Commission has consequently, as one of its objects, the extension of the adoption of probation in courts and communities which have not availed themselves of it, and its efforts in this direction have been a powerful contribution to an enlightened correctional procedure. The Massachusetts Commission has justified itself in the stimulation of the work and the attainment of definite methods by the officers. It is interesting that in the main these commissions have advisory powers only. There is a considerable sentiment for the vesting in such boards of a mandatory control, possibly including the appointment of officers, or the confirmation of the selections by the court and the passing upon their pay. But that this is not essential to their usefulness is amply demonstrated. However moderate may yet have been the development of probation in any state, or even though it has not been undertaken, the most clearly demanded needs will unquestionably be best served by providing the state supervision and promotion by a commission. Those states which have a considerable development of probation and are without such a board have yet to gain the impulse to a high order of service and the correction of sporadic variations, as well as a real economy, by providing themselves with the supervisory board.

Do we get a vision of the civilized state with its well ordered correctional system? It has developed to full effectiveness all the means for the prevention of crime. It has so ordered itself industrially as to upbuild manhood and remove elements of temptation and discontent. It has enlisted all the moral forces to the combat of evil. It has developed its apprehension of offence to the highest efficiency in a police that acts relentlessly and without fear or favor. It has made its courts the resort for the adjustment of social ills and has given to them the task of the most searching inquiry into the individual cause of wrong behavior. It has provided the equipment for the dealing with man and woman, boy and girl according to the needs of each. Its institutions are for care and treatment, for development and help. It frees from confinement at the moment when the fullest knowledge and the greatest hope shall justify. It returns none to the community unhelped and it does not cease its effort to help at the moment of return.

In such a vision, the value and the function of the instruments of which we talk today take their clearly indicated place. They are an integral part, not a thing distinct. If the plea for them is for the time a special plea, it is so because of a failure yet to recognize their potentialities and to accord them the form and support which considerations of the good of the needy ones and the protection of the community alike demand. First must come a specialized development, the making uniform of the laws of the states, the provision of the juvenile court for every region, the command to the courts to broaden their inquiry as to the cause of offence and the condition of the offender and the focus of attention upon each case as if it stood as the only problem of the court, the equipment of the court with its officer to inquire and to supervise and such a method as will to the fullest possibility bring back the offender to normal place and correct behavior. Over this, in the light of the experience of the commonwealths which have been the fields of full experiment, must preside such supervisory or controlling board as will represent the state's unmistakable concern in a well guided and efficiently equipped application of the rule of humanity and helpfulness.

THE COUNTY PROBATION SERVICE IN ACTION*

Joseph P. Murphy, Chief Probation Officer of Erie County, Buffalo, N. Y.

Some years ago, a prominent social worker said, "Probation is a process of reformation brought about through economic, religious and moral instruction, mental quickening, physical development and such employment as will place the probationer on a good industrial basis." Any less comprehensive conception of the theory is inadequate and incapable of successful or permanent application. The substitution of surveillance for helpful supervision, the perfunctory enforcement of probationary conditions, the emphasis on the collection of money as a financial asset rather than for its moral significance, will merely create distrust in the minds of the public and effectively serve to retard the movement.

There is nothing in our general experience in New York state to justify hesitancy in the application of probation in its broadest sense. This is especially true in Erie county. In the courts of our county 46.1% of the offenders convicted of felonies are released on probation. The offenses range from manslaughter and the theft of sums of money as high as \$25,000 down to comparatively minor and technical crimes. During the past ten years over three thousand (3000) persons have been so released and the results in the supervision of those offenders fully justify this policy of the courts. Seventy-three per cent of those released are eventually discharged as "improved in conduct," and we believe our standard of judgment in this respect is high. Less than five per cent of those so discharged have ever returned to the courts in the county.

Sometimes it is asserted that the use of probation has a "back-fire" result, that it reacts unfavorably upon the problem of delinquency in the community. We have not found it so in either Erie county or throughout New York state. During the war we had an extraordinarily fine record for orderliness, especially remarkable in view of the heterogeneous mixture of our population and the complex character of our industrial problems. During the years 1916 and 1917, although probation was used more extensively than ever before—more persons being released on probation than were committed to prison—the convictions for felonies decreased thirty per cent (30%) while the convictions for minor offenses also showed a noticeable decrease. This is particularly the experience in Erie county, and while I appreciate that the purposeful spirit of the community during the war had a wholesome effect upon those criminally inclined, nevertheless it is obvious that the extensive use of probation in nowise served to increase crime.

The county probation officers in New York state are authorized by law to serve in the Supreme and County courts, and all other courts throughout the county except courts of original jurisdiction in cities of the first and second class. Consequently, we serve in all of the courts in Erie county coming under this classification. During the course of each year, 35 different judges place men under our supervision. Our county covers an area of 1200 square miles and has a population of 650,000. We have distinctly rural and urban conditions represented. Three officers devote their time exclusively to work in the rural communities and travel thousands of miles during the course of the year. We hope next year to have either automobiles or motorcycles to cover these districts. We supervise both adults and juveniles—the juveniles coming exclusively from the rural communities. While we have a unified system of probation in so far as the treatment of adults in the

*Extracts from an address, complete copy of which may be secured from the author.

courts of the county are concerned, nevertheless, we lack this co-ordination in the case of offenders convicted of minor offenses in Buffalo, and also in children's cases. Our big need in Erie county is a County Children's Court, which would be a branch of the County Court and through which provision would be made for proper detention quarters for all of the children of the county, the appointment of referees to hear children's cases in the various districts throughout the county, thereby obviating the necessity of traveling on the part of children, witnesses, etc., and the other equipment which goes to make up a modern and complete Children's Court. Very little difficulty is experienced in securing adequate appropriations from our fiscal authorities—they are educated in the principles of probation and have confidence in the efficacy of the service, and fortunately, we are provided with practically all the equipment we need.

The ten-year experience of the department in its intensive study and supervision of over six thousand (6000) offenders has provided a remarkable opportunity to observe the reactions of the various delinquents and the community in general to the probation service. We have analyzed our methods from time to time and the results of our practices introspectively for the purpose of determining our needs and perfecting a methodology that will be sound, practical and useful as a guide. Frankness in admitting our weaknesses and our faults was early accepted as an imperative principle. In so far as we have been able to define our chief problems, they may be said to center in five very important questions which I shall attempt to analyze and answer by applying concretely the experiences of the department.

I.

The first question is: How can effective adult probation be more extensively used by the courts, and commitments decreased?

The obvious answer to this question is so to develop the service that permanent reformation and rehabilitation can be brought about in the lives of the greatest possible number of our probationers, bringing about thereby greater confidence in the service, both on the part of the court and the community at large.

The life record of practically every offender convicted in the courts of record in Erie county is thoroughly investigated before sentence and a typewritten confidential report made to the court. Sufficient time is given to make the investigation intensive and extensive in scope, sometimes involving a period of two weeks. The inquiry covers every accessible phase of the offender's life, including his social history, and in a great many cases a mental and physical examination of his capabilities. Unfortunately, the department has no psychopathic clinic, but we do have paid psychologists, as well as volunteers, who aid us in making investigations. All of the standard intelligence tests are used in these examinations and the reports are extremely helpful to the court. While we cannot consider our progress in this respect as leaving nothing to be desired, nevertheless, as in the aeroplane industry today, we feel that it is satisfactory at this stage of its development. The state is about to establish a system of mental clinics which will function not only in the courts, but in other agencies, and within a very short time we hope the problem will be handled effectively.

In putting into practice our ideas with regard to effecting reformation and rehabilitation in the lives of those who come within our care, we are attempting to develop technique in our case work that will compare favorably with other social agencies. We believe in the effectiveness of probation as a reformatory agency and feel that when we have taken full advantage of its possibilities, we can probably save at least one-third of the delinquents who are now committed to prison. Is it too much to expect, in view of the success of our government in its subtle program of morale making among its

soldiers, using as it did the methods long advocated by social workers—recreation, amusement, decent housing, proper health measures, education, industry, etc.—that if the same methods are applied intelligently in the supervision of our delinquents, comparable results could be attained?

Effective case work cannot be brought about unless there is time and opportunity to work out a definitive plan of treatment. No offender in our courts is placed on probation for a period of less than one year, and very often the period is longer. Personal reporting as a matter of discipline is required and strictly maintained. Every history is begun as follows:

1. Assets.
2. Liabilities.
3. Objectives.

These points are made as comprehensive as possible and the objectives include everything that is believed possible of accomplishment in the individual case. In deciding upon the objectives, four elements in the probationer's life are considered; namely, spiritual, economic, health and social. To attain the objectives, every possible advantage is taken of the foregoing factors. Probation officers realize that religion is a vital moving factor in the life of every individual whether that be a supernatural or an ethical concept, and that religion is the basis of good citizenship. We believe that the love of God and the love of your neighbor because of the love of God is the greatest ideal to set before an individual. For this reason, we try to connect up every probationer with the church to which he or she belongs. The closest co-operation between the probation department and the churches in Erie county is maintained. The day sheets of the probation officers show 204 instances of church co-operation during the past year.

So far as the economic condition of the probationer is concerned, we realize that "there is no greater moral agency than a sufficient income." We, therefore, use every means at our command to improve the economic condition of our charges. Employers, employment agencies, night schools, labor unions and other agencies which might help in this respect are enlisted and we have been fortunate in securing most effective and loyal co-operation. As an illustration of the methods adopted, let me cite the case of a man who was placed under our care for desertion and who was a marine fireman by occupation. When tested as to his aptitudes, he showed considerable native ability and the probation officer felt that he could be stimulated and his condition improved. He was induced to study books on stationary engineering which were chosen for him by the probation officer, and he subsequently passed an examination for second engineer. He is now working on one of the lake boats in that capacity and his income has doubled since his release on probation. This is only one of many similar cases. In other ways—such as inducing probationers to take out insurance of various description and by cultivating the spirit of thrift as emphasized during the period of the war when we sold \$50,000 worth of Liberty Bonds and Thrift Stamps valued at nearly \$3,000—the economic phase of probation treatment is applied.

Some authorities claim that the causative factors in crime are fifty per cent physiological, and the experience of our department rather bears out this contention. Consequently, the case histories show the elimination of physical defects frequently recorded as objectives. In Buffalo we are particularly fortunate in having a splendid system of hospitals and dispensaries. All sorts of co-operation—from the performance of delicate operations to comparatively minor assistance—is rendered by the doctors in the various dispensaries. One hundred and ninety-five instances of such co-operation are recorded on the day sheets during the past year, including pathological, dental, optical, neurological, urological and other treatment.

From the standpoint of the social or environmental phase of the probationer's life, a wide range of activity is also indicated by the day sheets.

Frequently, the improvement of social conditions involves the change of environment, and homes are found for probationers in other parts of the county. The problem here is somewhat varied because we have both representative urban and rural conditions. Recreation, amusements and other social activities are urged through membership in fraternal organizations, playgrounds, neighborhood settlements, church societies, lodges, unions, and, in the case of children, Boy Scouts and other children's organizations. Many of the probation officers are actively identified with these different organizations and are in a rather advantageous position in that respect. You can readily see from these facts that the physical development of our probationers is emphasized in the case treatment. In this and in other ways we have tried to make our supervision effective so that the confidence of the community might be secured and that we might be permitted further extension of our work in the supervision of delinquents.

II.

The second question we have asked ourselves is: How can probationary supervision get the quality of intimate friendly aid?

The probationer must be brought into intimate contact with community life, with his normal fellow beings. This can be done through lodges, trade unions, neighborhood organizations, churches, etc. Probation officers who realize this need in the treatment of their delinquents may often co-operate with organizations that are engaged in welfare work or have potentialities in that direction. Organizations that have done effective war work can in some cases be convinced that they have a responsibility in so far as these delinquents are concerned. As a matter of fact, the reformation of these offenders is not entirely the probation officer's responsibility. It is a community responsibility and the probation officer's success in the final analysis will depend upon the degree of co-operation the community renders in the way of sympathetic, wholesome and well-equipped environment and activity. Unfortunately, in Erie county, this form of co-operation has not been most effectively utilized, although in many instances good results have been attained. We are particularly fortunate in so far as the trade unions are concerned for the reason that the offices of the various unions are located in the same building with the probation department, and co-operation is easily secured. The lodges, civic societies, business men's clubs and neighborhood organizations have not as yet realized their responsibility in this direction and the task of probation officers and social workers is to awaken their conscience in this regard.

III.

What should be the more effective arrangement between paroled men and the probation system?

In order to get effective case supervision, the parole system should be co-ordinated with the probation service, and the supervision as co-ordinated should be administered with the county as a unit. Many crimes are committed by paroled men who are released in the various communities throughout the country practically penniless, friendless, jobless and homeless. These people cannot be supervised at a distance of several hundred miles by letter. What they need is a strong, kind, helpful friend at the time of distress. In Erie county the probation department supervises a large majority of the men and women released from the state penal institutions to that locality. The supervision of these individuals is carried on in exactly the same manner as the probationers are supervised. Homes are secured for them upon their release, positions are found, investigations of home conditions are made and reported to the wardens of the various prisons, and other work in connection with the supervision of these cases is performed that is very helpful to the paroled men. The experience of the department with these paroled men,

and the experience generally throughout the county with men who are not paroled through the department, convinces probation officers that there is no more pressing need in the whole correctional field than the development of a properly co-ordinated parole and probation system.

IV.

How can the probation department directly aid in improving general social conditions in the community?

Every member of the department is a member of the Social Workers Club of Buffalo. The speaker is president of that club and was for two years, and until recently, secretary of the Social Welfare Conference consisting of a group of seventy-three (73) co-operating agencies—every agency in Buffalo that is in any way interested in the field of social effort. Some of you may perhaps know this conference as "The Conference That Does Things," as stated by Mr. Almy in his published article in *The Survey* of several months ago. Active co-operation with the other social agencies is maintained and all cases are registered with the Bureau of Confidential Exchange. The chief probation officer has been a member of a district committee of the Charity Organization Society for some years, and the speaker has had the privilege of being chairman of one of those committees during the past year. The department also maintains the closest sort of co-operation with the Y. M. C. A. and the speaker at the present time is serving upon a committee of that organization whose function is to study the "Under-Privileged Boy of Buffalo." The Red Cross, churches, fraternal and business organizations, including the Chamber of Commerce, Rotary Club, etc., are called upon from time to time and are found to be helpful in the supervision of cases. For some time past probation officers in Erie county also have actively co-operated with the State Health Department and the United States Public Health Service in the educational campaign against venereal disease. In these and other ways we have tried to make our service more effective by making it united with the other social forces in the community.

The most effective publicity secured in Erie county is through the seven dailies and the fifteen country newspapers. Stories of human interest, feature stories and what is known as "news" stories, are published from time to time in our efforts to interpret our job to the community. The papers of Buffalo and Erie county are most generous in their co-operation and the only difficulty we have is in keeping the volume of publicity within reasonable limitations. Every probation department has a fund of tremendously interesting material which can be tactfully written so as clearly, aggressively and positively to make known the ideals and standards of the service. In the matter of official correspondence, great care is exercised to "put across" the aims and purposes of the service whenever possible. Annual reports, magazine articles, talks to business organizations, women's clubs, church societies and various other methods are utilized to create an intelligent body of public opinion with regard to the service. Practically every probation officer knows and understands the value of these things. We do this work in Erie county and I am convinced that unless probation officers want to fail because of the very effectiveness of their efforts, they must interpret that task in an understandable way to the community.

V.

How are we to secure and keep competent men and women in probation work?

The compensation for the position of probation officer ought to be made attractive. In Erie county we have practically convinced the fiscal authori-

ties that a minimum standard of \$1500 is necessary in order to obtain competent service. This will insure fairly high grade officers, but unless we can provide a safeguard against removal for political reasons, this would be of little value. For that reason I believe that if probation officers were secured and retained through the process of civil service examinations, the position would continue to be considered as a desirable and honorable calling.

Among the other administrative methods adopted to bring about the development of higher standards and insure the retention of competent officers is the weekly staff meeting which obtains throughout the country in practically every progressive organization. The staff meeting is the "melting pot" of ideas and the clarifier of probation thought in every probation organization. It has a tremendous educational and psychological effect upon the personnel of the organization. Informal examinations on probation matters and other problems of social work; attendance at lectures; courses in schools in sociology, if convenient; attendance at state conferences and visits to institutions and other places of educational value, all have a tremendous effect upon the morale of probation organizations and greatly tend to increase the standards of the workers. I have purposely left unsaid the greatest force in the probation service tending to bring about the securing and retention of competent officers, namely, the State Probation Commission, because that has been so well presented to you this morning by Mr. Parsons.

In summing up, then, our activities in Erie county, let me say that we have emphasized the fact that the purpose of probation is to transform delinquents into useful, active members of society rather than merely to incarcerate them as inert and helpless enemies. We have won the confidence of the courts and are rapidly winning, through our publicity methods, the confidence of the general public. We have developed a constantly advancing technique in our individual case work. We have gained the co-operation of other social agencies, and in many ways our zeal in that direction has caused the other agencies to look to us for leadership. We have cultivated among our workers an appreciation of the dramatic possibilities of our joint labors, and we have justified our existence in so many ways in Erie county that probation has become accepted as an institution where a few years ago it was itself on probation.

The confidence reposed in probation in our community is perhaps best exemplified by the recent action of a supreme court justice. Faced with the problem of what to do with a man who had been for twenty years a criminal, this justice debated long and earnestly. Convicted of numerous petty crimes and now at the early age of 35 years, after conviction for his fourth felony, he faced the possibility of a long term in prison. The justice, instead, placed him on probation in our custody. Whether we shall succeed in piercing this adamant shell, in rekindling the spark of hope in this sodden soul, in restoring the delinquent to a life of renewed usefulness, rests on the lap of the gods. This much we know—the ancient method of incarceration has been tried again and again in his case and it has failed miserably. It is the climax of our opportunity and success in this case will mean the crowning of our highest endeavors.

Probation in action, so far from being inharmonious with *probation in theory*, is to my mind the crystallization in very deed and truth of those high hopes and glowing dreams each one of us has known of taking those first advancing steps, hesitant, cautious, timorous, if you please, but nevertheless actual, forward steps toward that great day when society in full consciousness of its imperative duty to the bruised, unhappy children of unwelcome birth and sordid environment, shall strive with the gentle alchemy of sympathetic understanding to find for them an easement of the social maladjust-

ment, a worthy task in the universal workshop and a safe haven in the great, mother-bosom of that new civilization whose sun is even now rising in the east above the wreck and ruin of a world but yesterday gone mad with hate.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Frederick C. Helbing, Chief Parole Officer, House of Refuge, New York, said that not nearly enough attention had been given to the subject of parole. This work is everywhere undeveloped; the number of officers is inadequate. He suggests that the matter be taken hold of by state commissions which should represent the institutions as well as other interests. In the final analysis, parole work should, he believed, be controlled by institutions.

*Mr. Parsons** advocated one board to have charge of parole work of all institutions. He believes that parole should be dealt with on general evidence, taking into account past history and social environment of each inmate rather than principally the behavior in the institution. Parole work should not be an adjunct to the work of the institution.

*Hon. Frank E. Wade**, President, State Probation Commission, Buffalo, recommended the co-ordination of the probation and parole system. Probation officers can in many localities supervise paroled persons as is now being successfully done in New York State.

Dr. Frank Moore, Superintendent, New Jersey Reformatory, Rahway, stated that he had only two parole officers and they, of course, were inadequate. If the institutions could have enough officers they could do their work properly. He believed that parole should be handled by a different set of officers from those dealing with probation. When men have failed on probation and been in an institution, then it is time for a new system and set of officers to take charge of those men.

Albert J. Sargent, Chief Probation Officer, Municipal Court, Boston. Parole should be granted on recommendation of the probation officer with the approval of the court; supervision of parole cases should revert to the probation officer, thus avoiding duplication of work and completing individual's case history tending toward more effective reformation and preparatory, in the event of re-arrest, to an intelligent report for the court's action.

James D. Sullivan, Chief, Bureau of Compulsory Education, State Education department, Albany. The child who goes to school regularly does not become a delinquent. A thorough enforcement of the Compulsory Education Law would prevent most delinquency. As far as possible, the child should be kept out of courts. We should do more to reach the parents.

Mr. Edwin J. Cooley of New York, President of the National Probation Association, stated that it is entirely evident that probation work is in its infancy and not as yet properly established in most cities. The National Probation Association wishes to do all within its power to aid communities to establish and strengthen this system.

THE MORAL EDUCATION OF THE TRAINING SCHOOL INMATE

Rev. Edward Scribner Ames, Associate Professor of Philosophy, University of Chicago

Perhaps what I have to say should be given a setting by reference to the circumstances which led to the invitation to participate in this discussion. During an informal conversation concerning the State Training School the subject of religious services was mentioned. It was observed that talks on religion and morals are often ineffective. The speaker seems remote. His subject lacks interest for his hearers and all together there is a sense of artificiality and impotency. It was thought that some analysis of this difficulty and a few suggestions for correcting it might be of value.

Morals and Interests

The main point I shall stress is the importance of conceiving moral and religious exercises and instruction in such a way as to relate them vitally to the dominant interest and action of the individuals concerned.

Recently I heard a minister in his morning service preach a sermon to children. He executed that difficult task skillfully.

He said, "I will take my text from something which happened in our neighborhood the past week. Two boys were throwing stones at a mark. One of the stones went wild and broke a neighbor's window. One boy was

*Notes uncorrected by speaker.

for running away. There are always people like that who try to run away from the trouble they have caused, leaving the injured and innocent party to get out of the situation in the best way he can. But the other boy insisted that they should stay by the job and see if they could fix it up. He found out what the window glass would cost and had the repairs made, though it took his earnings for two weeks to pay for it."

The story was told in such a way that the boy did not appear as a "sissy" or a "weakling," but as a good, game sport who tried to play fair. Whatever that three minute sermon did for the boys who heard it there could be little doubt that it went deeper into the minds of the grown-ups than the main sermon of the morning which was ten times as long and was directed squarely at them.

The effectiveness of that sermon was enhanced by several features. In the first place it was not a "sermon" at all but a story straight out of the neighborhood life with which all the boys present were familiar. Hearing it retold in the church, with a simple and impressive interpretation made it new and unforgettable. Another important factor was the personality of the minister. As a college lad in that same town he had been a star base ball player and at present helps to coach the college team. He is therefore a hero of the great American game in the eyes of every boy who lives there. Consequently he speaks to them directly and with the prestige and authority of a master in their own sphere.

A Chaplain's Experience

The naturalness and simplicity of all the factors in this situation contributed to its significance. The same quality was reflected in the experience of an army chaplain who told me that one reason he was successful in getting the men to attend religious services was because he also arranged for their vaudeville entertainments and their boxing matches. He was a "regular fellow." They knew he was straight and sincere and they responded to his leadership in religion as in sports. He said they would tolerate no indirection about the religious meetings. They resented being gotten together for an entertainment and having the moral attached to it in the form of a lecture or an exhortation. Whatever they were to get they wanted frankly announced beforehand and they responded better when dealt with in that way.

In both of these instances much of the force of the moral instruction was due to the favorable, sympathetic relation in which the minister and the chaplain stood to those under their leadership. The wholesome respect elicited by their general conduct and their personal likeableness prepared the way for their teaching. It is this feature which gives athletic directors and boy scout leaders their great influence. They establish confidence and allegiance through their skill and comradeship. Their ability to shape moral standards and ideals is a natural result. A. A. Stagg, Yale's great athlete in the late eighties, aspired to be a minister and after graduation took two years of the theological course. But President Harper, when forming his faculty at the University of Chicago, persuaded Mr. Stagg to become the physical director and coach in that institution. It is doubtful whether any position as a minister could have enabled this remarkable man to exert so profound a moral influence upon successive groups of young men as he has exerted for a generation by his promotion of clean sports. Every man who has participated in any form of intercollegiate athletics in any college of the middle west during the past twenty-five years has felt the spirit of this man toning him up to the highest principles of honesty, good team work and true manliness.

The inference from such examples as these is that moral education in the training schools requires the leadership of persons who share common experi-

ences with the inmates and are able by natural comradeship and example to gain sympathetic attention for the best ideals and habits of life.

Morality and Efficiency

There are two reasons why moral instruction is most effective when it is cultivated in this way,—by wholesome companionship and example rather than by set instruction or formal talks. One is that it helps to communicate the fact that morality is just a matter of efficient and successful living, rather than a superimposed code of rules and external sanctions.

I heard a lawyer of large experience in the court room, advocating recently the abolition of the formal oath used in pledging witnesses to tell the truth. He said men are not influenced to keep their word in these days so much because they fear the wrath of God and the torments of hell as they are because they have a sense of honor in dealing with their fellow men. They cannot afford to be regarded as liars and perjurers. Of if they have lost regard for the opinion of their fellows and for common decency there is no assurance that any supernatural sanctions will influence them.

The development of a new conscience with reference to drunkenness is a striking illustration of the increasing power of natural sanctions. The older methods of endeavoring to promote sobriety by signing the pledge, and by formal instruction including gruesome charts of the decorated interiors of drunkards had surprisingly small effect. It is a well known fact that even physicians, who might well be supposed to have the most vivid mental pictures of their inner world, were not universally and unanimously dry men. But the cause of prohibition has spread rapidly since it has allied itself with the popular ideal of efficiency. The railroads and other great industries eliminated the drinkers because the men who drank were less dependable. The use of complicated and expensive machinery together with the closer organization and interdependence of industry carried our society beyond the point where a man's personal habits were merely his own concern. The laboring man also began to realize the loss he bore through waste of power and money by indulgence in drink. Indictments of the habit by books like Jack London's *John Barleycorn* augmented greatly the popular conviction of the enormity of the evil, judged in terms of human happiness and suffering. Finally the need of efficient fighting men made intoxication unpatriotic and criminal and led to the consummation of a reform based upon the claims of practical interests and the most natural self-justifying sanctions. Drinking became a real evil and an evil which we determined to eliminate when it was seen to interfere with vital interests we sought to realize.

On the same principle college athletics have increased the moral quality of college men simply because their ambition to win contests and to enjoy physical power outweighed the temptation to self indulgence. This pride in institutional success and in loyalty to the standards of the group is fundamental in all morality and exerts a control we are only beginning to appreciate. In Chicago there is a club organized by men who have done time in the house of correction. The new grip on life gained through learning a trade there or through a new sense of what they could make of themselves has bound them together in a comradeship which is a touching evidence of the power of the practical virtues to overcome evil habits and tendencies. One great incentive these men felt to make good was the sense of obligation to the institution and to the large-hearted man who was responsible for its management. One of the keenest pangs of disgrace they felt, if committed to the House of Correction again after being discharged, was occasioned by the realization that they thereby brought discredit upon the institution. When an institution is able to create such a disposition among its members it shows evidence of having imparted to them a most essential moral quality.

Moral Atmosphere

These last remarks carry us over to the second of the reasons why moral instruction is most effective when it is imparted by the general atmosphere and spirit of the institution. We are learning that morality is a matter of group standards and customs and not merely an affair of individual insight and volition. It is impossible to have a good individual in a bad society. If we hesitate to say that it is also impossible to have a bad individual in a good society it may be only because we are not yet free from the superstition that human beings are just naturally bad and that it requires something more than good society to overcome the evil in them. Nevertheless we are increasingly aware that the encompassing environment of an individual is the medium from which he draws his ideals and incentives and in reaction upon which he grows or disintegrates. State training schools and their inmates are no exception. The school is a part of the larger community and the individuals are influenced by the general standards and habits of the surrounding social order. The normal family may well be conceived as the proper social unit but the normal family provides numerous and vital contacts between its members and larger, more diverse groups. It does not monopolize the individual by shutting him away from the outside world. Unfortunately the family is frequently defective and is sometimes the most powerful cause of delinquency and crime. Then it becomes the function of the training school to overcome that difficulty and aid in establishing natural relations with society.

I know a family in which three boys were influenced apparently by the example and conversation of their improvident, roving father to run away from home and from school and to seek excitement in a variety of adventures. They were sent to parental schools and to various institutions until finally the war opened the way for the two older ones to enter the Navy. There, under discipline and with the incentives of the service in time of war, they became quite transformed. Thousands of young fellows had a similar experience during the past two years. They suddenly found themselves identified with a vast system of human life dominated by strenuous devotion to a lofty purpose. They were stimulated to new effort, to study and obedience, to better care of the body and to a genuine morale of mind and spirit. The great tidal wave of energy and patriotic idealism sweeping over the country lifted these individuals into new moral attitudes of unselfishness and useful work. Each young man had the opportunity to feel that he counted, that something important depended upon him and that it made a difference how he met his big chance. Even the egoism of pacifists and conscientious objectors was enlarged by the stress of the larger social demands. The war experience helps to make clear what the social psychologists mean when they say the individual is not independent of society but realizes himself through it. This does not mean that the individual is merged indistinguishably into the mass, but that he shares its movement and is stimulated by its moods and conflicts.

Moral Education in Institutions

This suggests an important aspect of the training of persons in special institutions. One of their greatest needs is to feel that they share in the common interests and tasks of society, that they are not peculiar or queer or too heavily handicapped. The natural and essential basis of all moral training is the sense that one has a real place in the world, a place of actual opportunity and of vital responsibility. A little boy who pumped the pipe organ while his mother gave an organ recital felt discriminated against when he was not invited by her to make his bow also, in response to the applause. To show how unfairly he was treated he refused to pump the organ for the encore she wanted to play. We are slowly learning that the people behind

the scenes deserve a share in the curtain calls and in the more substantial rewards of the world's big stage. It is a part of their human requirement, of what we have called their natural rights, to share the sense of productive effort and also to share in the responsibility for partial achievements and failures. Professor Coe, in a recent book entitled, "A Social Theory of Religious Education" has proposed to make religious training consist in the development of actual social experience. Instead of having religious instruction consist in talks to children or in mere familiarity with the words of the Bible, he would have it concerned with appreciation and exercise of the normal relations between the individual and his fellows in the family, in school, in the neighborhood and in the nation. He holds that the only real love and service of God consist in the love and service of men. He even proposes to grade religious instruction on the basis of the complexity and extent of the social relations into which the individual has entered sympathetically, intelligently and practically. As he shows, moral and religious education is concerned with the development of the will and emotions, of attitudes and practical skill, as much as with correct thinking and the accumulation of information. In such a view morality and religion are held to belong to the sphere of the most practical, work-a-day interests of life. There is here provided a conception which overcomes the unfortunate separation of ordinary living from the ideal, spiritual values which men seek more or less consciously in all classes and in all conditions of society.

Summary

In conclusion the points of this paper may be summarized as follows. Successful moral instruction requires that it be given by men and women who have character and force of personality so that their actions speak louder than their words. In the second place morality must be presented in terms of efficiency and health and the big satisfactions of life. In the third place it must have the support and reinforcement of social custom and prestige. These principles are as valid in the state training school as in the public school or in the home, for in all cases we are dealing with essentially the same kind of human beings. The promotion of the great ideal interests of life is everywhere a matter for special training with a view to the development of free, capable and happy men and women.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

This address was preceded by one on "Delinquency Problems of the Demobilization Period," by *Orlando F. Lewis*, General Secretary of the New York Prison Association, and at present with War Camp Community Service, on leave of absence. Dr. Lewis pointed out that the problems of delinquency, including prison management, are today thought of as community problems as never before. In this as in so many other fields, the spirit of community service has permeated. The attitude of correctional officers, institution officials and others will be and is different because of the war. The institution must today tie up with the community. The country has learned to develop organized friendliness as manifested towards the soldiers and sailors.

The older philanthropy, expressed in giving charity to the unfortunate, now organized and institutionalized, is a field that is today fairly well occupied. A newer form of philanthropy may be called "Work-Time Philanthropy." Employers, industrial welfare workers, agencies for securing labor legislation, have occupied this field. In the period since the war, there is a still newer form of philanthropy or social work, namely, "Play-time Philanthropy." It is concerned with the leisure time. It has to do with the avocations and enjoyments. It is one of the things that people really live for. It is enormously important to fill the leisure time well and usefully. We have learned this through the soldiers' camps.

What are you in your community and institutions going to put into this leisure time? You must devise a satisfactory leisure time program. First, you must find out what your community wants. In correctional work, we must find out what the institution needs. When boys or girls break parole, do we ask what it is that they want and need and how we can give it to them? We must learn peoples' hobbies and satisfy them; must build recreation around them. Find out what your community can do. We have not realized the amount of joy there is or should be in life. We are afraid to stay young.

Speaking of community singing, Dr. Lewis said that it cannot be stopped. It has

been found to have great social value. It breaks down fatigue, releases the emotions and acts as a safety valve. Community singing differs from learning to sing in school. It is self expression; it should be used in all correctional institutions.

In every institution a modern up-to-date recreational program should be built up; we must find out what the inmates want; make recreation in institutions self-governing, self-expressing; link up self-government to recreation. The result will be re-creation. Then, on the outside we must build up the interest of the community in the institution and make the institution a part of the community.

If community service is continued and developed, what will it do? For one thing, it will help to cure delinquency. All the war forces and organizations ought to be reorganized and used for community service now. They should be used toward the reduction of delinquency.

Following Dr. Lewis' address Colonel Cyrus B. Adams, the chairman of the division, spoke on "The Contribution of the State Training School to Child Welfare." He said in part:

The state reformatory and training schools are an outgrowth of our modern Christian civilization. Not until the time of Howard in England were children treated other than as criminals. In 1820, a protective association for children was started in New York City. In 1842, the first institution for children was established—the New York House of Refuge. It was a walled institution with contract labor, but was a step toward better things. In 1883, an institution for children was established in Germany on the cottage plan; later, one in France. A commission from Ohio visited these institutions and, as a result, the Lancaster School for Boys in Ohio was built, the first cottage plan institution. The name, industrial school, was adopted instead of reform school. Now in every state there is a training school of some kind for both boys and girls.

The industrial school has been a pioneer in all reform work for children. Beginning in 1878, Elmira Reformatory began to develop the indeterminate sentence and parole. Probation work in the courts grew up later. The modern movement for vocational training started in the industrial school. Psychiatric and psychological examinations were first carried on there.

The modern industrial school is on the cottage plan located in the country with a farm, playgrounds, vocational training, doctors, physical directors and military instruction. Such an institution is an example to the community and if followed out in the community would prevent delinquency.

Today the feeble-minded are our greatest problem. We have about 22 per cent of them in the institutions for boys. They should be segregated, given greater opportunity for the normally minded.

Inquiry: How should we deal with the delinquent girl when first released from an institution?

Dr. Lewis said that it is up to the institutions to study the problem of readjustment. If life in the institution were made more normal, readjustment in the community would be easier.

Mr. A. H. Votaw of Philadelphia informed the meeting that the American Friends Service Committee has thought it would be to the interest of humanity to invite young men and women, before they settle down to their life work, to give a year or two of their time to some form of actual participation in movements designed to effect social betterment. In the correctional field they hope to offer to managers of penal institutions young men or women who would be employed regularly in subordinate positions. Correspondence with such purpose in view was invited by the speaker, whose address is 119 S. Fourth St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Dr. William J. Sayers of Muncie, Indiana, said that in too many institutions the superintendent or directors do all the thinking for the inmates. Boys and girls must be taught to think for themselves.

Among those who participated in the informal discussions was Mrs. Mary Paddon of New York.

BETTER STATISTICS IN CRIMINOLOGY

Horatio M. Pollock, Statistician, New York State Hospital Commission, Albany

The prevention of crime and the apprehension and punishment of criminals have constituted one of the principal functions of government from primitive days down to the present time. Many systems of penology have been tried from the eye-for-eye and tooth-for-tooth system of ancient Israel to the modern system of probation. Some systems have been discarded because of their inhumanity and others because something more promising was offered. The thought that it is quite possible to determine the efficiency of various methods of dealing with criminals is comparatively new. Practically no provision has been made for studies along this line. In criminal procedure we are still living in the prescientific age. We are not using the experience of the past in a profitable way to guide either our present or

future action. Those who have studied criminology intensively are agreed that most of our present methods of dealing with criminals are unsatisfactory. In our criminal system as a whole we are not preventing crime and we are not reforming the criminal. Our detention homes and jails are elementary schools in misconduct, our penitentiaries and reformatories are secondary schools in crime, and our state prisons are practically colleges of criminal arts. The adept student quickly goes through the whole course and often returns for post-graduate study.

Ignorance concerning crime and criminals in this country is appalling. For the United States as a whole, we have no means of ascertaining the number of crimes committed, the number of arrests made or the number of convictions resulting therefrom. We cannot compare convictions with arrests or crimes or either of these with the general population. We do have decennial federal statistics of the inmates of penal institutions and of the commitments to such institutions, and we have some State statistics dealing with the same matters, but it is practically impossible to compare results in one state with those in another.

Statistics Now Inadequate

Our national failure to compile adequate statistics in criminology has frequently been pointed out. Eugene Smith, President of the Prison Association of New York, at a meeting of the American Prison Association in 1911, stated that the foreign delegates to the International Prison Congress held at Washington in 1910, "could not repress their amazement at the dearth of official statistics regarding crime in the United States. Possibly it may be doubted whether any of the novelties they observed here produced on their minds so lasting and injurious an impression of this country, regarded from the point of view of scientific penology as were caused by the meagreness and practically inutility of our criminal statistics." Dr. Frederick L. Hoffman, the well known statistician of the Prudential Life Insurance Company, in a preliminary report on statistics of crimes and criminals presented to the American Prison Association in 1915, refers to the condition of criminal statistics as being chaotic and confusing and states that "there is conclusive evidence of the necessity for a nation-wide public interest in the need of a thoroughly well considered scientific and largely statistical study of the problems of crime and criminals and all that is more or less pertinent thereto." John Koren, another leading authority in the statistical field, in an address before the Prison Association in the same year, sums up the situation in these words: "The ever-growing demand in this country for statistical information about crime has become pathetic. It is like a cry in the wilderness that only wakens its own echo. Year by year committees of this Association, explaining the situation, have plead times without number not only for nation-wide statistics of crime and prisoners, but for improvement of the reports made by the officials who direct our penal institutions. No one can doubt the strength and genuineness of the demand for facts, nor has there been a lack of practical suggestions and recommendations. But what has been the response? Statistics of crime in the form of competent returns from the criminal courts of the country are utterly wanting. In isolated instances certain courts tell more or less fully about their work, but, generally speaking, there are no serviceable reports of crime as exhibited by the operation of the criminal courts. Judicial statistics in the proper sense we know not in this country."

Miss Annie Hinricksen, inspector of institutions for the State Charities Commission of Illinois in giving an account of the efforts made to establish a system of criminal statistics in that state in 1916, states "that a general survey of the methods of collecting criminal statistics in other states was made. This survey proved both disappointing and discouraging. With the

exception of Massachusetts the other states had little to offer in the way of either general summaries of statistics or intensive studies of the causes and conditions of crime in typical communities."

Special studies of delinquents by individual investigators such as those made by Dr. Bernard Glueck at Sing Sing, and by Dr. Wm. Healy at Chicago and Boston, have given us an insight into some of the real problems of criminology that the state and nation must solve, but general progress in dealing with crime and criminals will not be made until we have assembled facts sufficient to guide our action, nor until such facts become known to our legislatures and courts. Thus far, the legal methods of dealing with crime have been based principally on precedent and tradition and while the failure of the methods is generally conceded, we lack the data necessary for the establishment of a better system.

The special function of statistics in any branch of sociology is to assemble the facts that must be dealt with and array them in an orderly, systematic fashion so that their meaning and interrelations may be readily comprehended. Without statistics there could be no sociology worthy of the name, and without good statistics little social progress is possible.

I need not remind this audience that some aggregations of numbers are not statistics. Many of the collections of figures assembled in various states under the heading of criminal statistics are wrongly named. In some cases it would have been more fitting to call them clerical diversions. These so-called statistics were well characterized by Secretary Cross of this Conference, in an address before the American Prison Association in 1916 when he said, "The statistics for the most part are gathered in a crude fashion, and published, if at all, with little scientific analysis. The primary faults of the judicial statistics are their lack of scientific, standardized classification and definition of crimes, and of facts descriptive of the social condition of the criminal and the circumstances of the crime. The chief faults of the institution statistics are their meagerness, lack of uniformity and unreliability and the limited use made of them by the central authorities." What more could be lacking?

Purpose of Statistical Study of Crime and Criminals

To study crime and criminals statistically we must first formulate the purposes of the study. So far as I am able to ascertain, such purposes have never been fully stated. Those that seem obvious to me are hardly touched on in available statistics in this field. Briefly enumerated these purposes are:

1. To give a general survey of conditions with respect to crime in the nation as a whole, in the several states and in the various civil divisions of the states. Such a survey would show the crimes committed, the arrests made, the convictions resulting and the disposal of the offenders. A statistical survey of this kind, if made in the same way year by year would show the trend of crime in the various states and their subdivisions and would furnish data for accurate comparisons of results in different states and localities.
2. To show the effects of various methods of treatment on persons convicted of crime. This study would be intensive and would enable comparisons to be made between the traditional and the experimental methods of dealing with criminals.
3. To enable society to prevent crime. To accomplish this purpose would require a thorough statistical study of the causes of crime and the genesis of the criminal.

Requirements For Better Statistics

Before statistics can be compiled to accomplish these purposes much preliminary work must be done. The following requirements are indicated:

1. The adoption of a uniform classification of crime and criminals by all federal and state authorities. The lack of a standard classification is the primary obstacle in the way of good statistics in criminology. The ordinary classification of crime found in state statistics uses terms adopted from the penal laws of the state. Many of these terms are loosely applied and have little significance from a social or scientific point of view. The classification of criminals is even less uniform and less adequate. In the federal statistics of criminals and juvenile delinquents, the prisoners are classified throughout by the crime for which they were committed. When it is well known that a person may commit a dozen different crimes before being convicted of one, to label him by the name of the crime for which he is convicted serves little purpose. It frequently happens that a record of conviction is made for a crime other than that committed by the prisoner.

How is an acceptable classification of crime and criminals to be made? It can be done only by the generous and thoughtful cooperation of experts in criminology and statisticians with governmental agencies in state and nation. A beginning might be made by the appointment of a joint committee of all national societies interested in the general subject of delinquency. The United States Census Bureau and the prison authorities of several states should be represented on such committee. In the light of the present knowledge of crime and criminals, such a committee should have but little difficulty in agreeing upon a rational classification. The next step would be to secure the general adoption of the classification by federal and state authorities.

2. The second requisite for good statistics in criminology is uniform statistical records and reports. With a standard classification at hand, it would be an easy matter to prepare blanks for a definite statistical record of each crime reported and of each individual arrested and tried. Uniform statistical reports could easily be made from such standardized records.

3. A new system of this kind to be successfully introduced must be handled by central statistical bureaus. It could be done by the United States Census office or by statistical offices in State Prison Commissions or by well equipped private agencies. The great difficulty in the work of private agencies is the lack of power to require correct records and reports. The central statistical office whether state or federal would provide standard forms to all agencies making records of crime and would require that the records be accurately kept and that full reports be made. This would, of course, necessitate the employment of competent clerks in the office of recording agencies. It is probable that the best results would be obtained by having separate card reports made of each crime, and of each arrest and conviction. In the central statistical office provision should be made for filing together all reports relating to the same person.

The system herein briefly outlined is very similar to the one now being used in compiling statistics of the insane in New York State, and, through the joint efforts of the American Medico-Psychological Association and of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, a similar system of statistics of the insane is being introduced throughout the United States. Four years ago statistics of the insane in the country at large were no better than present statistics of criminals, but through cooperation a great improvement has already taken place. Success in this field seems to point the way for action in the field of statistics in criminology.

In our system of dealing with crime and criminals we are standing, as it were, on the boundary line of a new country. Behind us, but close at hand, are the dismal swamps of ignorance, intolerance and cruelty; before us, in the distance, lie the fertile plains of knowledge, justice and good will. It remains for us to go forward and possess the land.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

In the informal discussion which followed it was recommended that the sub-committee on causes of delinquency be continued another year with Dr. Glueck as chairman and Dr. Horatio M. Pollock of Albany as secretary. The statement was made that the committee at present had no exact form of statistics to recommend; that in respect to classifications at present each state is a law unto itself, and that the courts do not have proper records. Dr. Louis N. Robinson of Philadelphia and others participated in the discussion.

THE POLICEWOMAN AND THE GIRL PROBLEM

Maude E. Miner, Secretary, New York Probation and Protective Association, New York

The cartoons which have appeared in the public press have been in part responsible for the misconceptions about the real work of policewomen. We have seen many pictures of the policewoman in a smart brass-buttoned uniform, with a large badge on the lapel of her coat, a "billy" swinging at her side, a revolver in her hand, actually trying to arrest a drunken man. Invariably the picture is labeled "The Lady Cop." The subtle influence of these ridiculous pictures, of occasional articles about arrests made and the very connotation of the name policewoman, has caused many people to believe that the function of the woman with police power is the same as that of the policeman and that the chief duty is to make arrests. Nothing is farther from the truth. The policewoman does not go out to arrest disorderly men, or to apprehend women who are soliciting on the streets for prostitution; from the very beginning, the chief duty of the policewoman has been to protect and safeguard youth, and today her greatest opportunity lies in the direction of protective work.

Growth of the Movement

When in 1905, I attended the Exposition in Portland, Oregon, I first learned that a woman had full police power. Mrs. Lola Baldwin was appointed by the police department of the city to do protective work among the girls and young women who flocked to that western city to the great Exposition. The need and value of work for travelers had been apparent at other expositions, but the need of more general protective work was first appreciated and met by the officials of Portland. The value of the work was so clearly seen that Mrs. Baldwin was continued in the service after the close of the Exposition, and advanced later as director of a woman's bureau in Portland.

Beginning in the west in 1905, the policewoman movement has had a more rapid development there, and it has gradually extended eastward, until in 1908, it reached New York, and it is hoped that eventually it will reach Boston. The Los Angeles police department in September, 1910, appointed Mrs. Alice S. Wells as a policewoman, and the following year, in October, 1911, put the position under civil service. Seattle, Washington, appointed five policewomen in 1912 and quickly recognized the importance of their work. During the same year, women were appointed in Omaha, Neb., and Denver, Col. The following year, 1913, Topeka, Kan., and Rochester, N. Y., appointed a woman under civil service, and in August, 1913, Chicago appointed ten policewomen. This number has been increased, so that Chicago has now 29 women under civil service. The General Statistics of Cities in 1915, show that 26 different cities had at that time a total of 70 policewomen. This included only official policewomen paid from police appropriations, with a single exception, and excluded all police matrons. The list of 1915 includes Chicago, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Seattle, Portland, Denver, Rochester, Syracuse and a number of smaller cities.

The urgent needs of war time increased the number of women having police power in the cities and towns, or power of deputy sheriff in the county. Accurate statistics are not available to show how great is this increase. Nearly all of the 108 women appointed for protective work in camp communities, now serving under the Interdepartmental Board of Social Hygiene, have had police power or power of deputy sheriff. Six policewomen were appointed by the State of Connecticut with police power throughout the state. Many private organizations have secured local police power for their representatives and worked closely in cooperation with governmental and local authorities. In New York City, 20 policewomen have been appointed—ten in August, 1918, and ten in May, 1919. In addition, 14 matrons have been assigned from their work in station houses to duties of policewomen, and a Women's Police Reserve has been organized with a large membership. St. Louis has now 14 policewomen; Washington has 15, and Indianapolis 10. Six women have been appointed in different cities in Texas.

Under the stimulus of war, the policewoman movement has spread rapidly in England. Policewomen were appointed for the first time in London in 1914 as a part of the Metropolitan Police, and later women were appointed in twenty different places. In the munition factories alone 700 policewomen were at work. This movement in England was the direct result of the organization of women patrols by the National Union of Women Workers. The problem of the young girl on the city streets and in the vicinity of the military training camps became so serious that the volunteer patrols were organized. During the period of the war, 4,150 patrols were enrolled in 120 different centers in Great Britain, and 1,306 were registered as working in England and Wales during 1918. These women were employed in other occupations, and volunteered part of their time, frequently two evenings a week, for patrol work. During November, 1918, the organization of women patrols was officially sanctioned by the Secretary of State as a part of the Metropolitan Police. The movement not only spread to Scotland, Ireland and Wales, but in 1915 an organizer of patrols was sent to South Africa. As a consequence of this, women police were appointed in Cape Town and twelve other places in South Africa."

When the United States entered the war, and we realized that a girl problem would surely face the cities and towns near the military and naval camps in the United States, we turned to England to learn from her war time experience. The reports of the work there gave a real impetus to the work in this country, especially to the development of protective officers, and in a much more limited way, to the organization of women patrols.

Scope and Character of Work

Although progress in standardizing the work of policewomen has been very slow, and officials in different cities have conceived of the work quite differently, the real purpose has not been lost sight of, and women with police power are seeing more and more clearly that their greatest task and opportunity lie in the field of protective work.

Evidence of the way in which the work was considered in some of the cities which first employed policewomen is contained in the early reports. In the report of the Los Angeles police department for the year 1911-1912, we read that the policewomen investigated cases of children referred to the Juvenile Bureau, located lost persons, and protected young girls from bad associates in public dance halls and motion picture theatres. It is also noted that a keener insight and ability to draw facts from women and children in trouble helped to prevent crime.

The mayor of Seattle, in an annual message to the city council, January 1, 1913, says, "Much might be written in review and commendation of the rescue and protective work done by the special service corps of women

officers, authorized by your honorable body a year ago. I am sure that no public money expended during the past year has accomplished even a small fraction of results compared with the \$5,000 to \$6,000 which has been thus applied. The report showing 700 girls advised, warned, protected and rescued by the faithful efforts of the devoted little band of women officers, should make every citizen and taxpayer proud to have borne even a small part in so noble a duty."

A letter from the superintendent of police in Chicago, where women have been employed for six years, lays greater emphasis upon law enforcement as a function of the policewomen. He says, "The scope of the duties of policewomen in this city consists principally in ascertaining violations of the law in restaurants, cafes, public dance halls, railroad depots, etc.; suppressing the sale of liquor, tobacco and cigarettes to minors and locating gambling devices in candy stores and other places where children are wont to visit. Their duties do not differ materially from those of policemen, but they can be used to better advantage in procuring evidence in crimes against women and children. In the above lines of work, we have found their services to be very efficient and valuable."

The protective function of policewomen has been disregarded at times according to the reports of actual work accomplished. Women are sent out occasionally to help in discovering thieves and even murderers and to get evidence against criminals. Others are assigned only to patrol work on a definite "beat." Several years ago, I tried to see some of the policewomen in a city employing a large number, and found that all of them had that day been assigned to duty in connection with a suffrage parade. In justification of assigning women to detective and usual patrol work, it is explained that if they are to be a part of the police force, they must do any kind of work given to them by their superior officers. In general we may say that the character of the work of policewomen depends very much upon the initiative and ability of the individual worker, and upon her power to interpret the work to the police authorities. If the police chief thinks that policewomen must do the same kind of work as policemen, he will assign them chiefly to detective and patrol work; if he interprets the task in terms of prevention of crime, he will emphasize and want real protective work.

The work of policewomen in different towns and cities has also been found to differ according to the number and character of social agencies in those communities. For example, in cities where there are strong juvenile protective associations or societies for the prevention of cruelty to children, these associations have been doing much of the work outlined by another city as the duty of policewomen. While some officers consider good case work with individuals a part of their function, others refer all girls for follow-up work to local organizations. In some cities lacking probation officers, policewomen enter into the court and actually receive under care, girls and women released from the court on probation and make the preliminary investigations in cases pending in the courts. Again policewomen have been assigned to deal with domestic relations cases and to see that deserting husbands pay the weekly amount allotted by the court. The supervisory and follow-up work of the probation officer is clearly not the duty of a policewoman and should not be given to her. The distinction between the work of policewomen and probation officers should be so clearly made that there is no over-lapping and no confusion as to function.

During the war time some policewomen have been assigned to government clinics and detention hospitals to locate and apprehend women who have failed to come to the clinic for necessary treatment. The hospital social service worker has not been assigned to this work because she has not the power of arrest. This brings up a very important question as to whether policewomen should do this work or whether special health officers should

be assigned to it. In my opinion, this work of enforcing these health laws and regulations is the function of health officials and not of probation officers or policewomen.

Need of Standardization

A brief review of the work of policewomen reveals one important fact—that there is great need for standardization of the work. We cannot turn to any standard book or manual for an authoritative statement as to what are the duties of a woman with police power or what her program of work should be. If a chief of police wishes to know whether it is advisable to appoint a policewoman, he cannot find the opinions on this subject without writing to officials in other cities. There is no place to turn for information as to the number of policewomen or what cities now have them, for a model law or ordinance on the subject, for suggested forms for records and reports, for information as to the organization of the group of women, or as to the necessary training and preparation of women for this work.

It is most important that a definite program of work should be approved and that the protective work should be emphasized. Statistics regarding the work done should be kept and carefully analyzed as a means of helping to standardize the work. The failure to continue the work in some communities has been entirely due to the lack of understanding of what a woman with police power should do and the fact that some things were done which offended the sensibilities of the people of the community.

The appointment of women under civil service is very important in order to prevent the appointment of women by political favor, and without experience or training. High standards for examination must be adopted in order to draw to the service women with ability for the work. Such examinations should test both personal qualifications as well as physical and intellectual fitness.

The women should be organized as a unit, with provision for advancement within their own group. They should not be scattered through different departments and under the direction of different persons. A competent woman supervisor should be appointed to direct the work.

The laws of the different states should be collated so that information can be given concerning a model law.

A Protective Program

Following a simple program outlined for communities near military and naval training camps, a number of cities and towns have established a Protective Bureau with one or more women protective officers. The most important points in this community program as outlined in an article in *The Survey*, December 1, 1917, and in a leaflet of the Committee on Protective Work for Girls, published in 1918, were as follows:

1. The establishment of a Protective Bureau with a director and women protective officers with police power under her. The appointment of volunteer patrols in addition to the officers. The Bureau would do the following kinds of work:

- a. Scouting and patrol work.
- b. Supervision of amusement places, including dance halls, moving picture theatres, amusement parks, etc.
- c. Personal work with girls, and special help in locating and returning to their homes runaway girls.
- d. Aid in enforcement of laws, especially where young girls are complainants.
2. The securing of a House of Detention for girls separate from the jail, or a place where girls can be detained temporarily.
3. Securing the appointment of a woman probation officer when there is none in the community, to learn the truth about and help girls arrested and brought to the court.
4. Securing one or more Travelers' Aids in the community.
5. Securing improved laws and ordinances for the protection of girls.

6. Promoting educational work through lectures in churches, public schools, before parents' associations, and the stimulating of group and club work for girls.

It was recommended that a local Committee on Protective Work for Girls be organized or officially appointed by the mayor of the city, as a means of securing the Protective Bureau, the House of Detention and other needed facilities, and of doing the educational work. It was urged that if the city could not pay the salaries of the director of this Bureau and the protective officers, some volunteer organizations should pay these. The salaries suggested were \$1,500 to \$1,800 for the director of the Bureau, and \$1,200 for the protective officers.

The aim sought in this was to get an effective body of professional workers and of interested citizens joining hands in solving the girl problem in the community, both as a protective measure for the girls and also for the men in the service. The protective officers were to do much more than parol work, and included a big volume of constructive work with individual girls as an important part of their service. Organization was assured through the appointment of a director as supervisor of the work of the Bureau. The Committee was to supply the push needed not only to get the program adopted but to help interpret the work to the community, and to insure the continuance of it after the war emergency had passed.

What part of this larger protective program for the community shall the policewomen assume and where is the meeting-ground for the different protective agencies? Soon the communities must depend not upon government or semi-governmental agencies to help, but upon their own resources. Yet the girl problem will continue unquestionably throughout the period of demobilization and far beyond. How can we meet the great community needs during the next few years?

Recommendations

In answer to these questions, the following suggestions are offered as the combined thought of a number of workers in the field:

1. Let us insist upon the establishment of a protective bureau in every community, through which individual girls will be helped and conditions for youth improved. This bureau may be under a private organization, under the police department, or some other department of the city, or directly under the mayor.

2. Let us adopt the name *protective officer* for workers doing personal constructive work with girls.

3. Let us combine in an effort to lessen the number of missing girls in the country through securing a central registration of missing girls under the Department of Justice of the United States, and more aggressive work in the location of them.

4. Let us find some agency or individual in every city and town willing to aid in this protective work, and let us have an authoritative list of these, so that our work between cities may be more effective.

5. Let us do more educational work in our communities to spread knowledge of the need and importance of protective work until it reaches the girls themselves and arouses them to safeguard other girls, and until it leads communities to provide better for the little girls who are the mothers of tomorrow.

The girl problem is inextricably bound up with every other social problem in the community. To solve it we must not only deal with our girls, but we must also teach and train our boys. We must constantly insist that men shall bear their part of the responsibility and demand higher moral standards of their sons and of other men. For boys and girls alike, we must secure more decent living conditions, better training and opportunity for work, improved facilities for wholesome recreation, and more vital moral

teaching. We must turn back to those three great rocks in our modern civilization—the home, the school and the church, and demand from them a far higher type of service, greater responsibility for building character, and greater obligation to teach love of God through service to our fellowmen.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Miss Jessie F. Binford, of Chicago, Field Supervisor of the U. S. Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Boards:

I believe there is no phase of social service today that demands discussion and standardization more than protective work for girls. By this protective work, we mean both preventive and case work. Preventive measures include supervision and regulation of commercial amusements such as dance halls, cabarets, parks, moving pictures, boats, etc.; the so-called patrol work in the railway stations, and perhaps the most important and difficult of all, the patrol work on the streets. The case work develops by finding girls who are the victims of vicious conditions or individuals, from complaints of runaway girls and from many other sources. Case work will not of course be done for girls who can be cared for under probation to the Juvenile Court, or for those girls who are taken into courts for adult offenders, and placed on adult probation or committed to an institution.

It was because we realized the need for this kind of preventive and case work years ago, that the idea of having women in our police departments was conceived. Police officials and communities sincerely desired then, as they do today, not only to do something more for the unfortunate girl, but to change conditions which lead to delinquency, and so for ten or fifteen years different towns and cities have placed women in their police departments. Accurate statistics are not available, and the conclusions I have come to are made from my own observations in many towns and cities of the middle west.

Policewomen and the Protective Movement

Those of us who are doing intensive protective work along various lines believe the time has come when we should ask ourselves if the policewoman movement has justified itself, and if we shall encourage its extension. Because of the war, we are in a position today to compare what policewomen and men have done for the protection of girls as part of the police department, with what protective officers have done, acting independently of police departments in organization.

I shall not attempt to tell you what police women have accomplished. Many of them are here and will discuss this question. I do wish you to think with me of the things which have not been accomplished, and which I think you will agree, should have had some development in the course of ten or fifteen years. All I say, of course, is in relation to the movement as a whole.

We do not find well-organized departments with women supervisors who have had actual social service training and experience, nor do we find workers selected for their special qualifications and training for this kind of service. Their work is not well defined, neither are they allowed to take initiative in developing their own ideas. They are bound more or less unavoidably by the old rules, regulations and traditions of our police departments. There are very few records of all their work to be used in registration and clearing with other agencies. Personally, I do not know of any police department where standardized case records are kept, and yet the girls' cases that are considered are often the most involved. No improvement has been made in the great task of locating runaway girls, and yet, I suppose more runaway girls are reported to the police than any other agency. The places of detention, that is, our jails and police stations, have not been materially effected or improved as we expected they would be as soon as we had women officers who could see and report daily on the disgraceful conditions girls were subjected to in these places.

If most of our police women have not accomplished these things, we do not blame them personally. They have been so unfortunate as to work under direction of police officers who did not sense or understand our ideals for this work; they have been isolated from the other social forces of the community; they have had headquarters at our police stations; they have become known as the "lady cops," and have been given every kind of miscellaneous thing to do.

Contrast with War Commission

In contrast with this, will you consider for a moment the practical demonstration made during the last year and a half under the War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities, of real protective work. First of all, and I think most important of all, the realization for the need of protective measures in war times near mobilization centers, the plans for organization, the initiative and inspiration, came from a woman, whom I think really cares more about unfortunate girls, and knows more about protective measures, than any other woman in this country, Maude Miner.

The women protective officers under the commission were supervised by trained workers. They went into the cities and towns near the camps, were given police power and even sheriff's authority, but were known as protective officers, never as police women.

They have offices, not in the police stations, but in other buildings, and their offices were known as Protective Bureau for Girls and Women, or the Girls' Protective Bureau. They had from the first a committee of local citizens. This committee met regularly, passed on and authorized all the work, listened to the reports on individual cases and conditions, and then used this material to persuade or compel public officials to enforce laws and ordinances, pass new ordinances to regulate the use of hotels and rooming houses, clean up their jails and police stations, segregate the prisoners, and provide juvenile probation officers and jail matrons. These protective officers worked with and through all other agencies. They knew the resources of their communities and the dangerous spots. Their intensive case work with individual girls and their interpretation of this demonstrated the need for the houses of detention, and many of these houses have been opened, supported both by public and private funds. They organized volunteers who in many places have taken over the enforcement of the curfew law, the supervision of the dance halls and much of the patrol work. They have helped work out the great health program for the care and treatment of girls suffering from venereal disease.

You will probably say that this has all been easy because we have had a government agency, and have had fairly adequate means of support. That is true, and yet, even with the influence of the government and enough money we have not been able to accomplish much of anything in the cities where we did not have highly trained workers and good local committees, and these are available or we should make them so for every community.

Need Study of Causes

Nothing will so quickly educate the public to the great social needs of today for the girls, living wages, wholesome recreation, adequate institutions, minimum standards for child welfare which would mean protective work at the very source of trouble, as intelligent analysis of delinquency and tendencies toward delinquency and its interpretation to a community. This, I take it, has been the great contribution of the protective officers who have worked under the section of women and girls.

A new impetus has been given to the work of the police women or protective officers. In many cities and towns all over the country they know for the first time what it is to have a woman, intelligent, efficient and specially trained, to help women and girls who need protection and advice from a public agency. We are being asked for workers, for literature, for instructions and for suggestions.

With these two experiments in mind, what shall we advise? Is it too much to expect that our police departments, which are not socialized, will or ever can develop within themselves such a highly specialized department as protective work for girls?

Dr. Valeria H. Parker, Representing the State Police of Connecticut:

The interdependence of social morality and public health are nowhere more evident than in the work of the policewoman. I confess to having had thrust upon me the supervision of six state policewomen without any previous experience other than that of probation officer in a small town, where I understand my record with the public officials is that of having been a fairly good officer "but that I saw too damned much." It is obvious that the policewoman will find many general health conditions which need reporting to public authorities, such as bad housing, physical and mental defects, lack of nutrition, wrong working conditions, unsanitary boarding places for children, unwholesome detention quarters, and unwholesome food supplies.

A second field of public health service lies in connection with the hospital social service, where an occasional case will have a police aspect. Our most definite example of this was the securing of an ante-mortem statement from a child of fourteen, physically and mentally undeveloped, who was dying as a result of a Caesarian section. The hospital authorities had been unable to discover the man responsible for the child's condition. We were able to secure the ante-mortem statement which led to the arrest and conviction of two relatives, boys of 16 and 21.

Perhaps the most definitely recognized field of public service of the policewomen is the case of girls infected with venereal disease. The policewoman should have knowledge of the nature and prevalence of these diseases and for the good of the individual girl herself as well as of the community should be able to assist in securing diagnosis and treatment. She should know of the frequency of venereal infection appearing at an interval after a criminal assault. There are two dangers evident in the present methods of dealing with venereal diseases.

First, the forcible examination and detention of the immoral girls—it is not customary to send policemen after male offenders of the same type; second: the danger of popularizing venereal disease prophylaxis in the civilian community. The Connecticut policewomen reported college students applying for frequent disinfection to one of the venereal disease clinics. In the disposition of cases of illegitimacy, the policewoman may also render service of a public health nature since the welfare of both the mother and child are a public asset. Such points as prenatal, parturient and post-natal care, as well as the danger of forced marriage, in order to prevent a states prison conviction of a man are points for consideration. None more than the policewoman recognizes the value of education in social morality. She should be well grounded in the physiology and psychology of sex; and encouraged to cooperate in all educational measures of a public nature such as work of social hygiene associations and the nation-wide lecture educational programme of the National Y. W. C. A.

Mr. Virgil V. Johnson, General Secretary of the National Travelers' Aid Society, speaking on the place of travelers' aid work in the protective program, said:

At the stations in all the large cities and in many of the smaller ones are the workers of the Travelers' Aid Societies. Passing through these stations there are hundreds of thousands of people in a year, and out of these are selected those who require all kinds of service and those who present all kinds of social problems. In Philadelphia, for example, some 13,000 people were assisted last year and among these were 120 runaways. In the same city, in February, 1919, twenty-five runaways were apprehended. These Travelers' Aid workers stand at the gates of the city life—at the terminals and docks, the strategic places for contact and preventive work with those who have run away from home. The workers come in touch with the girl who has left her country town to hide her trouble, also the girl who seeks the larger city and does not know where to find decent lodging or congenial work.

The best definition which I have heard of the modern Travelers' Aid worker was given recently by the head of one of the Travelers' Aid Societies in one of our larger cities. This executive describes the Travelers' Aid as "the social worker at the station," and describes the Travelers' Aid Society as a "referring agency." In order to discriminate among all the different people passing through the stations and make a sympathetic approach to learn the exact need of the different people presenting a social problem and to refer intelligently to the appropriate agency requires a high order of ability. There is needed also a knowledge of the social resources of the community and of the state. One needs to understand the procedure of the different agencies, the kinds and ages of people that they deal with, and the conditions under which applicants will be received.

In the larger cities when it is learned that a girl ought to be referred to some protective agency she is turned over to one of the specialized agencies, either private or public, dealing with the particular type of girl. It is the policy of the Travelers' Aid Society to use the courts only as a last resort. The general sentiment of the society is against the workers having police power, as it seems to them unnecessary and often a hindrance rather than a help. In most places those having police power can be called in when the situation demands such action.

In the smaller cities and towns where there are few social agencies and perhaps not enough resources to have both a protective officer and a Travelers' Aid worker at the stations, it would be possible to have a Travelers' Aid worker with sufficient knowledge of the problems involved in protective work to meet the different situations as they arose in the community or at the station. In the development of this work over the country it will be necessary to train a woman who has an all-around knowledge of social work and who will be even more resourceful than the worker in the cities where the possession of larger staffs makes it possible to assign work to a person who has specialized in some particular phase of the work of assisting the stranger and acquired special skill.

In order to develop people who will have the right to be called "the social worker at the station" the National Travelers' Aid Society is making plans for a training school in New York, to be connected with the local society. It is also making plans to have its workers take advantage of the New York School for Social Work and some of the training schools in the other large cities. It is putting out into the field secretaries to develop the interest of the business community in the different towns in order to get back of this work not merely the women who have always taken interest but the influential men. The secretaries are to give to the different communities a larger vision of the possibilities of Travelers' Aid work and of the need of paying adequate salaries so that people of ability and the best training may be brought into this field.

The Travelers' Aid Society realizes that there are workers in many other fields who can help in the development of the technique of Travelers' Aid and it is open to suggestions from the social workers who have anything from their own experience to offer to increase its sufficiency in dealing with the different people who need the help or friendly services of the Travelers' Aid. In turn Travelers' Aid, by handling its own work in a better manner, will increasingly be able to make a distinct contribution to the task of preventing wrong doing, protecting those who need guidance, and furthering the general movement for the improvement of social conditions.

Mrs. Aristene Felts, of Seattle, representing the U. S. Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board, and the Washington State Board of Health:

I protest against the use of the name "police woman" for our workers because of the picture it brings to the public mind of the average police-man and that of the detective type. Our work is distinctly protective and constructive—a woman's protective division or bureau co-ordinate with the men's department of our police system.

My work in the state of Washington has been to stimulate local communities to provide the machinery for taking care of the girl problem. In this education of the community to its own needs, I have worked through the woman's organizations, such as the W. C. T. U., the Federated Woman's clubs, the Congress of Mothers and parent-teacher organizations and the home service of the Red Cross. These organizations have always been interested in some phases of the girl problem and the problems of the war have given new interest in this work. Because of this interest, we have succeeded in establishing a Woman's Protective Division as a co-ordinate branch of the men's department of the police in the cities of Spokane, Walla Walla, Yakima and Everett and in strengthening the department by additional woman worker in Bellingham.

There has not been time to educate the communities to the need of trained social

workers in these positions, but the woman selected in each case is a "social worker" type—not a "detective type," and has back of her a strong committee of representative women from these local organizations for conference and support.

A committee from local women's organizations is now working to strengthen the woman's department in Seattle. The problem here is not an easy one, for additions to the force must come from a civil service list, the five highest eligibles being two colored women and three white women. None of the latter has had a high school education or experience in social work. There is no large colored population in Seattle, which would warrant placing a colored worker on the force. The present problem in Seattle is to get the community to see the need of a larger force in the woman's department and the civil service board to present a list of eligibles with better education and training in social work.

We need to educate not only the public but the police department itself in social service work. Two interned women, who had spent several months in a hospital in a western city, were brought from the hospital six miles away to the police department where there was no woman social worker. The chief of police gave these women just twenty-four hours to get out of the city. There was but one way these women could earn money to carry them on their way, and rather than to return to their old habits, they walked six miles back to the hospital and asked for re-admission!

Do we not need a more intelligent manner of treating our adult delinquents?

Miss Virginia M. Murray, of the New York Travelers' Aid Society, speaking on work with delinquent women and girls as developed under the direction of the Section on Women and Girls of the War Department Commission on Training Camp Activities, in the states of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, Tennessee (Western) and Florida (Western). *Miss Murray* was formerly supervisor of this District.

In the states named, which comprised the Fifth District, there are neither adult probation officers nor police women nor any legislative authority for them. In none of these states, except Arkansas, were the women citizens and voters which under their laws were the requirements for appointment as police women. In all of these states there is jurisdiction to some extent by some branch of some court over juvenile offenders. Louisiana has a definite juvenile court law. There is, however, no well worked out, well administered program for even these children, due largely to lack of understanding on the part of communities for the need. Some of the juvenile officers are doing good work against heavy odds.

There is no well-defined community responsibility for delinquency of any kind, more particularly among women and girls and no intelligent understanding of them. There is no interest in them and no developed idea what to do with them. There was a deep-rooted conservatism toward the whole subject—now somewhat broken down. It was shameful to speak of delinquent women at all. The general opinion was that the best thing to do with them was to let them alone. It was almost impossible to get officials to detain white women upon any charge and when this was necessary there was no place of detention except unspeakably awful police stations and jails. Officials who unanimously believed in the segregated vice district, were horrified to think that representative women of the community would wish to concern themselves with delinquent girls.

Without legislative authority and the definite attitude of city and county officials toward the delinquents themselves and toward the function of police women, it was wholly impossible to develop the work inside city administrations.

From the beginning two things had to be demonstrated:

(1) To representative citizens that certain delinquencies did exist in their own communities, for which the community was itself responsible; and

(2) To city and county officials that a *protective* and not a *detective* program was or might be made effective in the hands of the right woman officer.

The method of organization adopted was that laid down by *Miss Maude E. Miner* in the beginning of the War Department's program for the protection of young girls in and about the training camps and naval stations.

In the smaller communities it was not possible to develop any complete program of financial responsibility for the work. City ordinances had not been written nor budgets planned to meet this need. Nothing could ever have been farther from the thoughts of these city fathers than that any such situation was within community responsibility and control.

It was the policy, however, in the larger centers like New Orleans, Memphis, Tennessee, Birmingham and Mobile, Alabama, to contend that the war had brought them no new problem and to place the entire responsibility for financing and development upon cities themselves, assisting them wherever it was possible in this work. In Memphis, Tennessee, the whole protective program was developed and financed up to a budget of thirty thousand dollars by a committee of citizens and not by the city itself.

In all of the towns a committee was very carefully chosen to be responsible for the work. This committee, composed of not more than seven men and women, was as representative of every large community group as it was possible to choose them. It was always non-sectarian in its personnel. The function of this committee was to stimulate interest in the whole protective program, both in the community and among city administrations. The need for more decent places of detention of women and girls was stressed, which resulted in the establishment of detention homes. The thought was to do some constructive instead of some destructive thing from the first contact with the girl. Well trained women were chosen by the supervisor of the work for the Section on Women

and Girls, with the assistance of the local committee, to take up the protective work. These women then worked out some intelligent program of disposition. Through the courtesy of police departments and sheriffs' offices these protective officers were provided with badges which carried no legal authority and which were almost never used.

It was interesting to watch the reaction in the various cities toward the progress of the work.

In Memphis, Tenn., one special local woman did exceptionally good volunteer work. She chanced to meet one of her men friends in the street one day as she was leaving the court with a girl discharged to her care. When he next met her he said: "See here, don't you know you can't afford to be walking down the street with these 'fallen' women?" She replied: "Oh, I have been associating with 'fallen' men all my life, and I don't think I will be much hurt by walking down the street with one little 'fallen' girl!"

In New Orleans the value of the work was so successfully demonstrated to the city that the Mayor has recently signed a two-year lease for a detention home. The superintendent of police in New Orleans was emphatic in the beginning that no woman officer could have any value unless she were a detective. I had the privilege of hearing him say a short time ago: "Our protective officers and the detention home are the best things we have ever done."

The success of the program must depend upon three things in the South:

(1) The kind of woman chosen to do the work. She must be able to interpret this difficult new work to old conservative communities in a dignified, intelligent manner.

(2) Perhaps for permanency more depends upon personnel of the committee than any other one thing. City officials are quick to heed the word of their own representative citizens and to accept suggestions from them.

(3) Particularly in the Fifth District, all kinds of officials are growing anxious to please the women who are so soon to become citizens and voters in their states. We threw the strength of the woman body of the state behind the work wherever that was possible. In Mississippi the State Federation of Women's Clubs financed one worker.

At the last national convention of police chiefs, held in New Orleans in April, 1919, it was hopeful for the whole program of protective work for women and girls, that there was a very real desire upon the part of the more representative, progressive chiefs that there might be a section of the program next year at Detroit, devoted to the work with women and girls.

Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett of Washington, president of the National Florence Crittenton Home, in her discussion said that she had been in every cantonment and camp city in the United States, in military courts and in police courts; that there are 2,503 soldiers' girls in the Crittenton Homes of this country and that she has personally dealt with 720 of them. She said further that she is weary of hearing people urge co-operation. We are of course all willing to co-operate, but the great need of all of us is a *liaison* officer. "Many people say the work with an unfortunate girl is not constructive work," she said. "I maintain it should be."

The desire was expressed for publication of a National Directory of Policewomen.

Others who participated in the discussion were: *Mary S. Burnham*, Portland, Maine; *Clara Burnside*, Indianapolis; *Mrs. Van Winkle*, Washington; *Mrs. E. J. Bacher*, Houston; *Mrs. Goldberg*, El Paso; *Mrs. O. B. Stokes*, Richmond, Va.; *Miss Nellie McElroy*, Rochester; *Mr. Arthur A. Guild*, Toledo.

After discussion a motion prevailed to the effect that the sub-committee, which had prepared the program, should be continued under the title "Committee on Protective Work."

PRACTICAL RELATIONSHIPS OF THE TRUANCY OFFICER

Henry J. Gideon, Chief, Bureau of Compulsory Education, Philadelphia

In phrasing the subject assigned me for discussion your Chairman probably used the term "truancy officer" because, like many of us, he was in doubt as to the proper title of that official. In our statutes he is officially designated both the "attendance officer" and the "truant officer." Popularly, however, he is always the "truant officer."

It is difficult to discuss the present-day practical relationships of the truancy officer because his functions vary widely in different communities throughout the country. These variations are due to frequent amendments to laws elaborating and defining his duties in regard to school attendance, juvenile employment and welfare matters with which the truancy officer is immediately concerned. The old-fashioned "truant officer" of a generation ago was, as the name implies, a person whose chief and perhaps only duty was to deal with the boy who played truant from school. Comic magazines and the funny pages of our dailies have familiarized us with this venerable "kill-joy" of our boyhood days. The "hookey cop" unfortunately still exists

in communities which are slow to adjust themselves to the new order of things. At least there is some satisfaction to progressives in contemplating his certain, even if it be slow, official demise.

Compulsory education and related laws have developed amazingly in recent years. Unfortunately, enforcement has not kept pace with legislative enactment. This failure to secure fulfillment of the purpose of our laws has been due in a large measure to the fact that educational authorities have not been wholly in sympathy with this class of legislation. Progress has been forced in most instances by individuals and agencies that have been inspired with a vision of extending a fair educational opportunity to every child. Unfortunately, their movements have been instituted and carried forward to success independent of the school. The schools have been followers, and at times none too enthusiastic followers, in this progressive work. In a measure this is due to the fact that compulsory school attendance laws have forced the attendance at school of delinquent and defective children that the schools at the time were inadequately prepared to receive. The interest of the school lay chiefly with the normal child, and it has only been within recent years that serious attention has been given to the treatment of orthogenic types. Unfortunately, too, the machinery for the enforcement of the law has been built up within the school system independent of and apart from the professional supervisory corps. This policy led to the appointment of a decidedly inferior personnel in the truancy department and the introduction of constantly changing methods and administrative practices, which were confusing, inadequate and ineffective. The present outlook however, is full of promise for a betterment of conditions.

Within recent years educational authorities have come to realize that the field of the truancy officer should be made a part of the professional work of the school, and a movement nation-wide in its scope is now well under way to organize this work properly under the Departments of Superintendence. When this reorganization is effected the field of the truancy officer will be broadened and his work more satisfactorily related to the activities of the school. Standards of fitness of its personnel will be at least as high as those applied to the teachers, and the methods employed will be constructive and not merely punitive and restrictive. Assuredly, under such new conditions, the field of the truancy officer will become one of the important departments of school administration, and for the time and effort devoted to it will show rich returns in realizing more fully the ideals of public education. It is obviously, therefore, of primary importance that the work of the truancy officer should be organized so that proper relationships shall be established with the schools.

The duties of the truancy officer bring him into frequent relation with children with whom our Juvenile Courts deal. The treatment of such children has given rise to the question as to what should be the relationship between the truancy officers and the probation officers of the court. Usually these officials visit the same homes, deal with the same parents and work with the same children. This over-lapping of their work and the confusion naturally arising therefrom has shown the urgent need of coordinating the work of court and school officials and carefully defining the respective duties of each. Some progress at least has been made in this direction. The opinion seems to be crystallizing that the school should deal exclusively with school offences. The school must be capable of maintaining its own discipline to insure its dignity in the community and to hold its influence with its children. In many communities the establishment of parental and residential schools has enabled the truancy officer, as a representative of the school authorities, to deal with truancy and other school offences by methods entirely independent of the court. In Philadelphia, my own city, the most cordial relationship exists between the school and the probation

department of the Juvenile Court. The Board of Public Education of this city has not as yet provided a parental school for serious offenders against school discipline and the truancy department is obliged to lean heavily upon the Juvenile Court for assistance in the solution of its truancy problems. After several years of careful consideration of the question of relationships, the Juvenile Court in cooperation with the school authorities, has established a policy of delegating to the truancy officer the probationary supervision in all cases involving school offences, thus relieving the probation officers of the court for more intensive work with children who have been brought into court for general delinquency. The respective fields of the school and the court officers have therefore been fairly well defined, and there is little loss of time or effort in duplication of work.

The extension of child labor legislation, broadly delegating to factory inspectors and truancy officers general powers of enforcement, has necessitated, in many states, coordinating by agreement the fields of work of these two officials. Under present conditions their duties generally overlap and have not as yet been fully or clearly defined. In general, it appears that this principle should be established—that the factory inspector who is concerned primarily with factory supervision should deal with the employer in all matters effected by the law especially in case of prosecution, and the truancy officer should deal with the child and his parent, approaching the employer in cases of illegal employment in cooperation with the factory inspector. Unless some such working agreement is made there is sure to arise a complication in the duties of these two officers which will work to the detriment of the child and employer alike. However, such an agreement will not preclude the establishment of cordial relationship between the truancy officer and the employer. In fact such a relationship is necessary in order that legal as well as welfare matters connected with the child's employment may be satisfactorily adjusted.

The truancy officer must necessarily establish many other practical relationships. He must depend, for example, upon the census enumerator, unless he himself is the census enumerator, for a complete list of the children of school age living within his district. Such information furnishes the basis upon which he works in completing the enrollment in school of children within his district.

Proper relationship must also be established with the Bureau of Health in order that he may be furnished, upon request, with expert medical advice on behalf of the school authorities in all cases where differences of opinion exist as to the physical or mental fitness of children to attend school.

Furthermore, the truancy officer must have the sympathetic aid of the social service agencies of his community. Truancy departments, especially in our larger cities, are so badly handicapped by inadequate help that it is impossible to give proper attention in many cases brought to their notice requiring social service.

This discussion of relationships, thus briefly and inadequately presented, could be indefinitely extended by referring in detail to the daily work of the truancy officer. I would much prefer to use the time at my disposal in directing attention to the need for reorganizing certain welfare activities of the school, which closely related to each other, are now conducted under separate departments.

For social service there are at present attached to the school the truancy officer, the school nurse, the teacher advisor, the visiting teacher, and the welfare worker. The truancy officer, according to popular conception, must compel children to go to school, and he must compel parents to send their children to school. However, he has a much more important duty to perform in making it *possible* for children to go to school and *possible* for parents to send their children to school. His duty goes even

beyond this in that he must make adjustments in the family and frequently with the school so that the child's school life will be happy and the child will *desire* to go to school. Frequently he must find employment for children who are of necessity compelled to leave school for work, and it is not unusual for him to be called upon to advise parents in regard to the kind of employment that the child should enter. In addition to this he must give educational and vocational advice in such cases.

Now what are the duties of the school nurse? Generally, we will agree that the duty of the school nurse is to carry out the directions and suggestions of the medical inspector by proper presentation of the matter at the home. In other words, the nurse in general is not called upon to use her professional training as nurse in the performance of her school duties; rather, she is required to render a high grade of social service along specialized lines.

And what are the duties of the visiting teacher and the teacher advisor? Let me quote from a report of a teacher advisor which comes first to hand: "The work has been developed along three main lines: (1) Visiting the homes to establish a closer relationship between the home and the school; (2) advising and helping individual pupils; (3) securing employment for those who need to work their way through school. From the inception of the work home visiting has become a necessary feature, in order to know home conditions and the needs of the girls, etc., etc. Cases of irregularity of attendance, repeated tardiness, or suspected truancy have been looked after closely all through the year, and the cooperation of parents sought to remedy the troubles. Sixty cases of truancy have been talked over with parents. They were very glad to have their daughters looked after, etc., etc."

It appears from what has been thus briefly stated that the present need of our schools is the introduction of an adequate system of social service which shall combine the functions of the truancy officer, the school nurse, the visiting teacher and other school welfare workers. We all agree that the attendance officer would be more effective in his work if he had the educational training and point of view of the teacher, and were equipped also with the training required in a school for social service. We also agree that the nurse could render more effective service if she were also thus trained and had conferred upon her by law the authority and power of the truancy officer. We further agree that the teacher advisor or the visiting teacher, well equipped as she is from the educational point of view, could be much more helpful to the child if she were properly trained in social service. In addition she might find it extremely advantageous, at least in certain cases, if she could exercise the power and authority of the truancy officer.

The demand for the introduction of a well-developed system of social service in connection with our public school system must come from the school. The workers in such a department should be trained in schools of education to insure their thorough understanding of the school problem and they should also be given a supplementary course in a good school for social service. In addition to this a course in "first aid" would enable them to perform, in a measure, some of the emergency duties now required of the school nurse.

The present need of the school is the full time and continuous service of trained workers engaged in the intensive study of family and community problems in their relation to the school. The truancy officers and all other welfare workers connected with the school are seriously handicapped because they are obliged to spread their efforts over too large an area. Even in communities where such officers are generously supplied each officer is required to meet the needs of units of from 5,000 to 12,000 school children, or in other words of communities ranging from 35,000 to 75,000 in population.

The same conditions at present face the school nurse as well as other school welfare workers. Obviously, much more satisfactory service could be rendered to the children if the present units could be reduced to a half or a third. Good work is only possible if the welfare worker confines her efforts to a small community; the district in which she operates should be so small that it would be possible to learn and understand the needs of the children in every family.

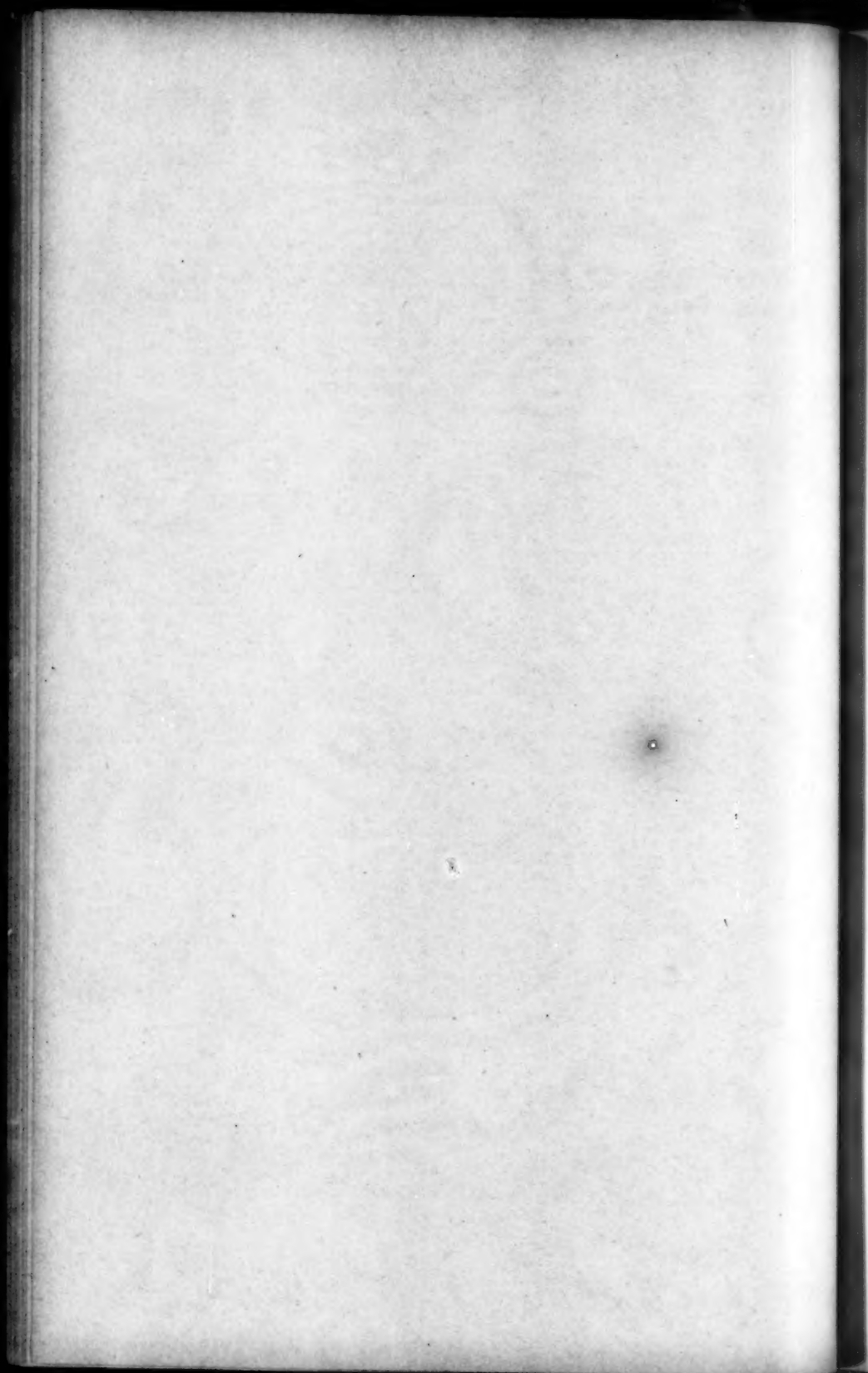
The high purposes of the schools will never be fully realized for its children until the school extends its work into the community and intelligently and fully grasps the difficulties and trials of the home life of the child. The training of the school, especially the civic and the moral training cannot be effectively given in the school until the teachers know how these young people live during the many hours when they are not under school supervision. The school must realize its needs in these particulars and with this understanding must in no uncertain terms make its demands for more and better service.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

In the discussion which followed, there developed opposition to the suggestion that the school nurse occupied a secondary place.

Miss Jeanie V. Miner of New York: The school nurse is absolutely necessary. She is of prime value where children are denied employment certificates because of physical defects. These cases are referred back to the school nurse who tries to put the child into fit condition, instructs the parent as to diet, takes the children to a clinic if necessary, etc.

Others who participated in the informal discussion were: *Miss Cecile Rasowsky* of Washington and *John J. Gascoyne* of Newark.



III.
HEALTH

DIVISION COMMITTEE—1918-19

Chairman, C. E.—A. Winslow, M. D., Yale University, New Haven.

Secretary, Mrs. Bessie Ammerman Haasis, National Organization for Public Health Nursing, New York

Carol Aronovici.....	St. Paul	Grace Meigs, M. D.....	Washington
Paul L. Benjamin.....	Minneapolis	George J. Nelbach.....	New York
Ida M. Cannon.....	Cambridge	Katharin Ostrander.....	Lansing, Mich
Katharine B. Davis.....	New York	Lt. Col. Claude C. Pierce.....	Little Rock
Edna G. Foley.....	Chicago	John E. Ransom.....	Chicago
Charles J. Hastings, M. D.....	Toronto	Maj. W. A. Sawyer.....	Washington
Emery R. Hayhurst.....	Columbus, O.	Anne A. Stevens.....	New York
Edna G. Henry.....	Indianapolis	Mrs. J. M. Taylor.....	Boise
Mary E. Lent.....	Washington	Katharine Tucker.....	New York
		Lawrence Veiller.....	New York

DIVISION COMMITTEE—1919-20

(Year of expiration of term of office appears in parenthesis after each member's name.)

Chairman, George J. Nelbach, State Charities Aid Association, New York

Secretary, Mrs. Bessie Ammerman Haasis, National Organization for Public Health Nursing, New York

Ida M. Cannon (1920).....	Cambridge	H. W. Hill, M. D. (1922).....	St. Paul
Mrs. Thomas Crowder (1921).....	Chicago	Mary E. Lent (1921).....	Washington
S. J. Crumbine, M. D. (1922).....	Topeka	Katharin Ostrander (1921).....	Lansing, Mich.
David Edsall, M. D. (1922).....	Boston	C. C. Pierce, M. D. (1922).....	Washington
Livingston Farrand, M. D. (1922).....		James B. Rawlings (1922).....	Fort Worth
	Washington	Maj. W. A. Sawyer (1920).....	Washington
Edna G. Foley (1921).....	Chicago	Anne A. Stevens (1920).....	New York
Charles J. Hastings, M. D. (1921).....	Toronto	Mrs. J. M. Taylor (1921).....	Boise
Emery R. Hayhurst (1920).....	Columbus, O.	Lawrence Veiller (1920).....	New York
Edna G. Henry (1921).....	Indianapolis	C. E. A. Winslow (1922).....	New Haven

SUB-COMMITTEE

The Standard of Living Essential to Health, Royal Meeker, Washington, D. C., Chairman.

PROGRAM

At the meeting of the National Conference at Atlantic City, June 1-8, 1919, 347 delegates registered as members of the Health Division. The Division Committee, as elected the year before at Kansas City, is shown on the opposite page.

The general topic for the Health Division meetings was Health as Related to the Standard of Living. Eight meetings with program and discussion were held as follows:

	PAGE
June 7, 8:15 P. M. Poverty and Health.....	153
June 4, 10:00 A. M. Standards of Living and Tuberculosis.....	178
June 5, 10:00 A. M. Standards of Living in Relation to Medical and Nursing Care.....	186
June 5, 3:00 P. M. Standards of Living and Infant Mortality.....	197
June 6, 10:00 A. M. Standards of Living in Relation to Venereal Disease	208
June 6, 3:00 P. M. Standards of Living and the Family Food Supply	225
June 7, 10:00 A. M. Standards of Living in Relation to the Hous- ing Problem	237
June 7, 10:00 P. M. Standards of Living in Relation to the Health Hazards of Industry.....	247

The meeting on the afternoon of June 5th was a joint session with the Division on Children.

TRANSACTIONS

The first Division business meeting was held on Monday, June 2nd, at noon, Mr. Dwight E. Breed of Texas acting as Chairman in the absence of Dr. Winslow. A Nominating Committee composed of Mr. Paul Benjamin, Chairman, Mr. Otto Bradley and Mrs. B. A. Haasis, was appointed to bring in names for members of the Division Committee whose terms were expired.

An adjourned business meeting was held on June 4th at noon, at which the Nominating Committee presented the following names, which were unanimously accepted for the Division Committee for the coming year:

Dr. Livingston Farrand, Washington, D. C.

Dr. C. C. Pierce, Washington, D. C.

Dr. S. J. Crumbine, Topeka, Kansas.

Dr. David Edsal, Boston, Mass.

Dr. C. E. A. Winslow, New Haven, Conn.

Dr. H. W. Hill, St. Paul, Minn.

Mr. James Rawlings, Fort Worth, Texas.

(Signed) C. E. A. WINSLOW, Chairman.
BESSIE A. HAASIS, Secretary.

POVERTY AS A FACTOR IN DISEASE

C.-E. A. Winslow, Professor of Public Health, Yale School of Medicine, New Haven, and Curator of Public Health, American Museum of Natural History, New York

Two years ago at Pittsburgh it was my privilege to speak to this Conference at the splendid and inspiring moment when our nation was gathering its forces for a decisive entrance into the great war. That war has now ended in complete victory for the alliance which stood for political democracy and political freedom and political good faith; yet the world is not at peace. The northern half of Asia and more than the eastern half of Europe are in chaos. In Ireland, in Korea, in Canada, there are menacing murmurings of unrest. The war for political righteousness between the nations threatens to give place to a war for social readjustment within the nations—a war almost as bitter as the first and far more complex and more difficult to comprehend. The evil forces in this war do not all march under one flag. There are possibilities of black reaction as well as of red terror. Each nation must find for itself the right path between the two extremes.

To change one familiar metaphor for another, may we not say that each of the nations is today like a ship in a growing storm. In a sense your ship and mine is the flagship of the squadron; for of all the nations upon earth America is the strongest in material resources and in national unity.

We cannot stay where we are. We cannot turn back to port for it is away from the anchorages of the past that the gale blows strongest. If we could perhaps take refuge for a time in reaction it is certain that the weaker ships of state could never follow us. We must not dash upon the rocks and founder as Russia is foundering today. We must find the way through to a new and better harbor on the eternal voyage—for ourselves and as an example to the other nations of the earth.

There are some things we have learned from our war experience that will help us to formulate the sailing directions for this voyage. The clearest of these lessons perhaps is the lesson that the strength of a nation in war and in peace depends upon its spiritual unity, upon what in military terms is called morale; and morale has both a material and a spiritual basis. The British in the terrible retreat from Mons, the French in the dark days of Verdun, were upheld by a spiritual force so splendid and so supreme that it wrung victory from what seemed to be overwhelming defeat. In peace time we cannot count on such devotion. We must base our national morale in the daily tasks of life upon a certain *quid pro quo*. In the long run men will love their country because she is worth loving; and the nation which makes the life of the largest proportion of its citizens safe and sound and happy is the nation which will in the end triumph over internal dissension as well as foreign foes.

Health as a National Ideal

There are many things that must be ensured to the men and the women and the children of the nation if America is to endure, and to lead other people into the harbor of the future. There must be physical health. There must be the opportunity for normal family life with a modicum of material comfort. There must be education and intellectual stimulus. There must be opportunity for the instinct of craftsmanship,—the urge of creation,—and for the instinct of play,—the call for relaxation. There must be the inspiration of a compelling common ideal.

Tonight we ask you to consider with us just one of these essentials for national unity,—that of physical health. It is, perhaps, the least of them in the sense that we would all exchange a considerable degree of health for any one of the higher gratifications. Yet these ideals should not be mutually

exclusive, but the reverse; and to the extent that abounding health underlies normal family life and intellectual and productive and spiritual satisfaction it is the most fundamental and important of them all.

The health of the people then must be one of our ideals for the new America which is to be borne of the birth pains of the war. It must be ensured by the application of sanitary science and preventive medicine on a scale far greater than we have ever dared to dream. It must be ensured by a reorganization of medicine and nursing service on some social plan so that rich and poor may receive the gifts of medical science and may receive them at the stage when they can operate effectively and not, as today, when it is too late to do much more than ease the sufferer into his grave. These are problems for the health officer, for the physician and the nurse, problems in which most of the members of this Conference are interested as you are interested in the application of scientific research and scientific organization to the betterment of human life in every field. There is still another problem here, however, which concerns you even more directly,—the problem to which the health sessions of this Conference have been directly and exclusively devoted,—the problem of poverty as a factor in sickness.

Poverty and Disease

More and more clearly it is becoming evident that many people are sick and many people die because they are poor,—not only in starving Russia and devastated Belgium, but in America, as well. As we go deeply into any great public health problem, such as infant mortality, or tuberculosis, or mental disease, we find that after health organization and health education have done their best, there is still poverty to be reckoned with as a causative factor in disease. In the Johnstown survey Miss Duke tells us that the infant mortality in one ward was 271 deaths per 1,000 births against 134 for the city as a whole and 50 for the ward which showed the lowest rate and the explanation is that "This is where the poorest, most lowly persons of the community live—families of men employed to do the unskilled work in the steel mills and the mines." Dr. Sydenstricker and his associates in the U. S. Public Health Service in a report on the relation between disabling sickness and family income among cotton mill operatives in South Carolina find that with a monthly income equivalent to less than \$12 per person (on an adult male unit basis) the sick rate was 70.1 per 1,000; with an income between \$12 and \$14 it was 48.2 per 1,000; with an income between \$16 and \$20 it was 34.4; and with an income of \$20 and over it was 18.5.

We can conclude from these figures and from many similar investigations that poverty and sickness are closely correlated. We cannot conclude that the poverty is responsible for the excess of sickness, for in many instances the relation of cause and effect may be reversed. People do not usually live in the poorest quarters of a city or work at its underpaid employments by choice or by accident. In general, and on the average, we shall find in such districts and such employments a concentration of tuberculous stock, of alcoholic stock, of feeble-minded stock,—poor protoplasm and a bad environment supplementing each other in a vicious circle.

No one can perhaps tell us just how far poverty in such cases is the real and effective cause of the failure to achieve and maintain a normal standard of physical health. It is clear, however, that there is a certain standard of income below which the maintenance of health is impossible; and it seems reasonably sure that a certain not inconsiderable proportion of the population of the United States has today a family income below that figure.

The Need for a Minimum Standard of Living

If an initially normal family cannot gain a livelihood adequate for its minimum physical needs there is evidently a problem of social readjustment

which our nation must face as a fundamental of post war reconstruction; but what shall we say of the family which on account of inherent physical or mental defects is unable to reach a minimum level under a wholly fair and equitable basis of compensation? There are but two alternatives as I can see it; since the moral sense of mankind repudiates the rigorous application of the principle of unhindered natural selection. We can let the combination of defective protoplasm and crippling environment accomplish the major portion of its work and then salvage what we can from the wreck by some form of institutional relief. Or we can apply our social energy and our community funds to make good the deficiencies in the beginning. I have little doubt, and I think you have little doubt, as to which will prove in the long run the cheaper way, and I am quite certain that the preventive method will prove more conducive to high national morale.

The more immediate goals of the health worker,—efficient sanitary administration, infant welfare, stations, clinics and dispensaries, and even health insurance,—are but palliative measures if it be true that a substantial proportion of our people are striving to live upon a family budget below the minimum essential for physical health. The health section has devoted all its sessions during the past week to this problem; and has suggested a definite attempt to secure the first information upon which constructive action may be based. We have asked for the appointment of a special Committee on the Standard of Living Essential for the Maintenance of Health. We hope that this committee will be organized with a membership of economists, statisticians, household administrators, dietitians and housing experts sufficiently eminent to command universal confidence. We hope it will be possible for the committee to bring in a report next year which will give us an approximate minimum for the family budget, adjusted so far as necessary to varying geographical and social environments and perhaps so connected with the index of price levels that it can be utilized on a sliding scale for some time in the future. We believe that with such authoritative data in hand there will be a powerful stimulus for each locality to determine what proportion of its population is actually below the limit of safety; and that when the facts are known the argument for effective remedies will be found to be unanswerable.

The "American Plan" for Dealing with Poverty as a Factor in Disease

In closing, let me pass on to you a lesson I learned a short time since from a friend and fellow-townsmen whom many of you know, Dr. David Lyman. Dr. Lyman was a member of the splendid group of public health workers who have helped to translate into action our gratitude and admiration for our gallant allies in France. He was for a time in charge of the organization established by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Red Cross to demonstrate the American plan for dealing with tuberculosis; and after the obvious things had been done, after clinics and hospitals had been provided and a comprehensive health education campaign was under way, problems of this sort began to arise. Jacques was a delicate child in a tuberculous family. He needed milk and eggs for which his parents could not pay. So the American organization furnished the nourishing food, not as a charity, but as a part of national preventive medicine. "Very good," said the French physicians, "but we thought this was a plan to be carried on by ourselves after you have gone. Where shall we find the money to do such things?" "Why," said Dr. Lyman, "it is much cheaper for you to do this than to let the child get tuberculosis and care for him afterward," and the French became interested in the "American plan."

Marie was ill. She could be cared for at home if there was a room where she could sleep alone and get fresh air. There was no such room in

the poor cottage. So Dr. Lyman sent for the town architect and asked him to draw plans for an additional room to be built onto the cottage. "But, what an expense." "Far cheaper than letting Marie's sisters come down and caring for them all in a sanitarium," was the reply. It seemed logical and the French are apt at logic. "So that's the American plan," they said. "It seems a good one."

Jean must go to a sanatorium, but how can the family live without his wages? Easily enough. The Tuberculosis Organization will pay the family what he would be earning while he is being cured. "Is this not a dangerously costly precedent?" asked the Mayor. "Far less dangerous and less costly than letting the man die and supporting the family till the children are grown up,—and more humane, too."

"Fine," said the Mayor, "I see it. And that is the American plan, too. How splendid and far sighted. I must come over to America after the war and see just how you do it."

Dr. Lyman tells me he is somewhat perturbed at times to know just where he will take his French friends when they come over to see the "American plan" in full operation. But it is worth while to see visions if they inspire us to remould this world somewhat nearer to the heart's desire. We set before you as our contribution to this Conference the vision of an America in which there shall be no single family without the income which is essential for the maintenance of health.

SICKNESS AS A FACTOR IN POVERTY

*Karl de Schweinitz, General Secretary, Society for Organizing
Charity, Philadelphia*

"I dreamed, and behold, I saw a man clothed in rags, standing in a certain place, with his face from his own house, a book in his hand, and a great burden upon his back."

John Bunyan was not merely writing seventeenth century theology when he used this method to start Christian on his pilgrimage. He was setting forth a universal principle of human progress. Despite the twentieth century disposition toward reconstruction of society and of religion and of life the process of achieving salvation has not changed. The first step in any reformation is a conviction of sin.

"I am in myself undone," says Christian, "by reason of a burden that lieth hard upon me. I fear that this burden, that is upon my back, will sink me lower than the Grave."

It was this burden, this conviction of sin, that drove him from his home and set him upon the road to the Celestial City, and it is these same awakenings for sin that the world of 1919 must usually acquire before it can achieve any one of the many kinds of salvation it needs. So old-fashioned a word as sin we do not, of course use. Instead we speak about learning the normal from the abnormal and of how the spread of knowledge of bad conditions is a basis for social reform. We describe life as a progress from lower to higher forms, and what indeed is the theory of evolution but a scientific method of escape from our state of original sin? Modern terminology may be different; nevertheless like Christian, if we become aroused to the necessity of a pilgrimage it is by the consciousness of a burden upon our backs.

Our problems are, however, much more complicated than those with which Bunyan dealt. He was concerned with personal salvation only, whereas we seek in addition social salvation; and for one sinner to become aware of his sins is a far more simple matter than for the world to become convinced of its transgressions.

The Burden of Sickness

Take, for example, the question of sickness. Probably each one of us has been ill at one time or another. We know how uncomfortable it is to have a pain and how much one may suffer by reason of the bills that follow it. We have probably experienced a loss of pay through illness and from this and other causes we may have a thoroughgoing conviction of the sin of disease as it affects us individually. Socially, however, we may be quite unconscious of the load upon our backs.

It is fortunate, therefore, that just as Christian had a book in which he might read and thereby add to his burden so there exists for the twentieth century a means of awakening for sin. Its name is statistics and in the United States alone hundreds of men and women have been engaged in writing its chapters upon sickness. There have been issued, or there will be issued in the immediate future, voluminous reports by the social insurance commissions of the states of Ohio, Illinois, California, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, New Jersey. A vast variety of surveys and studies of illness have been conducted by these commissions, by public health organizations, and by insurance companies, notably the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. Because of these and more directly and particularly because of the help of the Health Insurance Commission of the state of Pennsylvania, we are now able to set forth briefly the following evidences of sin:

First. At any given time three in every hundred people are ill, two seriously enough to be unable to work. This means that tonight there are 3,300,000 sick persons in the United States—only seven states in the Union have more people than this. (Appendix 1.)

Second. Twenty per cent of the population suffer a week or more of illness during the course of one year. In other words, one in every five persons here tonight will have not less than seven days of sickness before the National Conference meets again next year. (Appendix 2.)

Third. On the basis of the time lost every year by working people each person in the United States loses seven days annually through illness—a total of 770,000,000 days every twelve months—more than two million years. Think of it—two million years. Subtract two million years from tonight and history has not begun, man is still beast, and the world is only beginning to be habitable. (Appendix 3.)

Fourth. The average duration of illness of those who are sick is more than thirty-five days. (Appendix 4.)

Fifth. The families of wage earners in industrial centers spend on an average from \$32.00 to \$53.00 a year for health, in addition to receiving gratuitous care in public and private hospitals—that for the state of New York alone has been estimated at twenty-two million dollars annually. At this rate in the United States families spend because of sickness more than a billion dollars every year. (Appendix 5.)

Sixth. Wage earners in the United States lose six hundred million dollars in pay annually because of sickness. (Appendix 6.)

Thus the loss in wages and in expenditures for sickness every year is greater than the national debt of the United States before the war.

Surely he must indeed be obstinate of heart who upon realizing what is involved in these facts does not begin to become conscious of a great burden resting upon the shoulders of all of us, and who does not then express his alarm in the words of Christian;

"I fear that the burden that is upon my back will sink me lower than the grave; and I shall fall into Tophet."

Averages Do Not Tell the Story

Whither, indeed, is this crushing load of sickness thrusting us. Averages, certainly, do not tell the story. The two million years and the more than one billion and a half dollars that are lost annually are taken from only a fraction of the twenty-two million people who are ill every year in the United States. John Jones was indisposed this morning but he may be back at work tomorrow. His allotment of thirty-five days illness is merely mathematical. As a matter of fact somebody else bore the sickness that statistically was assigned to him.

This is the most terrifying aspect of disease. It seems to select certain victims upon whom it wrecks its full force. Thus three in every hundred workers who are sick are ill for more than six months. (Appendix 7.)

The financial burden of disease is correspondingly unequally divided, for the longer the illness the greater the loss in wages and in expenditures for treatment. This is well illustrated by a study of the expenditures of 365 families to which the Philadelphia Visiting Nurse Society was called in July, 1918. While the average was \$47.00 a family the real burden of the sickness fell upon fifty households. The cost of their illness was equal to more than one-half of the money spent for sickness by the whole group, and although twenty-six of the fifty had incomes of less than thirty dollars a week and fifteen of less than twenty dollars a week their expenditures ranged from one hundred dollars to four hundred and sixteen dollars. Two families with incomes of twenty dollars a week had doctor's bills of \$200 and \$400 respectively. Consider what it would mean to have to spend twenty or forty per cent of one's annual earnings for sickness, yet not only was this the obligation of these two families but their income was less than that needed to maintain a family at the lowest minimum standard of living.

This, moreover, is not unusual. Thus seven per cent of the sick families found in a study of forty-one city blocks by the Illinois Health Commission were found to have expenditures for sickness equal to more than fifty per cent of their entire income.

What happens to such families? Ask the remedial loan societies and they will tell you that sickness is one of the chief reasons given for loans. (Appendix 8.) Ask the charity organization societies and they will show you that sickness is the principal physical factor in the distress of thirty in every hundred families under their care—and this is a most conservative estimate. Thirty in every hundred—compare this with the three in every hundred persons who are sick at any given time and what happens to the families who bear the full brunt of sickness becomes clear. (Appendix 9.)

What Calcheck Did

They do what Thomas Calcheck did when he became too ill to support his family. They exhaust their savings. He had \$700. Then they borrow on their life insurance. This was the policy that Calcheck followed. Then they extend their credit and borrow from their friends. Everybody liked Calcheck and creditors and friends were liberal to the point of making gifts. Beyond this most families do not have to go. Their friends and relatives are able to provide for them. The children and the wife work. It is only when every possible source of help has been exhausted that they do what Calcheck did—that they apply to a social agency for assistance. For four years Calcheck and his family were under the care of the Society for Organizing Charity. For the first seven months the Society supplemented the family income with a total of \$129.00. During the remaining three years and four months the Society's share of the family's budget was \$1,800 or \$540.00 a year.

Then Calcheck died and widowhood was scheduled as the principal physical factor in the family's distress, although it was sickness that had caused the widowhood and although two of the children need constant medical attention. Thus, when we speak of sickness as a factor in family social work we do not include incidental illness. Societies which have counted it in their estimates have variously reported sickness in from sixty-six to eighty per cent of the families under their care.

Overwhelmingly it is sickness that is responsible for the death in the prime of life of men whose widows despite state and municipal aid to mothers, still demand the largest percentage of relief provided by family social work agencies. It is sickness that causes hospitals, dispensaries, and physicians to be the form of community service most frequently used by social workers in helping families. Sickness—preventable sickness—brands the children of the poor even in infancy. It seizes them for its own again and again, in their youth and in their prime, until those who succeed in surviving to old age are covered with the scars of the destroyer.

Now of a certainty we know the whither of the load of sickness that weighs down upon us. Truly, there is good reason that like Christian we should weep and tremble, for the burden that is upon our backs is steadily forcing us down to the Tophet of poverty.

The Hell of Poverty

It is a twofold Hell that awaits us. There is first what may be called the circle of Tantalus. Tantalus, it will be remembered, was that son of Zeus, who for his sins was placed in water up to his chin with fruits hanging over his head, and when he attempted to quench his thirst or ease his hunger water and fruit receded from his touch.

This is the conventional and well established economic Hell. It is the one with which social workers have chiefly concerned themselves.

"The word poverty," says Professor Hollander in his "Abolition of Poverty" "is, in ordinary usage, applied indifferently to three distinct conditions: Economic inequality, economic dependency, and economic insufficiency. Eliminating pauperism and modest circumstances," he continues, "the terms 'poor' and 'poverty' remain to be properly applied to those who commonly lack some considerable part of the economic goods and services necessary for decent and wholesome life."

This, also, is the point of view of the countless inquiries into the standard of living that have been conducted in the last decade. They are the effort to escape the Hell of not having enough to eat, of not having enough to wear, or a decent place to sleep, the Hell of Tantalus who must forever remain an hungered and thirsty, and to such a perdition sickness unquestionably leads.

So great a wage loss as the \$600,000,000 annually estimated for the workers of the United States, the frequent long duration of illness among those who are sick, the cost of the treatment of disease, the shortage in income which is implied in the millions of dollars that are spent annually for free care, and the large percentage of illness among the families coming to the attention of charity organization societies is proof sufficient of this. Sickness is a powerful factor in forcing countless thousands down toward the Tophet of economic dependency and economic insufficiency—and all that social workers have said of the torture of this perdition seems not over stated to those who daily witness the material lacks in the lives of families whose incomes are not enough to provide them with the means of efficient life.

The Circle of Sisyphus

But the having or the not having of things is not the only test of Heaven or Hell. There is indeed another element in life, the absence of which forms the second circle of perdition, the circle of Sisyphus, son of Aeolus, who was condemned to roll uphill a stone that as he rolled it up eternally rolled back, and who thus suffered the greatest of all tortures, the agony of unproductiveness, the despair of frustrated accomplishment.

We have been so greatly concerned in the past because the poor have not been able to enjoy the full fruits of what they create that we have not appreciated the perdition caused by the inability to experience the joy that comes from achievement. If it is poverty to lack some considerable part of the economic goods and services necessary for decent and wholesome life, it is also poverty to be prevented from producing to full capacity one's share of the spiritual and economic goods and services which are the hope of the world.

Into this Hell, sickness is continually driving humanity. It does so by robbing man of his most valuable asset, by depriving him of his vitality.

"What is a man without energy?" writes Mark Twain in one of his letters. "Nothing—nothing at all. What is the grandest thing in Paradise Lost—the Arch-fiend's terrible energy! What is the greatest feature in Napoleon's character? His unconquerable energy. And today, if I were a heathen, I would rear a statue to energy and fall down and worship it!"

Vitality, indeed, is the power that has made possible the great achievements of history. The great writers, the great artists, the great statesmen, the great business men have abounded in it. It is the men who have had vitality over and above that which they needed for the routine of life, who have outstripped their fellows in enriching the world.

This physical essence of man is the object of sickness' every attack. Acute and chronic illness of the kind discussed thus far in this paper feed upon it. Of that we need no proof. More insidious, more subtle and more difficult to ascertain is the effect upon vitality of what to borrow from the biologist we might call *recessive* sickness, the sickness which only the diagnostician can recognize, which the patient himself overlooks, and which, if included in health surveys would bring the percentage of sickness in the general population far above the proportion of three in one hundred.

This is the sickness that people do not consider important enough to justify consultation with a physician, the sickness that expresses itself in a fleeting pain, in an occasional ache, and which preying on vitality, results in an inability to think and act at the top of one's powers. This kind of illness is an almost universal experience; yet by reason of its very nature it is difficult to discover or to subject to statistical analysis. Social agencies learn about it usually only when the disease has reached the advanced stage in which definite and easily recognizable symptoms develop.

An illustration of this is to be found in the experience of Antonio Cardeleo who for years has been an unsatisfactory sort of person. He was lackadaisical and without energy, a "no account" fellow who seldom had employment and who frequently deserted his family. The cause of his depleted vitality and consequent unproductiveness was not discovered until he returned home from one of his periodic absences, suffering from a hemorrhage. A diagnosis of tuberculosis in an incipient stage was made. Three months elapsed before the sanatorium could admit him. During this time he was under the instruction of a dispensary, and when his turn to go away arrived he had made such progress in learning how to regulate his life and diet that it was possible for him to return to work. A job as a railroad switchman was secured for him. This position he has held ever since. He is buying his own home and has continued to live with his family.

Obviously many things entered into making this man into a productive citizen, but among them, certainly, the restoration of his vitality played an important part.

Why Brown was Inefficient

Even more elusive was the cause of Joseph Brown's inefficiency. He was described by one visitor as looking like a Greek God, having the sort of physique which made people instinctively say of him—there's a man for the army. Nevertheless he was ineffective. The neighbors said he was lazy and so indeed he appeared to be. It was only when his condition became so serious that his power to grip things with his hands failed that tuberculosis of the spine was discovered. The disease has since been arrested sufficiently to enable him to work regularly.

Again, the cause of the inertia of another man was not ascertained until one morning he went to bed because the noise which his children made irritated him. A neurologist found that the trouble was locomotor ataxia. The disease was discovered early enough to enable this person for a time at least to become partially self supporting.

A few weeks ago there died in a tuberculosis hospital a patient who for nearly three years by sheer power of will had forced his body to do work for which it had not the energy. Could any torture be greater than the growing sense of impotence and ineffectiveness which this man felt and struggled against during the months when for the sake of supporting his family he cast aside his hope of recovery?

Here, indeed, is where the poverty of the poor is their poverty. The pressure upon them is to work to the last minute, to ignore disease in its incipient stages, and to neglect those slight chronic digestive troubles and minor defects in the circulatory system that feed upon the energy which men and women need to function adequately as human beings.

Perhaps the first to recognize the dangers of *recessive* sickness has been the successful business man. Against the poverty that comes from a loss of vitality the capable executive guards himself vigilantly. He is careful about what he eats. He is particular about relaxation and recreation. He focusses every effort toward keeping himself at the peak of his energy during the hours when he must make decisions. Any casual disorder is a red signal that meets with instant attention.

But the big business man or the successful professional man is the exception. The rule is the poor man who must often perforce neglect the aches and the pains which accompany his loss in vitality. Without the means or the courage to learn why he finds himself less and less able to do his best. Even worse, he may never have known what it is to be at one's best. Sickness like another Dracula has preyed upon his life blood from earliest childhood until he becomes what social case workers find so many families to be—spiritless, hopeless, ineffective, without the confidence that comes with physical well being and lacking the impulse toward accomplishment that springs from accomplishment. Thus he is steadily drawn deeper and deeper down into the perdition of unproductiveness.

Through him this social Tophet threatens to engulf us all. The families under the care of charity organization societies are but symptomatic of a misery that is far more widespread than their limited numbers. For each family that, lacking resources in money, in personnel, and in friends, applies to a social agency there are hundreds that manage to struggle on without taking this last resort. All their lives they have not enough to eat or to wear. All their lives they pass in the Hell of economic insufficiency. But if those who suffer thus are many how much greater are the multitudes of those who experience the torture of unproductiveness, the perdition of incomplete achievement? Into this Hell, one cannot tell when, any of

us may sink. Verily the burden of sickness is thrusting us lower than the grave and we shall fall into Tophet.

What then shall we do to be saved?

Christian solved the problem by leaving his family and his neighbors and going on a pilgrimage. Salvation from sickness, however, comes not that way. The burden of sin is upon the shoulders of all of us. No one person can be rid of it except as every other person is free.

It is the City of Destruction itself that we must save. If Christian needed one Evangelist we must have ten thousand. We must know the truth; we must learn the gospel of health. Seeing that we are all in like condemnation we must mutually protect ourselves both in the day of sickness and from its very approach. We must do this in such a way that it will be easy and indeed to the evident advantage of people to obtain early diagnosis and treatment of minor aches and pains. Such should be the very nature of our organization that through participation therein every family would have brought home to it the principles of hygiene which no matter how concretely they may be expressed in campaigns of education will always remain abstract to those who do not actually live through them.

But we must do more than this. The houses and the working places of our city must be made clean. There must be an end of exhausting hours of labor and a development of that cooperation in production which we call industrial democracy. There must be greater educational opportunities for everybody. There must be a constant searching out of the things that advance the common welfare and united and unselfish effort toward putting these things into effect.

Thus at last we shall escape the Hell of economic insufficiency and the perdition of unrealized accomplishment, for with her waste places made beautiful, her streets aflame with gold, her towers flashing in the sun, the City of Destruction shall have a new birth, and we shall indeed become the strong, triumphant householders of a Celestial City.

APPENDIX

1.—Report by the Ohio Health and Old Age Insurance Commission, page 2.

Seven sickness surveys conducted by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company between September 1915 and July 1917, including 637,000 men, women and children, industrial policy holders in Rochester, N. Y., Trenton, N. J., the state of North Carolina, the principle cities of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, Kansas City, Missouri, the Chelsea section of New York City, and Boston, Mass., showed that 13,312 of these people (2.08 per cent) were sick, 1.9 per cent seriously enough to be absent from work.

2.—Report by the Ohio Health and Old Age Insurance Commission, page 2.

3.—The time lost in sickness as disclosed by the Seven Surveys of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company was equivalent to an average for each of the 637,000 people of 7.59 days a year, 6.82 of which were disabling.

The final report of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations, 1915, states that each of the country's 30,000,000 workers lose annually an average of about nine days on account of illness alone. This statement is based on a study of 1,000,000 workers in representative establishments and occupations.

4.—A study conducted by the Health Insurance Commission of Ohio, Illinois, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania, with the help of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics of thirteen establishment funds including 663,163 persons, chiefly men, employed in transportation, steel and textile manufacturing, of whom 131,921 were sick. The average duration of sickness shown by nine of the funds was 35.3 days.

A similarly conducted study of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, including 184,905 members, of whom 43,488 had been sick. The average duration of sickness, including industrial accidents was found to be 37.2 days.

The Health Survey of Dutchess County, New York, showed that the duration of illness among men in 1912 averaged forty days.

A survey of 3,198 men, women and children in the Kensington Section of Philadelphia made in June 1918 by the Health Insurance Commission of Pennsylvania found an average duration of illness of thirty-eight days.

5.—Six studies made in 1918 by the Bureau of Labor statistics and one by the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research. This last survey was conducted in Philadelphia and one of those of the Bureau of Labor Statistics was likewise made in an urban district inhabited by wage earners. The remaining five were among families in ship building centers. Of 1,222 families studied all but eight had made expenditures for health. These varied from \$32.00 in Philadelphia to \$53.00 in Cleveland. Invariably the largest item was the cost of a physician's care. In the study of the Bureau of Municipal Research \$3.57 per family was expended for medicine not prescribed by a physician. Each of ten families had spent twenty dollars for patent medicines during the year.

A study of twenty-two wage earning families living in Washington conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1916. This showed an average expenditure for sickness of \$43.59 per year for whites and of \$20.19 for negroes, their income being much less than that of the whites.

In this connection it must be remembered on the one hand that families with larger incomes spend vastly more because of sickness and on the other that the health expenditures of wage earners are supplemented by the great amount of available free or part pay medical service.

Dr. S. S. Goldwater writing in the Medical Record of March 8, 1919, estimates that workers in New York are receiving today gratuitously from public or private hospitals maintenance costing about ten million dollars per annum and medical services worth not less than twelve million dollars per annum.

6.—The Kensington survey referred to above showed a wage loss in 367 instances that averaged \$78.53. There are thirty-eight million wage earners in the United States of whom 20 per cent are sick in any one year. At the rate of loss discovered in the Kensington survey the total loss in wages for the workers of the country would be \$600,000,000.

7.—Report by the Ohio Health and Old Age Insurance Commission, page 2.

8.—Nineteen Remedial Loan Societies reported to the Ohio Health and Old Age Insurance Commission estimates ranging variously from ten to seventy-five per cent upon the proportion of loans made because of sickness.

9.—Thirty-eight per cent was the proportion of illness discovered by the United States Immigration Commission in a study of 31,374 native and foreign born families, including 118,299 individuals under the care of the charity organization societies in forty-three cities in the United States from 1907 to 1910. In 20.8 per cent the illness of the bread winner was found to be the apparent cause of need and in an additional 17.6 per cent it was the illness of other members of the family.

Sickness was a problem in from 36.3 to 49.3 per cent of families under the care of the United Charities of Chicago in the years 1910-1918, omitting the year 1914-1915, which was a year of unemployment.

The Social Insurance Commission of California found sickness to be the "primary cause of dependency" in 50 per cent of five thousand families studied. The New Jersey Social Insurance Commission reports 42 per cent in a study of 1,412 families. Sickness or deformity were present in two-

thirds of three thousand families assisted by the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York in the first five months of 1916, and sickness appeared as a factor in 42 per cent of the families under the care of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity in the year ending September 30, 1916.

In the month of April, 1919, thirty per cent of the relief expenditures of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity, exclusive of those due to influenza, were charged against sickness, 55 per cent against widowhood, and 15 per cent against all other disabilities.

The cost of sickness, however, is greater than these figures indicate, for practically all of the widowhood for which the Society is caring is a premature widowhood, caused chiefly by the death from sickness of men in the prime of life. In this sense to say that most of the relief expenditures of the Society for Organizing Charity in the month of April might be charged to sickness would not be an exaggeration.

WHAT IS THE AMERICAN STANDARD OF LIVING?

Royal Meeker, U. S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Washington

Reference is constantly made in the press and in public utterances to the American standard of living, as though it were a standard as definite and well known as the foot, the pound, or the peck measure. The speakers and writers take it for granted that everybody knows what the much quoted standard of living is, although they do not specify what is included in it, and when asked for particulars they become vague and oratorical. It gets us no further toward an answer to be told that the American workingman is the best fed, best clothed, best housed and most contented workman in the world. We may accept without argument the statement that, occupation for occupation, the American workman receives higher money compensation than do European workers, and that his higher money wages actually enable him to purchase more of the necessities of life than are obtainable by the European workers for their wages.

We must have more exact information in order to determine what the American standard of living means. The investigations into cost of living made prior to 1915 do not help us much. The classic cost of living study made by the United States Bureau of Labor in 1901 and published in 1903 as the Eighteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, helps us but little toward the desired goal. Except in the case of food, all this study brings out is the *cost* of living, not the *standard* of living. Even for food this 1901 study does not give us enough exact information as to the quantities and kinds of food to enable us to determine whether the families studied were sufficiently nourished. The study made by Dr. Chapin is too limited in scope to give us the American standard of living. It is also questionable if the families studied were truly representative American families.

The generalizations made in this paper are based on the results so far as they have been analyzed of the country-wide cost of living study which the Bureau of Labor Statistics conducted during 1918 and 1919. The figures given are merely first estimates and are subject to revision. The study was planned for the purpose of determining (1) the quantities and cost of all important items of family consumption in all the more important industrial centers in the United States; (2) to apply the accepted dietary standards for determining whether the families studied were obtaining a sufficient number of calories and sufficient variety in their diets to maintain their members in health; (3) to work out if possible standards, similar to the recognized

dietary standards, for clothing, housing, fuel, house furnishings, education, amusement, medical care, insurance and perhaps some other items which have been heretofore blanketed and lost under the term "miscellaneous"; (4) to formulate eventually tentative standard budgets to be used by wage adjustment boards in determining minimum and fair wage awards; (5) to enable the Bureau of Labor Statistics to compute a cost of living index number that will show variations in total family expenses in the same way as the retail food price index shows variations in the cost of the family food budget.

It is evident at once that the study as outlined by me, with the assistance of domestic science and cost of living experts, presents enormous difficulties. One should not, however, refrain from attempting an undertaking merely because it is difficult. Everything that is worth doing is difficult. The first great task was to find out what workmen's families buy, how much they expend, and how much of each article bought they get for the money paid out. It is in many respects unfortunate that the study had to be made during 1918-1919, when prices were abnormal, resulting in abnormalities in expenditure and when such stress had to be laid upon the necessity of investing in Liberty Bonds. The distribution of expenditures over the items of the family budget were greatly disturbed by the rapid changes in prices and wages. The loan campaigns resulted in inducing workmen to curtail expenses for clothing, house furnishing, amusements, and perhaps even fuel, housing and food itself, in order to invest in bonds. The result is unusually large savings reported and abnormally low expenditures for other items where curtailment is possible. Many families not only economized on clothes and house furnishings, but actually skimmed themselves on food, both because of the high prices and because of the intense Liberty Loan drives.

More than three hundred agents were employed by the Bureau of Labor statistics to secure from housewives statements of their expenditure for an entire year. The information thus secured for the entire year by personal interview was checked in many instances by daily expense accounts, which many housewives were prevailed upon to keep over a period of not less than five weeks. These daily expense accounts are especially useful in checking up expenditures for food and other articles bought daily or weekly and easily forgotten.

Nearly 13,000 family schedules were obtained in 71 large cities and 26 small cities and towns in the different geographical sections of the country for incomes ranging from less than \$900 to more than \$2,500 per family. These family schedules are now being tabulated. It cannot be said yet whether all of the objects for which the cost of living study was undertaken will be attained or not. The actual expenses for the different items of consumption are now being tabulated by income groups. Not only do we have the cost, but we have the quantity in most instances of all important items of the family budget. The quantity bought is absolutely essential for working out standard budgets. Expenditures stated merely in sums of money are useless for the determination of the standard of living or of the quantitative change in the cost of this standard of living.

Food

Quantitative standards to measure the sufficiency of the family food budget have been worked out tentatively in dietary studies. We do not eat or wear or burn dollars and cents. If the price of beef goes up we can eat less beef and more of some other proteid rich food, and perhaps keep our money expense for food constant, but if the price of all food increases 100 per cent we cannot cut down our consumption of all food one-half so as to keep our food budget expense unchanged. To speak with scientific accuracy

man does not live by loaves of bread, pounds of meat, pecks of potatoes, quarts of milk, etc. He lives by the energy stored in food, which energy is measured in heat units called calories. Even this does not tell the whole story of food because it makes a difference from what source we derive our calories. There must be a proper balance between proteids, fats, starches, sugars, cellulose, fruit acids and mineral salts. The last three classes of foods furnish us no calories at all, but they are just as essential to a healthful diet as are the fats, sugars and starches which furnish a large quantity of calories. By far the best single measure of the sufficiency of a diet is, however, the calory. Unless the average active worker consumes and assimilates from 3,000 to 3,500 calories per day he will inevitably either lose weight or efficiency as a worker or both, and this regardless of the number of dollars he spends for food, or even the number of pounds of bread, beans and beef he eats. Unfortunately bread, beef, pork, and even eggs and potatoes, vary considerably in the calory contents per pound. It would be a great step forward if while we are reforming weights and measures we should require by law that the prices of all foodstuffs must be expressed in terms of calories just as in Great Britain and to some extent in this country coal is sold, not by the ton, but by the British thermal unit. If it is possible to calculate the calory content of the food for our furnaces it is surely possible to do so for the food for our stomachs. It is, of course, highly desirable to eliminate from the diet of our steam boilers and engines as much slate, ash and boulders as possible; it would seem even more desirable to eliminate from the diet of human beings the things that are sold as bread but are not bread, the bone that is sold for beef, and the gristle that is called pork chops by the butcher. There are no insuperable obstacles in the way of selling bread, beef, pork, eggs, milk, cabbage, onions, corn, sugar, etc., by the 100 or 1,000 calories. It should be done and it can be done.

By the time people become educated to the point where they recognize that the important thing in regard to food is not its price per pound or quart, that often times the cheapest food per pound is the most expensive per unit of nourishment, they will no doubt have learned also that man can not live by bread alone or even by calories alone. Fruits and vegetables must be used largely in a proper diet, even though their calory content is low. A proper balance between proteins, fats, starches, sugars, cellulose tissue, minerals and acids is necessary for the maintenance of health.

Some considerable change of diet is shown since the 1901 study was made. This, of course, was to be expected in view of the greatly increased prices. The present study reveals, however, that the American family does not suffer from over feeding, as has been so frequently alleged. On the contrary, in most of the communities studied the food purchased represents less than 3,500 calories per equivalent adult male. It is necessary to buy about 3,500 calories in order to secure 3,000 calories per adult male, which is considered to be the amount required by moderately active workers.

Granted that to maintain the average adult worker in health and efficiency it requires approximately 3,000 calories of food energy consumed, which amount can be obtained from about 3,500 calories of food energy purchased at the stores, how are we to use this knowledge to determine the adequacy of the food budget of a family consisting of a husband, wife and five children of 16, 13, 10, 5 and 2 years? In order to measure the food requirements of a family we must have a consumption yardstick to measure the number of calories needed by each member of the family. Experiments have demonstrated that food consumption of adults varies approximately with the weight of the consumer. Women on the average are about 90 per cent as heavy as men, therefore a woman is rated in food consumption as equal to 90 per cent of a man. Children of different ages are rated in food consumption as follows in terms of an adult man:

- Ages about 14 years, 100 per cent.
- Ages 11 to 14 years, 90 per cent.
- Ages 7 to 10 years, 75 per cent.
- Ages 4 to 8 years, 40 per cent.
- Ages 3 years and under, 15 per cent.

These equivalents are quite rough, but enable us to express the food consumption of families of varying composition in terms of a common unit of measure, namely, the equivalent adult man.

The food requirements of the family above mentioned would be, according to this scale, equal to that of 5.1 adult men. Allowing 3,500 calories of food purchased per man, this family should use food analyzing not less than 17,850 calories each day of the year. These standards of measurement are but approximate, it is true, and we are dealing with averages. There are very considerable individual deviations from the average. The average man does not exist, but the world is full of living, breathing men who look, act and eat so much like the hypothetical average man that it requires an expert with microscope, measuring tape and scales to tell the difference.

The family food budgets are now being analyzed. We can say with confidence that it requires today an expenditure of from 50 to 60 cents per man per day for food to secure a well balanced diet sufficient in the number of calories and in variety. This means that American families consisting of husband, wife and three children below the age of 15 years, living in large and medium sized cities, must spend about \$610 per annum for food to keep themselves properly nourished for health and efficiency. This expenditure for food goes with incomes of from \$1,800 to \$1,850, so we may say that American families on the average are not fully adequately nourished until their yearly income reaches to \$1,800. These figures do not indicate that our people are today suffering from eating too much meat or even too much of other foods not so expensive. The average income and the modal income both fall well below \$1,600. The mode is about \$1,350 and the average not greatly higher. Conclusions must not be too hastily drawn from these figures. They do not mean that our working population is dying of slow starvation. Nothing of the sort. But they do indicate that the workers of America are obliged to live on a diet too restricted and monotonous for the maintenance of as high a degree of efficiency and health as ought to be maintained as a reasonable minimum. I am of the opinion that the most efficacious remedy is not higher wages, but rather improved systems for distributing and marketing foodstuffs and the education of housekeepers in the art of keeping house with emphasis on diets. House-keeping is not exactly a lost art. It is one of the arts that has not yet been completely found.

Clothing

No standard has yet been devised for measuring the adequacy of expenditure for articles other than food. The adequacy of clothing, for instance, cannot be measured in pounds, calories or square yards. It is interesting to note that actual expenditures for clothing in all income groups combined for wives and children of different ages conforms quite closely to the scale for food consumption. Unfortunately we have no unit of measure with which to determine whether the clothing bought is adequate or not. The charge so frequently made that the American workingman is extravagant in expenditure for clothing for himself and his family seems hardly borne out by the facts reported. Expenditures for clothing per adult male during the high-price year 1918 ranged from a minimum of \$30 in the lowest income group to about \$180 in the highest income group. The average clothing expenditure for the modal income of \$1,350 is probably not more than \$90. This does not seem to give much room for extravagance in clothing at the existing prices. Probably this sum is sufficient to enable the prudent

and economical housewife to keep her family clothed warmly enough, but it does not leave much margin for style. Clothes were first invented, not for protection against heat, cold and wet, but for adornment, and it is for the purpose of ornamentation largely that clothes are worn today. The bizarre notions of beauty possessed by the designers of clothing are incomprehensible to ordinary mortals, but as long as society accepts these ridiculous and often health impairing standards of dress, society must stand ready to provide the worker with a wage sufficient to enable him to conform to the accepted fashion. It is repugnant to our sense of right that the working classes should dress in a way to set them apart from the more well-to-do. Few men and women among the workers in this country are willing to appear in public unless they can dress near enough to the mode or the standard of fashion so as not to attract critical attention. It is very clear then that the clothing of the worker's family should not consist merely of material to protect them from the icy blasts of winter, the blazing rays of the sun and the dews and deluges of heaven, but should possess something of that subtle something called "style." Style is expensive. Also, there is no standard of style. There are not even standards of dress fabrics. However, we do not need exact standards to know that \$90 per adult male per annum is not too much for clothes in the varied climate of the United States.

It is interesting to note that wives spend less for clothes than husbands until we reach the higher incomes, about \$1,800 per year. It is also of interest that when economies are necessary they are made largely at the expense of the wife's wardrobe. The first baby makes a cut in the mother's clothes money, and every addition to the family cuts deeper into this item. It is scarcely fair to say that American wives prefer clothes and upholstered parlor furniture to children. It costs money, pain and sacrifice to bear and rear children, however, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics' study shows with startling vividness the extent to which the mother is obliged to sacrifice her house and her personal adornment to her children.

Housing

According to the British housing experts, overcrowding does not begin until there are more than one person per room. If we accept this standard as satisfactory then there is little overcrowding in American workingmen's families. However, while the average number of rooms per family is usually quite sufficient, the average room is not so satisfactory. Unfortunately it was not feasible to make an intensive study of the size and suitability of the rooms occupied by the families studied. For the typical family of husband, wife and three children under 15 years, there are in the cities for which tabulations are completed invariably more than one room per adult male. The larger the family becomes the rooms per person decline. Families having an income of \$1,300 also have well over one room per person. The number of rooms per person does not tell us whether housing is satisfactory. For example, the rooms per person is higher among colored families than among white families in Baltimore. No one would maintain, however, that housing conditions are better among the colored people than among the whites.

The amount spent for rent varied from \$105 per annum for the lowest income group in Fall River, Massachusetts, to \$355 per annum for the highest income group in New York City. For the modal income, \$1,350, the average rent paid in large cities is probably not far from \$200 per annum for the typical family.

The study does not give a complete or typical picture of housing conditions among workers' families. In order to get comparable figures of family income and family expenditures for food, clothing, housing and other items, no families were scheduled who kept boarders and no families with more

than two lodgers were taken. These rulings were absolutely necessary so as to confine the study to normal natural families, but by so limiting the study no information was obtained as to the extent to which families resorted to taking boarders and the amount of overcrowding resulting from the almost universal practice of taking in lodgers during the housing shortage of the war period. It is a necessary function of the community to provide suitable houses for the people at reasonable rents. As long as the provision of houses is left to speculators and contractors the workers cannot be properly housed.

Fuel and Light

It is possible to determine from the information on the schedule whether the families studied used enough fuel to keep their houses comfortable, but the information has not yet been tabulated. It is reasonably certain, however, that the American family does consume abundant fuel, so that the living room can be lived in during the winter. Light is probably sufficient also.

House Furnishings

As for house furnishings, all that the schedules give is the yearly expenditures. We know nothing about the stock of household goods possessed by the average American working family. It should not be an impossible task for the domestic science experts to determine the minimum requirements in the way of standard house furnishings for the typical family. A special intensive study could then be made to determine how near our American families come to the minima.

Care of Health

Among the expenditures lumped as miscellaneous are some highly important and significant items. Expenditures for sickness and death are the most significant in this group. The amount and kind of medical, surgical, dental and other kinds of treatment in sickness required by the average American family can not be obtained from the family schedules. The amount paid out by each family on account of sickness can be obtained and the average amounts can be computed for different income groups and for all groups combined. The average expenditure varies from about \$23 for the income group "under \$900" to more than \$120 for the group \$2,500 and over. The average for all incomes would probably be about \$45 or \$50.

The value of these figures is greatly lessened by reason of the fact that so much wholly unregulated, uncontrolled, haphazard, unplanned, unintelligent, more or less voluntary and wholly unrecognized sickness subsidy prevails throughout the country. I mean, that the worker is not able to pay full price for the medical, surgical, hospital and dental services needed by himself and his family, so the community or subsidized hospitals give him these indispensable services free or below cost. The result is indifferent medical and hospital service at a cost impossible to estimate accurately because there is no uniformity of practice and no adequate public control. In Massachusetts it is estimated that the workmen's compensation cases sent to hospitals for treatment pay only about 50 per cent of the actual cost of the treatment. This is handing out sickness subsidies to employers and insurance companies, not to injured workmen. This is the worst form of protective subsidy to industry. The workers who are driven by dire necessity to make use of the free wards in hospitals either learn to hate and distrust all hospitals and medical men because they are not given proper treatment, or they become partially or wholly hospitalized because they survive the treatment meted out to them and rapidly learn to like the carbonated atmosphere of our hospital almshouses. The systemless system of medical sick benefits, bestowed not as the just and recognized due of the

worker but as charity handed out by a benevolent community or by private individuals, constitutes the worst possible form of sickness pensions that could possibly be devised. Voluntary benevolent sickness subsidies and pensions achieve the minimum of results at the maximum of cost. They reach but a minority of those who need medical and hospital care. I do not point out the obvious defects of the existing system of sickness subsidies in order to condemn it and recommend its abolishment. On the contrary, these subsidies are absolutely indispensable and cannot be abolished without very serious consequence until something better is devised to replace them. It is useless to talk of paying the workers a wage sufficient to meet all needed sickness expenses. This would make the misfortunes of the sick redound to the profit of the well. The health of the workers never will be adequately cared for until a system of universal sickness or health insurance is substituted for the present system of sickness subsidies. No valid objection can be raised to the public paying a part of the expenses of such a system, as the public is responsible, in a large measure, for the unhealth which exists today. But the worker should pay a share, for he is responsible in some degree for sickness in his family. Above all he should feel when he receives medical, surgical and hospital treatment, that he is receiving services which belong to him of right, and not alms, from either state or private persons.

The sickness and physical deficiencies revealed by the selective draft has happily laid forever the carefully fostered fallacy to the effect that the American workman is so well paid, so well nourished, housed and clothed and so intelligent that he needs nothing in addition to the existing agencies to look after his exuberant good health. The quantitative consumption of health giving and health maintaining units in the average American family is certainly very much below what is necessary to attain and maintain reasonably good health. It is very clear that the medical profession and the hospitals must be more completely and effectively organized and directed for the purpose of improving the health of the community. Until this is done it is scarcely possible for the average American family to buy the required amount of health service to keep health and efficiency up to a reasonable standard.

Insurance

Consideration of the adequacy of health expenses brings us directly to the subject of insurance against the hazards of death, sickness, accident, old age and invalidity and unemployment. In modern life provision against these hazards is just as necessary as medical service, or for that matter, food. The amounts spent by American families for life insurance in 1918 ranged from about \$10 in the lower income groups to about \$65 in the higher income groups. The average is probably not far from \$40. This amount paid each year in premiums for ordinary life and term life policies would give the average family sufficient protection against the hazard of death. Unfortunately the agents in the field found it impossible to distinguish between so-called industrial insurance and bona fide life insurance. It seems at first blush as if it should be easy to differentiate between them on the basis of cost alone, but the amount of the policies was frequently not obtainable from the housewife, so the cost per \$100 could not be ascertained. Very often, it was discovered, payments were accepted by the agents of the burial insurance companies semi-annually or even annually, so it was not possible to make the distinction on the basis of the terms of payment of the premiums. About all it is possible to deduce from the schedules as to life insurance is that the workers pay enough on the average to secure sufficient protection against disastrous poverty resulting immediately from the death of the principal bread winner of the family. Whether they get this sufficient protection is another matter. As explained above, it was im-

possible to get the *quantity* of and kind of life insurance bought at the prevailing market prices. Furthermore, only a part of the workers are insured at all, and those who most need life insurance are least able to buy it.

While payments for life and burial insurance by the average American family are as large as can be afforded and should buy enough insurance to protect the family adequately, the case is entirely different in case of casualty insurance and so-called "health insurance." The average expenditures for these two kinds of insurance ranged from nothing in the income groups below \$900 to \$5.44 in the income group \$1,800 to \$2,100 in Philadelphia. The amount of premiums paid by different families is very irregular. The average amounts paid by different income groups and even by all income groups in different cities obeys no statistical law. The average for all families in Boston is 95 cents per annum, while for Philadelphia it is \$2.74. It is very evident that no appreciable insurance protection against the hazards of accidental injury or sickness is included in the budget of the American workingman's family. Yet these injuries occur many times more frequently than death, and their hazards are just as readily calculable as is the hazard of death. It is not possible for the worker to buy adequate protection against the hazards of injury from accident and sickness even at the exorbitant prices charged by the private companies, because the companies do not sell the protection needed. The case is even worse with old age, invalidity and unemployment. Some trade unions and a few establishments pay small benefits for old age and invalidity. Out of work benefits have been paid by a few trade unions in times of great stress. Unemployment is the one hazard that is purely industrial, and it causes more distress and social demoralization than any other hazard affecting the life and health of the workers. Yet nothing has been done about it by industry and next to nothing by society. The whole burden falls upon the individual worker except for the feeble, sporadic help given by a few trade unions. Industry should be made to pay the costs of production. A part of the costs of production under the present organization of industry is unemployment tempered by underemployment and overemployment. It would be a very simple matter to put the money costs of unemployment upon each industry in which employment is regularly irregular. This should be done. As it is now, the worker does not and cannot include in his budget protection against unemployment and the onset of old age and invalidity. Some unascertainable part of his trade union dues, if he pays any, goes for the purchase of an indefinitely inadequate amount of protection against these ills.

The percentage spent for insurance in all forms is not large, but its importance is much greater than this percentage indicates. Insurance makes for stability of family life, by distributing throughout the community shocks that would crush individuals and families. The present cost of insurance is so high that the workers are debarred from purchasing enough of it. The protection offered by private profit seeking insurance companies is not secure and many inevitable contingencies are not included in their policies at all. Insurance is a relatively simple matter. It could be conducted as a community enterprise reaching all the people at half the expense now involved. The moral is obvious.

Amusements

Amusement is one of the most serious things in life. Wholesome laughter is as necessary to health and efficiency as good food and suitable raiment. Unlike the other wants considered, amusement is subjective, not objective, and therefore no objective unit of measure is conceivable. It is wholly impossible to guess how much amusement is obtained from a 17-cent moving picture show. We know that large numbers of people must be amused by the movies, else the picture houses would not be packed. We cannot say,

however, that the families which patronize the movies get any more fun out of life than those which stay at home or go to the church festival. You can't keep people from being amused. They will get fun out of the hardest conditions of life. Tom Sawyer, by using the most approved methods of the trust promoter and the professional advertiser, elevated fence white-washing from the lowest form of menial drudgery to the rank of the most popular outdoor sport in his home town, so that for the time swimming and fishing were forgotten. The variety and weirdness of the different forms of amusement are astonishing. Some people derive much genuine enjoyment from funerals, others seem to get quite as much fun out of grand opera. I once knew a physician of sound mind who got his recreation and amusement from directing a volunteer church choir. Truly in the realm of amusement "One man's meat is another man's poison." One man will listen to a lecture on the Russian drama and will be upbuilded and refreshed amazingly; his neighbor will be put to sleep, and another will be driven toward homicide by the same lecture. The number of movies, dances, concerts and the like attended by a worker and his family has no recognizable relation to the quantity of amusement they have imbibed. While all admit that "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy," it may well be doubted whether the play furnished by the movies will make Jack duller or brighter.

Expenditures for movies increase consistently with increasing income. Only 38 cents per annum was spent for movies by families having incomes under \$900 in Philadelphia, while the families having \$2,500 or over spent \$37.22 for movies. In Boston the range was from 87 cents to \$34.39. The average for all incomes was \$10.18 for Philadelphia and \$6.49 for Boston. Other cities show much the same averages and range of expenditures. The total average expenditure for all amusements amounted to \$12.40 in Philadelphia and \$9.23 in Boston. We do not know whether this means that Philadelphia working people found existence more amusing than Boston workers, or whether their lives being more sad they were driven to the movies and the pool parlors for cheer. We may assume, I think, that the sums spent for amusement in the income groups above \$1,300 are sufficient for recreational and health needs.

Conclusion

From this very brief analysis of the data thus far worked up from the cost of living schedules it is very apparent that there is no such thing as the American standard of living in the sense of a very superior standard giving all the necessities, many of the comforts and a goodly supply of the luxuries of life. On the contrary, we find that there are as many different standards as there are different incomes and families of different sizes. In the lower income groups the living conditions are hard indeed. The incomes of the lower paid workers must be increased and the cost of food, clothing and housing must be lowered to enable these families to meet the higher costs of existence. Social legislation is needed to give them better and cheaper food, clothing, houses, medical treatment and insurance. Even in the higher income groups conditions are not so easy as they are frequently pictured to us. Let us not be fooled by the cry that the American standard of living is the highest in the world. Let us make the minimum living standard in America one that will support life in decency and health.

THE OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE ON POVERTY AND DISEASE

Edward T. Devine, "*The Survey*," New York

Having in mind that this Division of the Conference deals with standards of living and public health, and that this evening's program deals with the relation between poverty and disease, I assume, when asked to discuss the outlook for the future, that I am not sent aloft at the last moment for an outlook on the whole future of mankind, or even upon our future health and physical well-being, but that I am under instructions rather to look into the future of the relation between poverty and disease, of that alliance which has persisted in all ages, which has outlived empires and democracies, which no armies have ever been able to engage in battle, which no system of philosophy or religion has ever undermined, which no revolution whether of middle class or proletariat has as yet disturbed, against which science has no ingenious weapons and the healing art no panacea. Charity has indeed ever poured out her treasures of money and service to avert the consequences of this pernicious alliance, but that—as President Wilson is said to have remarked of the attempt to oppose Bolshevism by armies—is like trying to stop the wind with a sieve.

Disease as a Factor in Poverty

Taking the easier problem first,—it is not impossible to eliminate disease as a factor in poverty. That does not mean eliminating disease, but only insuring against its economic, its financial results. A system of universal compulsory health insurance is nothing else than a practical, already amply demonstrated remedy, for that particular poverty which is caused by disease. Those who want to take the disease factor out of poverty should get behind the growing movement for health insurance.

Besides this method of eliminating the poverty which results from disease by distributing the risk of it on well known insurance principles, there are many bright spots on this horizon in the progress of preventive medicine. It would take too long to assemble the evidences, but they are readily accessible. Every new anti-toxin and immunizing serum, every reform in dietary habits, every rise in the standard of living which reduces physical discomfort and builds up resistance, every progress in the technique of surgery or psychiatry, every advance in the general level of medical practice such as comes from the improvement in the medical schools, in the medical text-books, in the medical press, in the severity of the standards of the medical profession, every increased appropriation for a public health service, if administered by competent and conscientious health officers,—everything, in a word, which lessens disease, which cures physical defects, and increases the capacity of the average man for using instead of abusing his body, is a potential means of reducing poverty by reducing the factor of disease.

In a system of slavery this would not be so, for the improved health of the slaves would only increase the wealth of the masters, and might have no economic advantage to the slaves. In an industrial wage system in which labor is looked upon as a commodity, separable from the laborers for marketing purposes, to be bought in the cheapest market; and in which autocrats of finance and industry announce that they will brook no interference with their business—and get away with it—it might be quite possible that improved health and vigor would only increase the labor supply and so reduce wages and actually increase poverty.

But it is no longer possible for any such unmitigated industrial autocracy to exist. Wage-earners—whether organized or unorganized—now do have their standards of living, which is some protection. If organized and able to defend their economic interests, if collective bargaining is the rule and the

workers have their natural and legitimate voice in determining their wages, their hours of labor, and the conditions under which they work, then the increase of physical vigor, the conquest of disease, inures—as General Walker long ago demonstrated—to the advantage of the workers, and all such improvements in health, by increasing incomes, do lessen poverty.

Not an Optimistic Forecast

Do not infer, because I insist on this possibility and enumerate many ways of realizing it, that I am therefore making an optimistic forecast. I am not optimistic as to the recent past. I think wages, real wages as distinct from money wages—real wages expressed in terms of what the pay envelope will buy in food, clothing, etc.—are lower than they were five years ago, and that the social worker who would look with approval on any proposal to reduce wages must realize that he is directly favoring at the margin an increase of poverty and a higher death rate.

The war as a whole has not helped labor, except as the results of the war have helped. It has increased profits and profiteering but not wages and the standard of living. Certain measures, like those of the War Labor Board and the Working Conditions Service and the Women in Industry Service, have served to check the harmful and unequal consequences of the war, but they have only checked, not concealed them. We who are out for the abolition of poverty as our direct goal may work enthusiastically for the conquest of disease in the hope and on the assumption that equally ardent efforts are in progress at the same time for the better distribution of wealth and the rise of the standard of living. The social spirit equally prompts both.

The National Physical Education Service, with the help of the Playground and Recreation Association of America and some thirty other national organizations, is giving expression to this spirit in a campaign to secure universal physical education in elementary and secondary education. By this they mean instruction in personal hygiene, periodic physical examinations, and intelligently directed physical activities. The demand for a federal department of public health is the clearest tangible expression of the national concern over the first term of our problem—disease as a factor in poverty and in all social evils.

Poverty as a Factor in Disease

The other term—poverty as a factor in disease—is far more difficult. The realist looks into the future by the light cast by the lamp of experience, and he reports that as far as the ray falls upon poverty, the alliance of poverty and disease is not dissolved. God Himself seems to have joined them together. Who then shall presume to put them apart? Or, if we shrink from so great a blasphemy as that, we may catch a variation of the same forecast. Disease is nature's alternative to war and famine in the evolutionary process. Now in war, the victims are the strongest males, the cunningly selected choice ones, together with the weaker civilians, who cannot withstand hardship. But disease chooses rather those who are physically and economically weak—roughly speaking, and—with many exceptions—those who have least income and lowest standards. Poverty and disease thus work hand in hand for the improvement of the racial stock, for the evolutionary process, the newer God of the privileged classes. Who would have it otherwise? Who would desire that the tenements be exempt and that the palaces be abnormally susceptible, that bankers and clergymen and university professors should have as high a death rate from tuberculosis as printers and cigar-makers and street-sweepers? How much more valuable is the life of one of us favored ones than of a poor tailor's assistant? If the world-old alliance between disease and poverty should be dissolved—(make no mistake; forget phrases and come to grip with realities!)—what it would

mean is that the poor would have even the same degree of protection against infection, even the same skillful surgeons, doctors, nurses, and convalescent care, as you and I, the same quick stopping of work for a headache or a lame back, the same change of climate when that would be beneficial, the same authoritative supervision, the same freedom as you and I from any necessity of breathing infected dust, from the danger of swallowing infected food or drink.

All this is quite possible. It is not revolutionary. It requires no soviet form of government to carry it out. Only it means nothing less than the abolition of poverty. As long as poverty exists it will create, complicate, and prolong disease. To remove it as a factor in disease is possible in only one way: viz. by getting rid of it altogether. The word poverty is, of course, sometimes used for a mere relative lack of wealth in comparison with what one would like to have—which may be but an incentive to wholesome endeavor. We are discussing here that other kind of poverty—for which I have elsewhere used the term misery—the kind of poverty which means a low standard of living, undernourishment, exposure, overcrowding, overwork, and disease. Dr. J. H. Hollander, in his little book on the Abolition of Poverty, makes a similar distinction, more sharply defining this kind of poverty by the term economic insufficiency. He too, believes in its abolition. He believes, as I have believed, that there is neither necessity nor excuse in a society like our own for economic insufficiency, for an income in any class below the full subsistence level. Low wages and irregular employment are not the only, although they are the main symptoms of this outlaw poverty. It has social elements, however, as well as economic. We are surrounded by dangers against which the individual cannot protect himself and which call for social measures of protection.

Losses and Gains of the War

What then is the outlook for the abolition of poverty in the sense of economic insufficiency? in the sense in which it is a cause of disease? At first glance it would seem to be far less favorable than five years ago. It will take England a dozen years merely to regain her lost population, Germany perhaps fifteen; it will take Italy, according to a trustworthy forecast by an Italian scientist, thirty years, and France at least sixty-six years. How long it will take to restore the half million houses of northern France, the wrecked mines, the ruined farms, the gutted factories—to re-establish foreign trade and normal industry—it would be rash to conjecture. It seems idle to talk of the abolition of poverty when the world has just been engaged in the most appalling waste of resources, destruction both of wealth and of the means of producing wealth, both of food and of soils, both of fuel and of mines, both of adult human life and of child life, both of the accumulations of the generations and of the very good will and mutual faith on which all trade and industry are predicated.

If man had learned nothing in these wasted years to offset the waste, the outlook would be dark indeed; but in fact we have learned a great deal more than has yet been put into books. Industry has become more productive as its products have been dedicated to destruction. Chemists, engineers, sanitarians, experts in plant management, in settling industrial differences, in standardizing processes of industry, have had their chance. We shall not go back to the wastes of the pre-war time, unless we are blind and stupid beyond all credence. The allied world means to supervise German industry, in order to ensure its solvency and to enforce the claims for reparation. It might be sound sense if equally close supervision could be exercised in the allied and associated nations, to ensure their solvency and

to enforce the claims of humanity for reparation. Perhaps Spain and the other neutrals would undertake it; but probably we shall have to do it ourselves. If we are willing to continue, in the interests of the common welfare, to utilize the services of the engineer and the sanitarians; to locate our industrial plants where they ought to be rather than where speculators want them to be; to plan our cities and towns as science and the art of town planning, rather than tradition and speculation, dictate; to modify our diet so as to make the best use of our resources; to liberate human powers by creating a variety of suitable opportunities for all workers; to make labor a full partner in industry, with an effective voice in determining its conditions; to readjust our taxation system; if we are as willing, in short, to be good citizens in industry as to be good patriots in declamation,—then this is not an inappropriate time to contemplate the abolition of poverty as a factor in sickness.

The Bright Spots

Among the bright spots on the horizon are:

- (1) The high money wages actually prevailing at the present time, and the public opinion which is operating to prevent their coming down—at least ahead of prices.
- (2) The recent gains made for collective bargaining and for trade unionism as the necessary basis for it.
- (3) The extension of what may be called constitutionalism in industry, through industrial councils and otherwise.
- (4) The progress in settling industrial disputes by such policies as those of the War Labor Board.
- (5) The labor planks in the peace treaty, indicating an appreciation of the necessity of doing something to protect wage-earners internationally.
- (6) The prohibition amendment.
- (7) The widespread public concern about the reabsorption of soldiers and sailors in such a way as to prevent unemployment.
- (8) The useful activities of the Departments of Agriculture and the Interior and of the state agricultural schools and experiment stations in the interests of farm labor.
- (9) The prohibition of child labor and the growth of the idea that the adolescent years also—from fourteen to eighteen or twenty—do not belong to industry, but to education.
- (10) The supplanting of charitable relief and public relief by "home service," whether from Red Cross or hospital or court or welfare agency, and by an adequate and assured income to the family overtaken by any such calamity as death or illness or incapacity of the wage-earner. This is as yet a bright spot of promise rather than achievement, but social insurance in its various forms is on the horizon, and without it there is no comprehensive policy of doing away with economic insufficiency.
- (11) The new concern, expressed in many ways, for establishing standards of living, work standards, standards for women at work but also for men; standards which shall be formulated when practicable in legislation, but also, as to the frontiers, the dynamic points of contact, formulated only in public opinion, enforced by organization on either side, by arbitrators and conciliators and admin-

istrative act; standards which reflect the new attitude towards labor, as not a commodity, but a professional service of a skilled operation, at any rate a creative act of a citizen of one of the industrial nations, of one of the separate and equal crafts or guilds or vocations or economic groups, with all the rights to which nature and nature's God entitle them.

Instability in Europe

There are dark spots also on the horizon, the more visible because on the heights of our new experience we see a little farther abroad, we see a little more clearly into the backgrounds and the foregrounds of the forces that are creating poverty and destroying it. The darkest of all is the semi-paralysis—the almost total paralysis—of industry in the eastern hemisphere, of which Mr. Vanderlip has been giving us a quite accurate picture, one which we need not discount as the press has been too complacently doing. It is not merely the appalling destruction of life and of wealth, but the uneconomic habits—the restlessness, the nervousness, the psychological reversions, the lawless and vagrant manner of life, the actual fear of bodily danger, the reckless readiness to protect oneself by force or guile in the absence of the ordinary social protections, the literal loosening of the bonds which unite us in civilized communities—which gives most concern to those who have observed it most closely. Those who want revolution will take satisfaction in the instability in the minds of European peoples; those who are watching their chance for counter revolution, for exploitation, for the worst kind of reactionary privilege, may find good fishing, along with considerable risk to every one who ventures; while those who want orderly and stable evolution have occasion to be concerned.

The Challenge to America

Whether these destructive influences have much affected our own soldiers in France is doubtful. Not in the training period or while the fighting was in progress, perhaps; but I fear somewhat for the waiting time since November 11. The irritation which has sprung up between our boys and the French and the English, the mutual recriminations and dislikes—which are quite as unreasonable on our side as on theirs, though it will be natural for us to think otherwise—are probably only superficial and temporary. If by some magic carpets our armies could have been transported in a twinkling to their homes and dissolved on November 12, 1918, and if all talk of a big standing army could have been obviated, this country might have been able the more easily to perform the economic service which seems now to be expected of us. It seems quite possible that we shall still be equal to the demand—but it is a huge one—that we shall restore the circulation of the world's trade, that we shall produce goods cheap enough to sell while paying labor a living wage, that we shall finance European industry so that the European nations may repay us our loans, that we shall buy the surplus output of Europe's factories while not lowering the standards of life of our own workers. It is a challenge to our leadership and patriotism, and also to our national solidarity and our democracy.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF TUBERCULOSIS

Charles J. Hatfield, M. D., Managing Director, National Tuberculosis Association, New York.

The complexity of this subject is quite great enough to dampen the ardor of a student of clinical medicine, unaccustomed to deal with the treacherous figures contained in Census reports. It would seem that the keenest intelligence and widest experience in the relation of economic factors to health conditions and the interpretation of figures concerned therewith, might well be found inadequate. As a safeguard in the handling of statistics, we are indebted to Miss Jessamine Whitney of the staff of the National Association, for a digest of the studies of the subject that have been made in the past.

The economic value of a man's life must, of course, vary with his age. What is the economic value of the life of the average woman? Does it vary with age as is the case with men? Is it the same after the years of war, when many more women are occupied in gainful occupations, than was the case before the war? Has a child's life economic value? If so on what is it based? What is the average cost of caring for and educating a child to the point where he is a producer? How shall we calculate economic loss due to sorrow and undue strain upon other members of the family in which there is tuberculosis? These are a few of the questions that suggest themselves for answer. It is evident that our study must be a restricted one and that its results cannot, from the nature of things, be conclusive.

Glover

It should be noted that most of the serious papers on the subject deal with facts concerning male adult tuberculosis workers and only estimates as to the economic side of tuberculosis among women and children. For instance, in Prof. Glover's study of "The Monetary Loss in the United States Due to Tuberculosis," he prepares a table based on the deaths of males from all causes, as given in the Twelfth Census; and a parallel table showing the deaths from causes other than tuberculosis. By comparing the two tables, he determines the number of lives at any age that will be saved or that would have been saved if tuberculosis had been absent. An interesting conclusion is that the elimination of tuberculosis would have a decided effect on the longevity of the race. For example, if tuberculosis were not present the expectation of life at 20 is 46 years; but under prevailing conditions this expectation of life is reduced 2 years 158 days because of the presence of tuberculosis in the community. He demonstrates the loss to the community through periods of partial or complete disability because of the increased amount of sickness due to the presence of tuberculosis. Dr. Glover's computations relate only to males between the ages of 20 and 60, not to boys, old men, women or girls. For the year 1908 in the United States, the author estimates the loss for males of the ages given as \$42,000,000.

Locke and Floyd

The study of Drs. Locke and Floyd includes only male adults. The loss is computed under the headings of the loss to the individual, to the community and to the family. The loss to the individual is computed only in terms of wages. The duration of the disease is considered to date from the first visit to the dispensary. The authors note the fact that dispensary patients rarely feel that they are ill until they are too weak to continue at work. This, of course, means that they have been developing tuberculosis

for months before their first visits. With this fact clearly recognized, the average period from the first visit to the time of the report was two years and one month for the patients who had died and two years and ten months for those who were still living. It is logical to divide the time into three periods—of unimpaired earning power, of impaired earning power and of complete disability. In these cases, however, the period of impaired earning power or partial disability was mostly absent. The average wage was about \$11 per week and total wages lost by 500 patients were \$426,039.

The loss to the community is considered through the aid given to patients by public and private agencies, chiefly in the form of institutional care. The amount under this heading was \$73,984.

The loss to the family is not estimated. Eighty-four per cent of the patients had families or dependents. In 180 families the patient was the sole wage earner. The average decline of the total weekly income during the period of partial disability was estimated as 65 per cent, a decline from \$17.50 per week to an average of \$7.86 per week. The final results to the family, although impossible to compute in statistical terms, are thought by the authors to be of greater importance than the loss to the individual or the community.

With this method of computation, it is estimated that the loss in wages plus the actual expense for care in hospitals in the 500 cases studied, is at the rate of about \$1,000 per patient.

Price

Dr. Price of Maryland made an interesting study of 300 cases of both sexes. Here women are included. His method and results are somewhat similar to those already given. He comments at considerable length upon the influence of tuberculosis on the ultimate history of the family in which it appears, and points out the fact that the causes producing the financial result are much more far-reaching than the mere deprivation of income earned by the patient. Dr. Price estimated the life capital of a consumptive at \$4,875, which represents the accumulation of capital during a total working period of 17 years and 5 months. With this as a basis, Dr. Price computes the total potential loss to the state of Maryland from deaths from tuberculosis each year to be ten millions of dollars.

Fisher

Prof. Irving Fisher in his various papers on the economic aspects of tuberculosis, while making use of all studies previously reported upon, presents a more inclusive consideration with estimates that seem to convey more definite impressions. He includes all ages and both sexes. His latest study on the subject was published seven years ago and, therefore, is today subject to modifications. Prof. Fisher estimates the loss under two headings, loss to the patients themselves and loss to others. His computation of the annual loss in the United States to patients themselves is \$665,000,000, which is divided into loss by sickness \$145,000,000 and loss by death \$520,000,000. The loss to others is estimated at \$570,000,000, which is divided into loss by sickness \$220,000,000 and loss by death \$350,000,000. His total estimated loss from tuberculosis in the United States is \$1,240,000,000. The figures are based upon an estimate of 155,000 deaths each year from tuberculosis in the United States. These figures have not been materially modified since 1912. In 1916 by computation based on the returns from the registration area, the estimated deaths were given as 144,000. It is thought, however, that this figure is too small, and during the last two years, there is evidence that the total mortality from the disease in this country is something over 150,000 deaths. Prof. Fisher's figures include the cost to the

patient, to his family, the annual cost to the community and the estimated earnings cut off by sickness and death. The estimate of loss to the individual is based upon the following figures: The average earnings of working individuals of all ages in the United States are taken as \$700 per year. In his computation, Prof. Fisher arrives at the conclusion that the average consumptive loses 17 working years. The earnings for these 17 years are discounted at 5 per cent and converted into present value; 40 per cent of this gives the loss to others from the consumptive's death. This is added to the loss of \$700 a year of earning power for one and one-half years of total disability, and one half the amount for one and one half years of partial disability. \$1.50 a day is added for the cost of support during the period of complete disability. A total of the actual cost preceding death to the patient and family is \$2,375. The capitalized earning power of each individual cut off by death is set at \$7,900. This added to the actual loss for the period preceding death gives a total for each individual wage-earner of approximately \$10,300. When this figure is modified so as to cover every death, whether a wage-earner or not, the cost of each death is found to be a little over \$7,725. To this might be added the cost of medicine, medical attention and nursing in the home, which is as great for non-wage-earners as for wage-earners. With this consideration the total loss may be fixed at \$8,000 which can be subdivided by allowing 60 per cent of the amount, \$4,800 to represent the loss to the consumptive himself and 40 per cent or \$3,200 to represent the loss to other members of the family. By this process and estimating there are 155,000 deaths from tuberculosis each year, Prof. Fisher arrives at the total of \$1,240,000,000, which may be subdivided into \$744,000,000, representing loss to the consumptives themselves and \$496,000,000, representing loss to others than themselves.

Losses in Other Countries

Among other interesting studies of the factors of economic loss from tuberculosis, there are papers by Dr. Frankel and Mr. Hoffman, presenting differing phases of the interest of Insurance Companies in this subject. It is not necessary for the purpose of this paper to review them. Dr. Otis of Boston makes an interesting summary of the reports or estimates of economic losses as reported by various countries. In addition to a loss of \$1,240,000,000 a year reported by the United States, there is reported in France a loss of \$200,000,000; in Canada a loss of \$72,000,000; in Wales, a small part of Great Britain, Dr. Newsholme is quoted as stating that the annual loss is about \$50,000,000. Dr. Herman M. Biggs makes an interesting comment that a conservative estimate of the economic loss from tuberculosis to the city of New York annually is \$23,000,000 and to fight the disease there is expended not over \$500,000 for the year or a little over 2 per cent.

Indirect Loss

In our study of the economic factors of tuberculosis, we have considered only the monetary loss due directly or indirectly to the presence of the disease. There is a somewhat different point of view which might still be interpreted as coming properly under our title, that is the discussion of the relation of financial condition to tuberculosis. It has been frequently said that among the chief causes of the disease is poverty. Support to this view may be given by figures showing increased prevalence in the class of the population that is below the comfort line in manner of life. Economic distress is certainly the cause of improper housing, poor food, over-fatigue and, to a certain extent, lack of cleanliness. If "darkness, dampness and dirt" provide soil favorable to the development of the disease, poverty may be considered the most important cause of the trio. The rel-

ative importance of environment especially in comparison with heredity is a moot question. We have vigorous advocates of each side. Where environment plays a part certainly economic condition is a determining factor. At this time, however, it will be well if we do no more than mention this aspect of the economic problem of tuberculosis.

All this study of figures is tiring and of no possible value unless beliefs are thereby produced which can be transformed into action. If Prof. Fisher's figures are correct, we are losing annually a sum which in the course of one generation amounts to the total cost to our country of the great war. Tuberculosis is the source of more disease and misery than any other cause of sickness. It has been studied intensively for many years and in this country we have for 15 years had a rapidly developing program of education, treatment and prevention. Perhaps one purpose served by a study of the economic aspects is to conclusively demonstrate that we have done nothing at all comparable in extension of work or in vigor of promotion with this most vitally serious situation.

RAISING THE STANDARDS OF LIVING IN THE ANTI-TUBERCULOSIS CAMPAIGN

Bailey B. Burritt, General Director of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor

That there is a direct relation between the standard of living of a people and its health there can be no possible doubt. That there is a correlation between the standard of living and the mortality and morbidity from tuberculosis seems conclusively probable in spite of the fact that there is such a dearth of definite and reliable information with regard to this problem. Everyone in their talk about tuberculosis and their plans to deal with it more or less consciously, or if not consciously, unconsciously assumes a direct correlation between the standard of living and tuberculosis. The unfortunate thing about the matter is that we cannot speak assuredly of proven facts. I suppose I am not different from most others interested in the problem of public health, but I find myself handicapped each time I talk about public health problems, or each time I think about them, and especially each time I undertake to make any definite practical plan for public health work by the fact that there is so little reliable information about the lack of health, the amount of it, the cost of it, the cause of it and the other numerous social effects of it. Think of the appalling mass of ungathered and, therefore, relatively meaningless information about the amount of tuberculosis, about what it costs the community, about the real underlying conditions that cause it, about the relation of it to income, the standard of living, etc. In spite of all of our educational campaigns and our interest in the tuberculosis problem, we have not as a community yet taken it very seriously. We still consider it much more important to be able to speak with accuracy about the number of bushels of wheat which were consumed in the United States in 1918, or the number of tons of coal consumed, the number of tons of pig iron produced, the number of dollars deposited in savings banks, the number of gallons of alcoholic liquors produced and consumed, the number of diamonds imported and their value, the minute analysis of the number of votes cast for the President of the United States in the past election and various other useful and semi-useful statistics—we still consider it much more important to speak with accuracy about these things than about the number of days' work lost through tuberculosis in the United States in 1918, the number of years of life either removed altogether or removed at any rate from usefulness because of the fact that tuberculosis

has interfered with individuals living their expected average length of life, the relation that exists between tuberculosis and income and other important statistical information of the greatest possible significance to the economy of the country, to its health and general comfort and happiness. I repeat, we haven't yet taken the tuberculosis problem or the general health problem seriously enough to really get facts about it, and this enemy cannot be conquered without advance information as to the number of effectives which he controls, the strategical strongholds which are in his possession, the amount of resources at his command, and the most practical engines of warfare for routing him from his position.

But this is a digression from the main subject of this paper, a digression made necessary by the lack of information about the subject matter of the paper,—a digression necessary in the consideration of nearly every important public health matter.

The Difference Between Rise in Income and Rise in Standard of Living

I should point out also that there is a distinction between the rise in income and the rise in the standard of living. These two factors may tend to rise together, but the rise in the standard of living involves an educational process which cannot be immediately and readily acquired. The family that increases its wages from three dollars to six dollars a day and still continues to make fried potatoes a main article of diet for child and adult alike has not doubled its standard of living, although it has doubled its income. It is necessary, therefore, to discuss these two factors somewhat separately in their relation to the tuberculosis problem.

I have already intimated that there is not much available evidence carefully gathered and put in the form of scientific proof that there is a direct correlation between increase in income and decrease in the incidence of tuberculosis. In a very limited way in the City of Framingham, Massachusetts, the greatest amount of tuberculosis was found in income groups of from \$1,200 to \$1,800 per year. The income groups below this and above it both had lower rates, the facts being as follows: Under \$1,200, 4.3%; from \$1,200 to \$1,800, 5.1%, \$1,800 and over, 2.7%. The number of families involved is altogether too limited and the character of the inquiry altogether too local to make these statistics, which are almost the only ones existing, of any great value other than suggesting the necessity of further inquiry. We are bound, therefore, because of the lack of definite statistical information to fall back on a priori reasoning and the application of common sense to the problem in the absence of facts.

Evidence seems to indicate that relatively few individuals escape the tuberculous germ. He is too prevalent a beast of prey in the primeval forests of unprevented disease in which we work to give us much hope of hiding from him successfully throughout the years of our lives. It is a great game of chance with most of us—chance where it should be scientific forethought as to whether in the inevitable attack which we are subject to, the individual person or the germ would be the winner. It is, according to our experts, largely a matter of resistance. If we are naturally normal, strong, healthy individuals and have not allowed ourselves to become weakened, we may withstand his attacks successfully. If, on the other hand, through ignorance of ours, our parents, or the community, or if through lack of resources we have allowed ourselves to become abnormal, weak, unhealthy individuals, the chances are against us.

Good Resistance Essential: Factors

Now what are the things that go to build up effective resistance? They are, first of all, a good birth. This implies a mother well informed as to

the care of herself during pregnancy, freedom from overgreat strain of work and worry during pregnancy, the provision of adequate facilities for periodical examinations and medical supervision and the ability to provide adequate facilities at the time of birth. If these factors are present and the mother before pregnancy is not already weakened unduly because of hereditary or environmental factors, there should result a normal babe eager for normal conditions to develop into a normal healthy man or woman. He must, however, be well fed, not only during the immediate period of infancy, but particularly during those trying years from weaning to school age, when the nutritional needs of the child are more specialized than the family is often able to meet either through ignorance of the child's needs or for economic reasons—more frequently the former. If through the operation of either of these factors, the child does not secure the proper kind of as well as the proper amount of food, his power of resistance against the common enemy, tuberculosis, is undermined before he gets a fair start.

There is little hope also of building up this normal babe into a successful resisting force unless it has ample access to good air. Continuous confinement in the ill-ventilated, closed rooms of crowded tenement quarters, or of millionaires' residences, for that matter, does not make for healthy resisting bodies. We have made much progress in education as to the necessity of fresh air. We are still, however, in New York City at any rate, far from breathing anything like an adequate amount of it, and it is not altogether because of its inaccessibility. It is, however, much more common than formerly to see the young babe, even in cool periods of the year, sleeping in its carriage on the roof, in the back yard, sometimes on the fire escape, and more frequently than formerly, in a room with an open window. The closed window, however, is still a good friend of the army of tuberculous germs, this dread army more exacting each year than was the German army at the height of its diabolical attacks upon our life and health.

Good light is the corollary of good air, but it is of sufficient importance to mention as among the requisites for building up the breastworks of resistance. The tuberculous germ shuns the light of day. The inner tenement room barred from the possibilities of the light of day is his great friend. There is too a direct correlation between income in New York City and the inner dark room. We need, however, in New York City and probably in our oldest and largest cities of the country not only a rise in the income of the lowest paid group in order to defeat the dark-room difficulty, but also a liberal application of dynamite to impossible old tenements, impossibly constructed, covering an impossibly large percentage of the ground space of the lot. It is disheartening to the tuberculosis nurse, charged with the responsibility of preventing the development of tuberculous children in families whose parents have tuberculosis already, to have to cope continuously with the dark room tenements. Move the family out into better quarters, is the remedy which we try to apply, but the application of this remedy is beset with the almost certain knowledge that some other family with resistance low enough to succumb to tuberculosis will move into the vacated darkness.

Adequate rest is a resistance builder. One of the reasons why there exists a correlation between the number of persons per room and the amount of tuberculosis is undoubtedly due in part to the fact that it is physically impossible to secure adequate rest with too many persons per room. Then, too, there is not only the question of the number of persons per room but the number of persons per bed. A family which I recently visited in New York, in which the father was tuberculous and in which there were five children, had two beds, one of them full size and one three-quarter size.

Those two beds were able allies of the tuberculous germs in that household. One of the considerable items of an adequate relief program in connection with tuberculosis, therefore, inevitably is needed for additional beds and bedding.

Freedom from overwork is closely allied to the necessity for adequate rest. Prolonged periods of overwork without adequate periods of rest or change makes the tuberculous germ rub his hands for joy.

Ignorance as a Factor in Resistance

But any catalogue of the factors that make for resistance must not overlook the factor of ignorance. There can be no possible question of the direct correlation between ignorance and tuberculosis—between non-ignorance and health. There is a surprising amount of it in the homes of the well-to-do and of the middle class, and an appalling amount of it among the poor. Relative ignorance of suitable care of the pregnant mother runs through all society. The child's birthright to be born well is interfered with altogether too frequently through ignorance. When born, his right to develop into a healthy child is interfered with through ignorance—ignorance of suitable feeding, suitable clothing and suitable care. Pot-bellied, bow-legged babies are the direct result of ignorance. Then, too, we allow our children to be choked off from an adequate supply of air through ignorance not only with regard to the necessity of ventilation, but ignorance with regard to nasal defects, adenoids and other throat defects, the remedying of which are relatively easy when we as communities cease to be blind and ignorant as to the results of neglecting these factors. We are similarly ignorant with regard to the inevitable result of neglect of teeth in undermining resistance. We have yet to learn that intensive attention to the physical defects of child life are the essentials of normal physique and that they must stand out prominently in any program for the prevention of tuberculosis—or its care either, for that matter.

These then are some of the essentials for building up resistance. Let us examine them briefly in the light of their relation to rise in income. There is obviously a point below which you cannot reduce income and make it possible for a child to be well-born. By no means all the children from families above this minimum income are well-born. There is probably, in other words, a direct correlation between income and "well-bornness." There is, however, a ruggedness and strength that goes with hard work and laborious exercise that compensates, to some extent, if only the income is not too low to sap this ruggedness and strength of the physical laborer. When, however, the economic condition of the family requires employment of the pregnant mother at heavy labor until the birth of the child it again interferes with the child's birthright. Without pursuing this thought further, suffice it to say that while there is probably a direct correlation between income and being well-born, there are many factors entering which deprive the greater income from producing a proportionately better-born baby.

So far as the factor of nutrition is concerned, there is probably, though not altogether certainly, a correlation between income and suitable nutrition. Good food, however, is very simple food, and doubling the wage does not necessarily double the knowledge as to suitable feeding. It does increase the ability to buy a sufficient quantity of good food, it doubtless increases quality somewhat, but it does not by any means mean that the child or individual gets a food supply that is improved in both quality and quantity, and especially in method of preparation, in proportion to the improvement of the income itself.

The possibilities of good air, good light and good rest probably has a more direct correlation with income. But here again the factor of ignorance

plays a large part, and it is quite certain that the amount of ignorance with regard to the whole range of health problems is not at all closely correlated with wage or income.

The Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor in New York City has continuously under its care some five hundred families in which the Association is supplying a considerable part of their income (this is in addition to a much larger number of families in which emergent or reasonably temporary care is provided). The Association believes it has a fairly adequate policy of relief and that these particular families are securing sufficient funds to provide the necessities of life on a sufficiently adequate basis to maintain strength and health provided the funds are wisely used. This income, while reasonably adequate, is nevertheless a minimum income. In other words, it is established at a point below which we believe that the health of the family would be endangered. It has been a continuous surprise to me that the families cared for for a continuous period of time, including several years in many cases, on this reasonably adequate if minimum basis are able to maintain so good a degree of health. In spite of the fact that many of these families were tuberculous when first known to our work, or are widows' families in which the father died from tuberculosis, we have had a remarkably small incidence of tuberculosis. Continual supervision of the nurses assisting the family in discovering symptoms of defects early and in dealing promptly with them enables these families to compare most favorably with normal families in their general health.

Good Standard of Living Directly Related to Tuberculosis

As I indicated in the beginning of the paper, there is a difference between income and standard of living. I like to think of standard of living in terms of all the factors which make up a healthful existence. If defined in this way, there obviously must be a direct correlation between standard of living and tuberculosis. An adequate standard of living, in other words, implies adequate income, adequate knowledge of the essentials of health and a willingness to apply this knowledge. Those of us who are interested in the tuberculosis problem will make a mistake if we rest content with present incomes of the lower range of the income group. We will make a further mistake if we assume that the tuberculosis problem is to be solved solely by an increase in income. The fruitful attack on the tuberculosis problem of the future is the one that insists on the necessity first of an adequate income, and secondly, on an adequate education in health problems to the point where the essential information with regard to health becomes an integral part of the life requirement of every individual. It will include intensive attention to the prenatal and postnatal problem and intensive treatment of the physical side of child life during its earliest years. This intensive attention to physical childhood will include first of all suitable feeding of the child not only before weaning age, but after weaning age. It will include suitable provision for a regular and periodical examination of the child. More particularly, it will include provision for dealing with the defects of the individual child, defects of the nose, throat, teeth, eyes, defective nutrition and any other defects that may be discovered, and it will deal with them sufficiently early to prevent their becoming aggravated. Nothing less than a health goal which will give to every individual, first, the right to be well-born, and second, the right to develop into a normal healthy childhood and adulthood will ever put the tuberculous germ back of the line and keep him there. Only then shall we have a decent standard of living and raising the standard of living in this sense is the surest weapon in this warfare—the warfare which must have no armistice, no peace, only extermination for the enemy.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Dr. Winslow explained that the whole program of this year's sessions had been built up about the most acute problem of the day in health work, the standard of living as related to health and that the papers of each session would discuss it from some one angle, first stating the economic aspects of the particular health problem, and second, stating or describing some of the measures that had been instituted toward remedying evils.

The question was raised as to whether it was better to treat patients in their homes or to send them away to sanatoria, particularly incipient cases. *Dr. Hatfield* replied that any climate conducive to general health was a suitable one for the treatment of tuberculosis. The three things needful being good medical advice and supervision, rest, food and air. Sanatorium residence he advised, even for the richest patients, for at least a month, so as to secure the proper understanding and co-operation on the part of the patient. The question was raised as to whether anything had been done to bring Prof. Fisher's figures down to a basis of present day costs, and *Dr. Hatfield* stated that as far as he knew there had not.

Mr. Burritt was asked whether or not the A. I. C. P. was still running a Home Hospital, and whether there had been any difference in results since the experiment had left the model tenement and gone to a regular new law tenement, also whether families who had been through the Home Hospital maintained the higher standard of living to which they had been accustomed while they were there. He replied that the A. I. C. P. was as enthusiastic as ever over the Home Hospital idea, and that the results of providing medical and nursing supervision under home conditions compared very favorably with the results of institutional care. *Mr. Burritt* said that, of course, some families lapsed from the standard of living they learned while in residence, but that for the most part, the raising of standards was more effective in these families than in the families of cases where a patient returned from a stay in a sanatorium. His conviction is that we must take more of the sanatorium education into the homes, and that we cannot get far until we do. The Home Hospital has made the A. I. C. P. realize that in all its tuberculosis families it must give more than the usual help, both financial and educational. *Mr. Burritt* stated that the change away from the model tenements had already been a good thing, as the families felt more at home in a "regular" tenement, and there was really more room per person.

Asked if New York had a forcible removal, *Mr. Burritt* replied that it had, but it was difficult to get judges to enforce it.

Mr. Edward Hochhauser of New York added that the Brooklyn Children's Aid Society had been successful in removing children from homes where adults had tuberculosis on the ground of improper guardianship, where they could not effect the removal of the adults.

Others who participated in the informal discussion were: *Annie Morrison*, Grand Rapids, Mich.; *Otto Bradley*, Minneapolis; *Annie F. Brown*, Oakland, Calif.; *Walter S. Ufford*, Washington.

Mr. George J. Nelbach of New York presented the following resolution which was unanimously adopted by the section: "That the Executive Committee of the Conference of Social Work be requested by the Division on Health to appoint a Committee to study the standard of living essential to health, and to report to the Conference in 1920."

HOW FAR DOES THE AMERICAN FAMILY BUDGET PROVIDE FOR NECESSARY MEDICAL AND NURSING CARE?

Lee K. Frankel, Third Vice President, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York.

Attempts to study family expenditure to determine the amounts necessary for various items in the budget have been made at frequent intervals for over two hundred years. As early as 1672, *William Petty* made an estimate of the cost of living of labor in England and Ireland. Similar studies were made by *Vanderlint* in 1733, by *Massie* in 1756, by *Cantillon* about 1750, and by *Edward Atkinson* who presented to the *Aldrich Committee* in England in 1892 an estimate of the expenditure of a laborer's family with an income of \$500.00.

All of these studies as well as later ones are mentioned by *Chapin* in his "Standards of Living in New York City" and need not be discussed further at this time. *Chapin's* book was an elaboration of the report of the Committee on Standards of Living appointed by the New York State Conference of Charities and Corrections with the writer as Chairman.

I remember well the difficulties which were encountered in making this

investigation. The investigators who were sent into the homes had to receive the most careful instruction in order to qualify them for their task. Even with this, much difficulty was experienced in educating families to properly carry out the instructions which were given to them. The schedule which was used by investigators was quite an elaborate one. The experience which I have had with much more simplified schedules leads me to believe that the average workingman's family finds it exceedingly difficult to keep an accurate account of its daily expenditures and to enter them properly in the schedule. An experiment was made quite recently in a girls' high school in New York City to ascertain how well girls of this grade were competent to fill out a quite elementary schedule. Out of over fifty schedules submitted to the teacher, practically none was correct in the final addition.

The data given by Chapin are, however, not applicable to present day conditions. The cost of living has changed so considerably, since the Chapin studies, that they are of comparatively little merit today. Certain recent studies are, therefore, much more to the point as an indication of the extent to which the average family budget provides for necessary medical and nursing care. It is assumed that under medical care is included services of dentists, oculists, and opticians.

The Industrial Welfare Commission of California published in the year 1917 the records of one year's expenditures of 600 working women in San Francisco and Los Angeles. The records were classified according to their earning capacity and occupation. The amount spent by each group for medical services was approximately 4 per cent of the income. It should be noted that about half of the total amount expended for physicians and medicine was paid out by 21 of the entire number. Three hundred and one, or over 50 per cent, apparently had no expense for service of this kind.

Similarly, in a group of 251 laundresses, the expenditure for medical and dental care amounted to 5.1 per cent of their aggregate earnings. The bulk of the cases in this group had an actual income of from \$350 to \$500 per annum. The average annual expenditure for medical and dental care was approximately from \$18 to \$25 per annum.

The Commission also presented the records of 264 waitresses. Of these 3.9 per cent of their aggregate earnings was expended on medical and dental bills. These women belonged to a waitresses' union, which employed a physician to care for them. Apparently service was obtainable at a lower cost under this contract plan. Whether the service was equally good, however, is not stated. The larger number of women in this group were earning between \$500 and \$600 per annum. The average amount spent for medical and dental care was approximately \$20 to \$25 per year.

The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics has recently made studies of the expenditures for medical and dental care by workmen in certain industries. The data has not yet been published. It is due to the kindness of Dr. Royal Meeker, Commissioner of Labor Statistics, that certain of the figures are given here. One of the studies for the year ending March 31, 1918, made among 508 families in Cleveland, Lorain and Toledo showed an average expenditure of \$41.79 for medical care and \$8.59 for dental care. Twenty per cent of the families in this group spent less than \$10 for medical care and over 17 per cent between \$10 and \$19. At least two-thirds of the entire group spent less than \$40 per year for medical care. In Columbus, Ohio, a similar study of 211 families showed that \$42.41 was spent for medical care per family and \$6 for services of the dentist. Nearly 20 per cent spent less than \$10 per annum, and nearly two-thirds were in the group under \$40. The Columbus figures are in close agreement with those for Cleveland, Lorain and Toledo.

A similar study under the auspices of the United States Bureau of

Labor Statistics was made in the District of Columbia. Here the average expenditure for medical care during the year 1916 was \$37.75. For 230 colored families, the amount was \$20.19, while for 692 white families, the amount was \$43.59. These averages are in fairly close agreement with the data obtained in the Ohio studies. The Washington studies, based on income, gave data corresponding to those obtained in the studies made by the New York Committee on Standard of Living as will be seen from the table below. These figures are for the white families:

Income	Expenditure
Under \$ 600	\$12.83
600 to \$ 900	25.52
900 to 1,200	42.31
1,200 to 1,500	43.16
Over 1,500	59.57

It is quite probable that in Washington, as in New York, families of lower income utilized the agencies in the city such as hospitals, dispensaries, where service was given either free or at a nominal cost.

Another study made by the Bureau in Philadelphia of 301 families, containing on the average 5 persons per family, showed an average expenditure for medical care of \$57.92. This is approximately a little more than 4 per cent of the average annual income. These figures, like the Washington figures, show increased expenditure along with increased income. The data submitted shows an average expenditure of \$24.13 for the group with an income under \$900 to an expenditure of \$141.57 for the group over \$2,500.

In Boston the bureau studied 407 families. These, too, averaged a little more than five persons per family. The average expenditure for sickness was \$49.76, or about 3½ per cent of the average annual income. Here, again, the expenditure varied with income. In the group under \$900 there was an average outlay of \$23.18. In the group over \$2,500 the average expenditure was \$67.42.

In a group of 17 Pittsburgh and 30 New York families studied by the bureau, whose income ranged between \$1,100 and \$1,399, the average amount expended for sickness was \$42.70. In a similar group of 14 Pittsburgh and 20 New York families, with incomes ranging from \$1,400 to \$1,699, the average for sickness was \$38.60. In a group of 62 families in 10 representative cities of the United States, with incomes varying from \$1,700 to \$2,100, the average amount expended was \$73.28. In a group of 18 families in 11 representative cities with incomes ranging from \$2,100 to \$3,100, the average expenditure was \$57.04.

It will be seen from the data submitted how difficult it is to determine to what extent the American family budget provides for necessary medical and nursing care. None of the studies convincingly prove at what point in the income the family finds itself compelled to make use of gratuitous medical service. In fact it is well known that even among the poorest there are those who, in an emergency, will use their last penny and if necessary borrow from friends and acquaintances to obtain the highly prized services of medical specialists. For these reasons the data given are indicative only. It may be fair to assume, however, from the more recent investigations, that the average expenditure of a family in the \$1,000 income group may vary from 3 to 5 per cent of the total income.

Comparatively few of the budgetary studies thus far made give sufficient data on the cost of dental, optical and nursing care. This is not the fault of the investigation. It is due to the fact that service of this kind, for the large masses of people, is still in its infancy. The education of the people in oral hygiene is a matter of very recent growth. The same is true of the care of the eyes. Nursing service in the home for the self-sustaining and self-respecting workman is exceedingly limited. The services

of the private duty nurse cannot be considered by the average workingman's family owing to the cost. Visiting nurse service, until very recently, has been primarily for the poor. Notwithstanding the fact that within the last decade hundreds of visiting nurse associations have come into existence in the United States, the great majority are still on a semi-philanthropic basis. One of the greatest needs of the day is an adequate bedside service through visiting nurses for workmen who do not wish to receive charity.

As an indication of the cost of such service, the experience of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company is probably most indicative. In the year 1918, the Company nursed 290,882 policyholders, making 1,431,085 visits. The average cost per case with a physician in attendance was a trifle over \$4.00. Since the cost per visit was 51 cents, the average patient received approximately 7 or 8 visits. The Bureau of Labor Statistics in its Columbus, Ohio, studies showed that out of the 211 families investigated 174 families had no disbursement for nursing service. This does not mean that these families did not require such service. Six of the families spent less than \$10 per annum; 14 families spent between \$10 and \$19 per annum; 6 between \$20 and \$30 per annum, and the other 11 families spent amounts varying between \$30 and \$80 per annum. In the studies made in Philadelphia and Boston, the average amount spent for nursing service in all income groups was \$2.50. In Philadelphia this figure was fairly constant in all income groups up to \$2,500, where the average was \$5 per annum. In 13 families in Boston with an income of over \$2,500 per annum, no family had any expenditure for nursing service.

Probably some light may be thrown upon the subject if we study it from a different angle. In recent sickness surveys made by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, it was shown that the average individual is sick seven days per annum. These surveys included, however, only individuals who were sufficiently ill to be unable to work. It can be assumed that all of these individuals should have been under medical care. The surveys showed quite clearly, however, that in a number of communities a considerable proportion of those disabled by illness were receiving no medical attention whatever.

If we take as our unit the average family of five, consisting of father and mother and three children, and use the above average of seven days illness per member, we may assume that in such an average family there are 35 days of illness per annum. The cost of a physician's visit in the home has increased along with the other necessities of life. On the assumption that half of the incapacitated are either chronic invalids who do not require the daily visit of the physician, it is probably not an exaggeration to assume that the 35 days of illness would require 17 visits. It is doubtful whether in the large cities physicians' services can be obtained today under \$2 per visit. This would mean \$35 per annum for physicians' services alone. It is true, of course, that many of these patients are in hospitals and institutions. The cost of this hospital service would probably run as high as the cost of the physician's visit to the home. It is quite unlikely that the average modern hospital can give service under \$2 per diem. It is immaterial, of course, whether such service is given free or is paid for. It must be included in the amount which should be provided in the family budget for self-sustaining families. Some of the incapacitated who are able to be up and about will make use of dispensary service. According to the figures of Mount Sinai Hospital in New York, the consultation visit in 1918 cost the institution 45 cents. The average patient makes from 3 to 4 visits. In the Massachusetts General Hospital, the cost per consultation is approximately 50 cents.

In this calculation no provision has been made for dental care of the members of the family. In the opinion of competent oral hygienists,

prophylactic care should be given to the teeth at least twice a year. The expense for this, assuming that it were done only yearly, would be at the lowest possible estimate approximately \$10 per annum. Nursing care given by a visiting nurse would vary from \$10 to \$20 per annum. It is difficult to make any estimate of the cost of eye-glasses and the care of the eyes generally but it would be safe to assume an additional expenditure of \$10 per annum.

I recognize quite fully that these are mere estimates and that they may fall very wide of the mark. On the other hand, these estimates combined with the investigations previously made, indicate quite clearly that an allowance of \$50 per annum should be made in the average American family's budget for medical, nursing and surgical care. It should be remembered, of course, that these are averages. Some families may go through the year with practically no expenditure; other families, on the other hand, may in an unfortunate year have an expenditure running into hundreds of dollars. Covering a period of year, however, it is fairly certain that the average family would average a minimum of \$50 a year. It would not be difficult to increase this average to \$60 and even to \$75 per annum.

From what has been said, I think it will be realized that at the present moment we have not sufficient data to definitely state the amount which should be provided in the family budget for necessary medical and nursing care. It would be highly desirable to have an exhaustive study made to determine the facts.

HEALTH INSURANCE AS A MEANS OF PROVIDING MEDICAL CARE

John A. Lapp, Chicago; Editor of "Modern Medicine" and Specialist for the National Catholic War Council

An adequate system of health insurance provides two main benefits—cash benefits equal to a part of the wages lost by sickness and medical benefits sufficient to meet the cost of medical care which may be needed. Both of these benefits are essential.

Cash benefits must be given to provide for the care of the worker and his family during the time he is sick and to enable him to take treatment early enough and continue it long enough to keep him in health or to restore him. Medical benefits must be given because the cost of medical care is equal to, if not larger, than the money loss sustained through inability to work. It seems very clear also that medical benefits and cash benefits must be administered together in order to promote adequacy of treatment on the one hand and the reasonable protection of the funds on the other.

I am concerned in this paper with the organization of medical care and cash benefits as a means of giving medical, surgical, nursing, dental and other treatment. Let us see at the outset what the medical burden under health insurance involves. What are the costs which must be provided for? What is the severity with which medical costs fall upon sick individuals?

The data on medical costs is not extensive, but what there is, is fairly conclusive, because of the closeness of the results obtained in different and independent surveys.

The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics found that among 508 wage-earning families in Ohio cities, there was an average cost of \$41.79 for medical care and \$8.59 for dental care. The figures compiled by the bureau for 211 families in the city of Columbus, covering 924 persons, was \$42.41 per family for medical service and \$6.00 per family for dentistry. A further study in Philadelphia showed an average of \$34.91 among 192 families, and in Chester, Pennsylvania, \$37.90 among 40 families. The Bureau

of Municipal Research, of Philadelphia, in 1918, studied 260 family budgets and found an average expenditure of \$32.30. Previous studies in Washington of 692 white families disclosed an average expenditure of \$43.59 for medical service. It appears, therefore, as a safe estimate from these figures that from \$35.00 to \$45.00 is the average expenditure for a wage-earning family of fair income. Figures were compiled for 211 families in the City of Columbus, showing the different items of the expense. These families had an average expenditure for physicians, surgeons and specialists of \$24.99; for medicines \$6.82; for nursing, \$4.90; for hospital \$3.68; for eye glasses \$2.02; and for dentistry \$6.00.

As would be expected, the figures show that the outlay for medical care increases with income. The study of the Bureau of Municipal Research in Philadelphia found an average expense of only \$16.77 per family in the lower income groups and \$44.91 in the higher income groups. The Washington study of the Bureau of Labor Statistics gave data on the relationship of income to medical outlay. The figures show for white families an expenditure of \$12.83 in the income group under \$600; \$25.52 in the income group of \$600 to \$900; \$42.31 in the income group of \$900 to \$1,200; \$43.16 in the income group of \$1,200 to \$1,500; \$59.57 in the income group of \$1,500 and over. The colored families showed cost respectively for the groups: \$10.00 in the income group under \$600; \$16.20 in the income group of \$600 to \$900; \$32.84 in the income group of \$900 to \$2,100; \$28.95 in the income group of \$1,200 to \$1,500; \$35.21 in the income group of \$1,500 and over. It appears from these figures that the income group of \$900 to \$1,200 is reached before the average cost of medical care is found.

The studies of the United States Children's Bureau of infant mortality in a number of industrial towns, discloses a marked increase in infant mortality with the decrease in income, which plainly points to a lack of medical care. The average cost of sickness, however, is no better criterion to the need of health insurance than the average loss of nine days time. If each family of normal income spent \$40.00 only, it would not be a serious burden requiring special attention. It is important to show the way in which this burden is distributed.

The figures compiled by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics for Cleveland, Lorain and Toledo, covering 508 families, show that 3 had no expenditure; 105 had less than \$10.00; 90 had \$10.00 to \$29.00; 115 had \$30.00 to \$49.00; 57 had \$50.00 to \$69.00; 22 had \$70.00 to \$89.00; 21 had \$90.00 to \$125.00; 18 had \$125.00 to \$199.00; 6 had \$250.00 to \$300.00; 6 had over \$300.00.

The question before us then is not whether the average family can meet the average expenses of medical costs, but rather the question whether the family which has sickness can meet the cost of the particular burden of sickness which happens to fall upon them. As stated by Drs. Davis and Warner in their book on "Dispensaries" it is not a question of ability to pay a medical fee, but the ability to pay *the* medical fee required in their particular case. The family receiving a wage of \$900 to \$1,200, which has a medical expense of \$200 or more (and it will be observed in the compilation that 4.9 per cent of all the families studied had such abnormal expense)—is seriously handicapped by this burden, and particularly if it happens to be due to the sickness of the chief wage earner whose loss of wages must be added to the expense incurred.

The resulting situation from the severity of medical costs and wage loss is the failure of *some* families to receive any medical attention and of *many* families to receive adequate medical attention. The result is that very few families have precautionary medical service. Few incur the expense of preventive treatment, rather taking the chance that they may escape serious sickness.

Another result which common observation verifies is that workers return to their employment long before they are physically fit to resume their duties. Complete restoration to working power is made quite impossible under such circumstances.

We have now reached the question—how may health insurance affect this situation? How can it bring about adequate medical care, using the term "medical" in the broad sense? It will be necessary to describe briefly the plan of organization of health insurance. Stated in brief terms, health insurance merely provides for the creation of a fund by collections from employers and employees and a possible contribution from the state from which fund a part of the wages of a worker is paid after a brief waiting period and medical care is provided from the first moment of disability, which would include, of course, treatment at any time that the worker believes he needs it. Specifically, it is proposed to organize health insurance with two types of carriers—establishment funds, which include the workers of single establishments or of approved groups of establishments, and public funds, which would include all workers in a given area who are not members of an establishment fund. Each of the funds is to be mutually managed with representation of employers and employees and runs its own business, subject only to the standards fixed by the law or by the state commission and to the supervision of the state commission. Each fund makes its own agreement with the physicians, hospitals, nurses, dentists and druggists for medical treatment and supplies, subject to the standards fixed by the state commission through agreement with the practitioners or otherwise, as may be provided, the details of which do not concern this particular paper.

The members of a fund are entitled to free treatment from the fund to the maintenance of which they have already contributed. They may go to the doctor's office or to organized dispensaries or hospitals, which are under arrangements to give medical aid for the particular fund to which they belong. They are entitled to visiting nurse care and there should be nothing to prevent a fund, if it so desires, to supply home nurses in case of serious illness. The worker is entitled to home visits from the doctor as often as may be reasonably necessary and he may go to the hospital for medical or surgical treatment or to sanatoriums in case of tuberculosis for as long a time as may be necessary for treatment if facilities are available. He is entitled to surgical service of a minimum standard of excellence and there is nothing to prevent a fund from providing more than the minimum. He is entitled to consultation of specialists in diagnosis and the services of a specialist in treatment if needed. In addition, he is entitled to all of the therapeutic appliances which may assist his cure or which may restore and rehabilitate him. These things he is entitled to because he has paid for them, either directly from his own contributions or the contributions in his behalf from his employer. He does not need to consider the cost before consulting a physician. The management of funds which have business sense will encourage frequent consultations and will encourage regular physical examinations for the purpose of preventing incipient diseases from developing into serious burdens upon the funds. Whenever consultation or examination shows that treatment is needed, the worker need not worry that his family will starve during his absence from work. Part of his wages will stand between them and need during the necessary treatment. Will the worker avail himself of such opportunities? Certainly, most of them will. It would be a rare commentary upon the intelligence of the average working man to suggest that he would not take advantage of such a co-operative system designed to save his life or maintain his health. These opportunities for medical care apply to the dependent members of his family.

It may be said off-hand that it is impossible to give the benefits herein

described. Conjuring up the possibility that every one may be so sick as to require all of the services mentioned, we might readily come to the conclusion that such benefits could not be provided. But not all people are sick in any year—only 20 per cent have a disabling sickness lasting more than seven days, and the great bulk of these are sick for less than thirty days.

The average cost of medical care is not great for the bulk of people who are sick. It is only when medical care extends over long periods that it becomes a serious burden. The insurance principle here comes into play. We know what the average cost will be approximately, and, therefore, we know what the total will be. We do not know which ones are going to be sick and need the medical care. Those who are sick may be provided medical care to the utmost reasonable limit without any danger to the safety of the insurance system. It is a calculable cost. Even now we know fairly well what it will cost. Experience of a few months will give us all the data we need to have for a scientific basis.

The plan is not a new one in this country. There is a great and growing body of experience as to costs and as to organization of health insurance. We know with some accuracy the costs of hospital service and of dispensary service. We know what industrial medical service costs on the average. There are numerous instances of establishment funds and mutual benefit funds which are already giving to a large degree the kind of service which would be given under a health insurance system. There are a number of industries which provide complete medical care for their men, including hospital treatment, home visits by physicians, dispensary care, free medicines, dental care and a cash benefit. There are some funds also which provide such care not only for the worker but also for his family. The experience of such institutions as the Mutual Benefit Fund of the Milwaukee Street Railway and Light Company throw much light upon a possible plan of organization under health insurance. Such plans would be merely incorporated into a health insurance scheme. They would continue doing what they are now doing, enlarging their benefits, perhaps to meet the minimum standard requirements which the law or the commission might establish. Establishment funds and industrial medicine have pointed the way to the organization of group handling of the sickness problem.

The next question to consider is—what will be the effect of this system upon the development of medical service? It is not my purpose to discuss here the details of the arrangement for services, but rather to suggest possible ways in which the medical profession would be grouped for the new type of practice.

The full development of health insurance means coordination and co-operation of medical practitioners working under the plan. If it is organized with care and with a vision of what medical service ought to give to the health of the workers, there will be a possibility of attaining what far-sighted medical statesmen have sought, namely, the group practice of medicine.

Any one who has observed the growth of medicine and the differentiation of the specialties must realize that there is a considerable degree of medical chaos at this time. The general practitioner is passing away. One-man practice will soon be a thing of the past, except in remote regions. Specialization is developing to such an extent as to make it quite impossible for men of average means to get a proper diagnosis, let alone pay for the cost of treatment. The medical profession have been quick to recognize the resulting situation, and there is a tendency to coordinate the general practitioner, the specialists, dispensaries and hospitals into a unitary system, wherein all might have the advantages of equipment and service for the purpose of giving complete diagnosis and adequate treatment to afflicted people. The pooling of offices and equipment, the consultations and group diagnosis are taking the place of the old individualistic practice.

The proper organization of medical services under health insurance should advance this movement. The great body of men and women in modest circumstances who have heretofore been unable to purchase specialist care, will, under health insurance, have the opportunity to get such care, because their regular payments into the insurance fund have entitled them to it. The medical practitioners of all types, finding it no longer necessary to treat large numbers of charity patients and recoup themselves from the rich, will have a steady business at reasonable fees, while still retaining their opportunity to sell their services to wealthy people on such terms as they see fit.

The opportunity is offered in the insurance funds to experiment with medical organization under the supervision of the state commission and subject always to the requirement that certain minimum standards must be maintained. No doubt we shall see many innovations if the organization and experiments are carried out with the object in view of seeing what type of medical organization can be most efficient in preventing and treating disease and in promoting health. There can be no doubt that the medical profession will profit economically and professionally.

Whether health insurance comes or not, there is bound to be marked changes in the system of medical practice. If group organization fails, the alternative is state medicine. There are ample signs of this alternative. Step by step free medicine has been encroaching upon medical practice. Hospitals, dispensaries, clinics, school hygiene, industrial medicine and public health work are all encroaching upon the field of the physician. A smaller and smaller proportion of the aggregate of medical service is being given on the old basis. Probably half the medical care in the leading cities of this country is now provided outside of the private practice of physicians. Those who oppose health insurance covertly seek to advance state medicine hoping that it may forestall the institution of health insurance carrying funeral benefits. Either state medicine or group practice under health insurance would in all probability give to the working people of this country and their families adequate medical treatment. Personally, I think the better plan and the one most likely to receive the cooperation of the doctors when they fully understand the implications of both schemes will be the group organization of medical service under health insurance.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

The Chair called on *Dr. Royal Meeker* of Washington from whose studies the figures for both papers had been taken, and who was present in the audience. Dr. Meeker emphasized that \$50 was not enough for medical services in the typical American family. This was partially proved by the fact that expenditure increased with income, showing that medical care is totally inadequate for the lower income groups. He stated that in the average workingman's family, the doctor was called too late to do anything but make out the death certificate, and even that he rarely did correctly. The average of \$40 a year shows expenditure, not need. This does not necessarily mean that the families did not get the care they needed, as the many free medical services, hospital, visiting nurses, etc., cloud the issue and make it hard to compute.

Asked whether any statistics had been compiled to show the relation of age to amount of sickness, Dr. Meeker said that the figures compiled by his studies did not, but *Mr. Alexander Fleisher* of New York later stated that the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company had such figures which would be sent on request. Dr. Meeker stated that he had just received sickness statistics from a sick benefit fund in New York, covering over 40,000 cases for five years, from which valuable figures would be available.

The question was raised whether there were any statistics to show the proportion of nursing done by the home, and that done by trained nurses. To this Mr. Weber replied that there were some figures in a study of Dutchess County, N. Y., available from the State Charities Aid Association.

The Chair called upon *Dr. E. H. Lewinski-Corwin* of New York, who expressed himself as thoroughly in favor of health insurance, believing that under proper management its good features would outweigh the bad, he stated that too little attention has been given in the discussions to the administrative problems of Health Insurance, particularly those relating to the medical benefits under the proposed health law, and that one reason why physicians had not been more in favor of health insurance was because

they had grave doubts about how good medical care the average person would get under such insurance. He was convinced that it would cost a great deal of money, and since none of the bills so far have adequately provided for group or institutional practice, it would result in increased private office practice to the detriment of medical education and research, and the breakdown of even such group practice as exists in dispensaries today.

Miss Annie Florence Brown of Oakland, Calif., said that the bill had caused opposition there from employers and from doctors, the latter because they felt it would result in a loss of dignity to the medical profession, and she asked if that was the trouble in the East. Dr. Winslow replied that it was.*

Replying to Dr. Corwin's statement that it would cost a great deal of money, Dr. Meeker stated that health insurance would surely not increase the incidence of sickness, and that *somebody* was paying for it now. Insurance would simply distribute the load. To this Dr. Corwin replied that much of the expense was now carried by the rich who endow and support the free hospitals, visiting nurse associations, etc., and by the doctors who give free service. Insurance would place the burden on the working man instead.

In closing the discussion, Mr. Fleisher stated that the sickness surveys of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company showed higher sickness rates among women of the child bearing age than among men of the same ages, but in other age groups more among men. This has also been the experience of German and English societies. It was also their experience that there was more nursing service available for the very poor than for those of moderate means.

HOSPITAL WORK IN RELATION TO PUBLIC HEALTH

Mary Antoinette Cannon, Social Service Department, University of Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia

In its relation to preventive medicine, social work in the hospital is like sanitary engineering or physiological chemistry, in that it is a branch of a profession with a technique of its own, being practiced in the field of health. The tools of engineering, of the sciences, and of practical sociology are used to further the purpose of medicine, and at the same time medicine furnishes both instruments and material for research and practice in these allied fields.

Probably no two fields are more closely related than those of medicine and social work. For the physical life and the social life of man are not separate but so interrelated that it is impossible to deal with the one without touching the other. Physical and social conditions are often related directly as cause and effect, as for instance in the case of city sanitation and contagious disease, permanent bodily handicap and productive power, income and state of nourishment. Much emphasis is being laid just now upon the vicious circle of poverty and sickness, and the possibility of breaking in upon it by means of health insurance. Many such vicious circles are found when we try to reach the root of human difficulties, a bad social situation causing a bad physical condition, which in turn makes the social situation worse. It is the business of the social worker in the hospital to understand both factors, and to deal with either or both of them in such a way as to reverse the circle. The hopeful thing about a vicious circle is that when reversed it becomes a beneficent circle. Improved physical health increases earning power, better income raises the standard of living, and so all the way round the circle of health, work and independence.

The first task of the hospital social worker is then to understand the factors involved in any given case and to make a social diagnosis. As yet the social worker labors under the disadvantage of having no vocabulary comparable to the vocabulary of medical diagnosis so that a complex condition cannot be named but must be described in terms of symptoms and their causes. This is a necessary stage in the development of a method. A terminology must grow gradually. Medical diagnosis must be considered as one of the factors in the social condition to be diagnosed.

*Notes uncorrected by speakers.

We may classify the symptoms and underlying factors in social cases in some such way as the following, considering always their relation to or coexistence with health conditions:

1. Symptoms.

- (a) Material need or dependency.
- (b) Anti-social conduct.
- (c) Maladjustment of social relationships (also in No. 2).
- (d) Physical handicap.
- (e) Abnormal family (premature death) (also in No. 2).
- (f) Bad physical hygiene. { Habits.
- (g) Bad mental hygiene. }
- (h) Bad social hygiene (contagion).

2. Secondary factors.

- (a) Physical defects.
- (b) Mental defects.
- (c) Faults of character.
- (d) Disease.
- (e) Bad education.
- (f) Small income.
- (g) Sanitary conditions of home.
- (h) Sanitary conditions of industry.
- (i) Sanitary conditions of community.

3. Fundamental (primary) factors.

- (a) Heredity.
- (b) Environment.
 - 1. Economic system.
 - 2. Government.
 - 3. Tradition.
 - 4. Bacteria and parasites (representing conflict of genera).

After diagnosis, the next task of the social worker is social treatment. Treatment is of several kinds, and may be given directly through personal service, teaching, etc., or secured through some other source, such as institutions, special schools, interested friends, community organizations. Thus far much social work has been done through the treatment which alleviates symptoms only. More and more emphasis is being placed upon radical measures which reach the cause of the trouble and work to prevent its recurrence or spread.

Treatment may be briefly outlined to answer to the diagnosis outline given above.

1. Treatment by alleviation of symptoms.

- (a) Material relief.
- (b) Restraint (re-education more radical).
- (c) Adjustment.
- (d) Appliance (education).
- (e) No cure, relief of material need.
- (f) (Education) medical treatment.
- (g) (Education) psychiatric treatment.
- (h) (Education) restraint, medical treatment.

2. More radical.

- Education.
- Improvement of sanitary conditions.
- Medical treatment.
- Health insurance.

3. Preventive.

Eugenics.

Political and industrial economy, preventive medicine.

Religion.

A physician once asked me what results for the improvement of human conditions social work could show, and how it justified its existence except as a means by which a certain group of people earned a living. I am always at loss to answer such a question, for in truth the results one can point to seem small in proportion to the labor spent and almost negligible in comparison to the great need of better adjustment.

Nevertheless I go back in thought to the growth of other and older professions—to the medical profession, for example, and think what it has done for suffering mankind from the days of the driving out of demons, through the leeching and blood-letting period, and the hospitals of the pre-aseptic age, and I sometimes wonder if it be not a fair question to ask whether this great profession of medicine has on the whole done more harm or good to man, judging in terms of the results to individual patients. Yet who can doubt that through all the trials and errors of its experience it has been constantly adding to the sum of human knowledge, and therefore has been of essential, incalculable value in making life worth while. And may we not hope that social work may likewise through patient study of many cases build up a body of knowledge that may also contribute to the welfare of mankind?

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Among others who participated in the informal discussion were: Joseph J. Weber, New York; Miss Harriet E. Thomas, Newport, R. I.;

INFANT MORTALITY AS AN ECONOMIC PROBLEM

*Anna Rochester, Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of
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Year by year in the United States nearly a quarter of a million babies die under one year of age. Physicians tell us that at least half of these might be saved by the application of the known principles of hygiene and care. The fundamental means are everywhere the same, but everywhere the problem of making trained care and instruction for mothers universally available and desired meets the other problem of poverty.

This paper will discuss only certain aspects of poverty and infant mortality in cities. This most emphatically does not mean that infant mortality is merely a city problem, nor that poverty plays no part in the great number of preventable infant deaths in rural homes. We know that many country babies are now sacrificed to the family's inability to purchase for the mother the rest and care and trained advice and supervision which are essential to her own safety in childbirth and the safety and vigor of her children.

Children's Bureau Studies

The Children's Bureau has studied in detail some 23,000 city births. You are doubtless familiar with the general method of the study, but two points are especially important as offering a sound basis for our discussion of infant mortality and poverty. The studies are absolutely democratic. So far as possible, in each of the eight cities visited the mother of every child born within a given period has been interviewed. Families known to have left a

city are omitted, and in the tabulations illegitimate births are considered separately. Other exceptions and omissions are due in almost every case to changes of address and inability to locate the family after persistent search.

As a result—and this is the second important point—our tabulations are based on detailed information about babies who lived and babies who died. The deaths can be measured in each earnings group, therefore, against the total number of live births in the group, or the total number fed, etc.

This table of infant mortality rates sums up the story. The figures at the right show for each earnings group the number of deaths under one year of age per 1,000 live births in the group. Translated into simple fractions, this means that in families where the father earned less than \$450, approximately one baby in six died within the year; where the father earned \$1,250 or more, about one baby in seventeen died. You will perhaps note that these figures are based on findings for seven cities. The first study, in Johnstown, Pa., showed identical contrasts, but because of a slight difference in technique between that study and the later studies the Johnstown figures could not be combined with the others.

Fathers' earnings	Infant mortality rate ¹
Under \$ 450	116.9
\$ 450— 549	125.6
550— 649	116.6
650— 849	107.5
850— 1,049	82.8
1,050— 1,249	64.0
1,250 and over	59.1

The very great importance of the rapid rise in the infant mortality rate as the scale of earnings descends is emphasized by the large percentage of fathers found in the lowest paid groups. Fourteen per cent earned less than \$450 and thirteen per cent between \$450 and \$550. More than one-fourth, therefore, of all the births were in families where, if the natural breadwinner was the sole support, the family must make shift to live on less than \$11 a week.

It is true that these figures were gathered from 1914 to 1916, and that cash wages have generally increased in the interval. But I do not need to remind you that the higher wages have trailed a rapid increase in the cost of living, averaging for cities in the United States seventy-five per cent since December, 1914. So careful an authority as Professor William F. Ogburn in December, 1918, assembled, you remember, the available data on wages and cost of living. He estimated that the minimum living standard represented in 1914 in New York by an outlay of between \$800 and \$900 a year could not be maintained in that city in December, 1918, for less than \$1,500 a year. He gave wage increases, in terms of real wages in which cash increase and increased cost of living have been balanced against one another, for certain occupations. The net result showed slight increases in real wages in six manufacturing industries and a large increase in the iron and steel industry; a decrease in the building trades and the printing trades; and no change in real wages in certain other occupations.

Unfortunately, we have no basis for exact comparison with our data. But it seems a conservative statement that unless the fathers who were earning \$850 a year are now earning considerably more than \$1,250, and the fathers who were earning \$1,250 are now earning considerably more than \$1,850, the family standard of living has been materially reduced. And we have no reason to believe that while certain figures have been raised, the general distribution of earnings above and below a subsistence level has materially changed.

¹Based on Children's Bureau studies in seven cities.

Infant Mortality in Native White Families in Baltimore

The latest infant mortality study—for which one set of tabulations has recently been completed—was made in Baltimore. In this study we have for the first time large enough numbers to permit a separate analysis of rates and fathers' earnings for each important race and nationality. By turning to the findings for the 3,739 live born babies of native white mothers in Baltimore, we can eliminate possible variations due to differences in national tradition or racial vigor.

We learn then, that the contrasts in the various earnings groups are not softened by omitting the colored babies and the babies of foreign-born white mothers. Among the 449 babies in native white families whose fathers earned less than \$450 the rate is practically identical with the rate for all babies in this lowest earnings group in the seven cities combined; 165 per 1,000, or approximately one death among every six babies born.

In the Baltimore study, for the first time also, the number of births in a single city is large enough to permit subdivision of the earnings groups above \$1,250. This reveals an interesting break in the downward curve of rates, at the point perhaps where the family income was too low to cover the cost in private practice of adequate medical advice and nursing care, but too high for the mothers to seek a free clinic or infant welfare center, or to be brought to the notice of the visiting nurse by a charitable agency. When the tabulation of the care received by the mothers in Baltimore is completed, we shall know definitely how the mothers in this earnings group between \$1,250 and \$1,850 compared with those in the groups above and below.

At \$1,850 the curve drops sharply again to a point considerably lower than the average rate for the undivided earnings group \$1,250 and over, in the seven cities. The 177 babies whose fathers earned at least \$2,850 had the lowest rate of all: 34 per 1,000, or about 1 death among every 29 babies born.

I want to refer very briefly to three points that stand out as we analyze the facts about the several earnings groups. What follows refers still to the babies of native white mothers in Baltimore.

It is not only the rate from gastro-intestinal disorders which varies with the family's economic status. It is true that these deaths show the greatest variations, rising to 51 and 53 per 1,000 births in the two groups below \$550, and falling to 9 per 1,000 where the fathers earned \$1,050 to \$1,249, falling still lower to 6 per 1,000 where the fathers earned as much as \$1,850. But please note the fall in the curve for the so-called diseases of early infancy—prematurity, congenital debility and injuries at birth. Together, these lead to more infant deaths than any other group of causes. They are directly related to the physical condition of the mother during pregnancy and the care, or lack of care, she received during pregnancy and at confinement. This rate, also rises to an excessively high point—62 per 1,000—in the poorest homes, and touches the lowest points—25 to 22 per 1,000—in families with more than the average income.

Feeding

The next table which relates infant mortality to earnings and the type of feeding, needs but a word of explanation. Since this is not a section in a government report, but a brief discussion thrust upon a long-suffering audience, I spare you the details of the statistical method by which these death rates per 1,000 infants fed have been computed from the monthly death rates among the shifting groups of babies breast fed and babies artificially fed during each month of life. The group of artificially fed babies increases month by month, and during each month after the first includes a

certain growing percentage who have had breast milk only or breast milk and other food besides for a month or more before being shifted to the artificially fed group. The cause of death among certain of the artificially fed babies may, in some instances, therefore, be related to a condition arising before the baby was weaned. But the fact remains that the rates for artificially fed babies are based on babies receiving no breast milk at the time of death and usually for some time before death, and the rates for breast fed babies are based on babies receiving breast milk and nothing else.

Father's earnings	Computed death rate per 1,000 fed babies	
	Breast fed babies	Artificially fed babies
Under \$ 550	41.8	288.6
550— 849	39.6	178.3
850— 1,249	20.2	108.8
1,250— 1,849	29.2	104.2
1,850 and over	15.6	26.0

However, the reason for giving these rates today is not to emphasize the importance of breast-feeding, but to illustrate that while the artificially fed baby meets an excessive hazard in a poor home, the hazard to the breast fed baby also varies with the family's economic status. Note again the slight break in the downward line of rates in the group where fathers earned from \$1,250 to \$1,849. But note also that the rates for breast fed babies in the earnings groups below \$850 are definitely higher than the rate in any earnings group above that point. And the rates in these low earnings groups—42 and 40 per 1,000 fed—are more than twice as high as the rate—16 per 1,000 fed—among breast fed babies whose fathers earned \$1,850 or more.

Working Mothers

It is difficult to disentangle the harmful effects of the bad living conditions in the poorest homes, and the effects of the mother's employment during pregnancy and in the first year after her baby's birth. For the rapid increase in the percentage of the mothers employed as the scale of fathers' earnings descends had been clearly demonstrated, but the extent to which the mothers' work contributed to the high infant mortality rates in the lower earnings group could not be measured. It has been doubtful, too, whether in the poorest homes the disadvantages of the mother's employment were not balanced by her addition to the family income. The Baltimore study, with its larger numbers, throws some new light on this subject.

More mothers worked at home than away. Their chief occupations were, among the white mothers, keeping lodgers and helping in the husband's business; and among the colored mothers, laundering. The total number reporting sewing for a factory or other home work in connection with an industrial plant was too small to offer basis for judgment as to the effect of "home work" in this technical sense. These home occupations did not greatly interfere with breast feeding, and except that the colored mothers working at home showed a much higher stillbirth rate than the colored mothers not gainfully employed, the infant mortality and stillbirth rates are in each group either approximately those which would be expected on the basis of the father's earnings, or somewhat lower.

It is quite otherwise with the mothers who worked away from home. After due allowance is made for variations in race, nativity and fathers' earnings, we find a higher stillbirth rate, a higher infant mortality rate from diseases of early infancy, and a higher infant mortality rate from all other causes combined among the babies of mothers employed away from home during pregnancy than among the babies of mothers not employed and the babies of mothers employed at home. Employment away during the baby's

lifetime and within a year after the baby's birth increases artificial feeding, and to that extent directly increases the hazard to the baby. But all artificially fed babies in these lower earnings groups seem to meet about the same hazard whether the mother stays at home or goes out to work. The rate in either case is high. And just as we find the highest rates of subsequent deaths among the babies weaned during the first three months, so the death rate is highest in each race and nativity group among the babies of mothers who resume their work in the earliest months.

We can not judge whether the harmful effects of a mother's employment away during pregnancy and the normal nursing period disappear with an income well above the borderline of poverty and with working conditions involving no excessive strain to the mother. In Baltimore, 431 of the 10,797 babies were born in homes where the father earned so much as a modest \$1,850. Only 5 of these 431 mothers worked away from home during pregnancy and 34 worked at home. Even if we could assume that their working conditions were exceptionally favorable, we could not base any conclusions on findings for so small a group.

Other Hazards of Poverty

To these specific hazards of poverty we might add others, such as bad housing and room congestion, and the excessive physical strain to the mother, involved in undernourishment and overwork. Or we might stress the absence of sound advice and trained care. Perhaps Dr. Levy will tell us that the mother's ignorance is the real menace, and no one would deny that this is an important factor.

But still we come back to the economic root of the trouble. The prosperous mother can safeguard her child from her own ignorance. The poor mother who knows what she and her children need must overcome fearful handicaps. And the further the husband's earnings fall below the cost of decent living, the heavier is the burden laid upon the woman who knows that for the sake of her child she should have abundance of good food, plenty of rest, and absolute freedom from anxiety, throughout her pregnancy and the nursing period. And the more intelligent the family, the less readily will they accept such special subsidies of milk, or what not, as we are tempted to offer to supplement an obviously insufficient wage.

This mountain of a problem must be cut way from both sides. And while we speed every effort to make universally available and desired the best that modern preventive medicine has to offer, through the extension of such activities as public health nursing, maternity centers, infant welfare centers, and little mothers' leagues, let us remember that the fathers' earnings must be raised to the subsistence level, and above that to the comfort level.

Do you remember the Red Queen's reply to Alice? "Here, you see, it takes all the running *you* can do to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that!" May I remind you again how very poor the "same place" was before the war? Low wages and irregular employment are shown in our Baltimore data to be jointly responsible for the fact that 64 per cent of the fathers earned less than \$850. More than one-half of these were unemployed at some time during the year. But please note that on the other hand 52 per cent of the fathers who worked the entire year earned less than \$850 and 15 per cent earned less than \$550. And even of these fathers who worked the entire year less than 20 per cent earned as much as \$1,250.

Professor Ogburn said, in the article to which I have referred, that figures for 12 cities indicated that the union wage rates in the building trades had increased from 1914 to 1918 less than the cost of living. He does not state whether Baltimore was one of the cities and his comparison goes back

to a period earlier than that to which our Baltimore data apply. Still it is worth noting that in 1916, 816 fathers of babies studied by the Children's Bureau were reported as skilled mechanics in building trades. And more than three-fifths of these 816 fathers earned less than \$850 during the year after the birth of a child in 1915. This was before building was stopped for the war, and is a bit disturbing to one's comfortable assurance that at least the organized skilled trades are not underpaid.

Just suppose for a moment that all the babies born to native white mothers in Baltimore had been subject, not to the excessive hazards of poverty, but to the lesser hazards awaiting the babies of native white mothers in homes where the fathers earned at least \$1,850 a year! Their death rate would have been cut to less than half—from 96 per 1,000 to 38 per 1,000—and in this group of native white stock, the lives of 388 out of the 646 babies who died would have been saved.

THE REDUCTION OF INFANT MORTALITY BY ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT AND BY HEALTH EDUCATION

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Infant mortality is the resultant of various anti-social forces, most of which can be grouped under ignorance and economic and social conditions that interfere with maternal nursing. Syphilis, which is the cause of about 25 per cent of the still-births, and continues its destructive influences into the first years of life, maiming where it does not kill, can properly, for our purpose, be grouped under ignorance, as only through a better understanding, a greater mental and moral development, will it be eliminated. Certain diseases might appear to some to be entirely outside of this classification, but in most instances the names of the diseases placed on the death certificate are far from giving the true causes of deaths in infancy. Diseases like congenital debility, immaturity, prematurity, accidents at birth and convulsions—which are given as the cause of death in about 75 per cent of the instances in the first month of life—are but the obvious results of syphilis, alcoholism, overwork, undernourishment of mothers during pregnancy, poor obstetrics or insufficient and improper care after birth. Likewise marasmus, malnutrition, summer diarrhea, gastro-enteritis, bronchitis, pneumonia, measles and whooping-cough, which appear on the death certificates to explain the large number of deaths in the first year of life, represent, in most instances, merely the terminal condition, the condition *with which* the child died, not that *from which* it died. The true cause goes back to the prenatal conditions like overwork, excessive fatigue, syphilis and the like, or to the obstetrical service, or lack of service given at the time of birth, or to improper care and advice given in the early weeks and months of life which resulted in unnecessary weaning, frequent gastrointestinal disturbances and, finally, malnutrition. On such soil infection finds a fertile field and the child then is said to have died from bronchitis, pneumonia, measles or whooping-cough, when the real preventable cause is overlooked or forgotten.

Among the social and economic conditions affecting infant mortality I would not give a very important place to poverty; indeed, I cannot believe that low income bears any very constant or causal relation to high infant mortality. It is worth noticing that, though in previous reports of the Federal Children's Bureau income seemed to bear a very direct relationship to infant mortality, in the later study of Brockton the investigator seemed very

much at a loss to explain the low mortality in the group with the lowest income, averaging about \$650 a year, because low income was supposed to be very directly associated with high mortality.

Attention was directed a number of years ago by Sir Arthur Newsholme to the fact that poverty should not be held as one of the principal causes of infant mortality, as he was then impressed by the much lower infant mortality rates observed among large Italian families even though they were living in the same houses with smaller English families with larger incomes and higher social standards.*

I wish to hasten to add that I am not opposed to high income for myself or any one else and that I sympathize with the efforts to increase wage standards, but my studies in infant mortality have led me to believe that other factors are more essential and bear a more direct relationship and that the handicap of meager income, no matter how much it may interfere with the development of the family as a whole, need not and does not effect the infant if certain conditions essential to its well being are obtained, the most important one of which is maternal nursing and mothering; and on the other hand that conditions which interfere with maternal nursing are but slightly compensated for by higher incomes.

While facts to substantiate this view can be obtained from various sources, I wish to present an intimate study of two wards in the City of Newark which seem to me to present convincing evidence that at least our babies do not depend for their happiness on money.

Ward 1 and Ward 8 are adjoining wards. Ward 1 has a population of approximately 27,000 with an area which would give about 162 persons per acre, and Ward 8 has a population of approximately 24,000 with an area which would give about 19 persons per acre. Ward 1 is a thickly populated tenement house district where mothers have large families and irregular small family incomes. Ward 8 is our finest residential section, where the mothers have small families, large incomes, and are busy directing the social and intellectual activities of the community.

You will receive, perhaps, a clearer idea of the contrast of these two wards in reference to income if I tell you that in Ward 1 28% of the families live in houses containing 12 or more families, 42% live in apartments with two rooms, that among 31% of the families there are 2 persons per room, among 19% of the families 3 persons per room, among 4% 4 persons per room, and 1% of the families have as many as 5 persons per room; the average family income in 1915 was approximately \$421 per family.

From a financial standpoint Ward 8 is the very opposite in every particular, and if infant mortality bears a direct relationship to income, Ward 8 should have about one-tenth the infant mortality rate of Ward 1.

In Ward 8 the houses are detached, most of the families own their private homes, and instead of 3 or 4 or 5 persons per room we are very apt to find 3 or 4 or 5 rooms per person. Indeed, in parts of the ward restrictions placed upon the deeds of sale permit only the erection of private homes costing not less than \$30,000.

Now, where do we find the lowest infant mortality rate?

The figures I am presenting are taken from a three-year period (1915, 1916 and 1917), so as to eliminate any error that might result from the special incidence of epidemics or from the use of small figures.

During this three-year period there were born in Ward 1, 3,517 babies, and there were 294 deaths under one year, giving an infant mortality rate of 83.5; in Ward 8, 1,805 babies were born, and there were 158 deaths under one year, giving an infant mortality rate of 87.5.

It does seem after all, and we may glory in the fact, that the health

*It has been said that Sir Arthur has since revised his opinion.

and happiness of our babies cannot be bought with dollars, but only with true mothering service—and of this our poor and specially our foreign-born poor often have a greater reserve than our rich and native-born mothers. It is worth while to remember this in our zeal for Americanization.

I should add there was one factor present in Ward 1 that contributed somewhat to the result, but if income were such a determining factor it should easily have been offset by the ability of the wealthy to buy what they want. In Ward 1 the Department of Health had carried on an intensive infant hygiene campaign for the past five years which has consisted primarily of teaching mothers the value and technique of maternal nursing and of insisting that maternal nursing should be made possible for each mother and baby.

This often required economic adjustment in families where the husband's income was inadequate, where the wife thought she should work in a factory, where the husband deserted or was sick or unemployed. We held the view that the nursing of an infant under six months of age was an inalienable right for both mother and infant, and that society, as represented by its social agencies, must make it possible for every baby's mother and for every mother's baby.

I am glad to say that the agencies of Newark have accepted this view and, as far as lies in their power, do not permit a baby under six months of age to be deprived of its mother's care and feeding for financial reasons.

While income does not bear a direct relationship to infant mortality, I am willing to admit that one of the most constant factors associated with high infant mortality—the employment of women in industry—may be the result of low income, but it is very important in the infant mortality problem clearly to distinguish between coincidence and direct relationship.

I shall illustrate this association first by referring to the infant mortality rates among the colored.

The infant mortality rate among the colored is two or three times as high as that of the whites in all parts of the United States. Indeed, no city with a colored population of more than 10% of the total shows an infant mortality rate under 100. Now, when we come to analyze the percentage of colored women in gainful industry, particularly the percentage of women in the age group 25-34, and more particularly of those that are married, we find that there is a sharp drop among the white from the previous group of 19-24, while there is no reduction at all among the colored. Indeed, an examination of the census reports shows that the percentage of colored women in employment is practically very little affected by age or marital condition.

This same relationship is brought out in another way. When we come to study the United States by geographical regions we find that the highest infant mortality rates are in the southern and eastern sections of the United States, the lowest in the northern and western. In these two groups we find the same difference as to percentage of women in industry and particularly married women 25-34, as we do in the colored in the south; that is, in the New England section a very high percentage of women 25-34 are in industry, while in the west a very small percentage of women 25-34 are in industry. Now it will readily be understood that this is not so much a difference in income as a difference in character of industry.

In New England and also in the Atlantic division the industries are of that kind that can and do employ women, such as the textiles, silk, worsted, gloves, talking machines, food canning and needle trades; in the south tobacco and cotton raising, while in the west we have the heavy industries where women cannot be employed, such as foundries, lumber, mining, furniture making, locomotives. When we go further to analyze each geographical

division by states we again find the high infant mortality rates associated with the same fact.

It seems to me that the value of studying infant mortality by such large groupings is that we eliminate at once all minor variations, such as difference in milk supply, water supply, condition of streets, sanitation, etc., because we know that the good conditions cannot all be associated with one region and entirely absent in another region.

The important relationship of women in industry is even more strongly brought out when we study the cities, large or small, and even rural communities, with high infant mortality rates. Large cities will often have a low infant mortality rate, and small cities, like Gloversville in New York or Millville in New Jersey, will have a high infant mortality rate, because in the small city there will be found an industry, like the one in Gloversville, as can be gathered from the very name itself, where women can and are extensively employed. On the other hand, towns and cities in Pennsylvania may be without sewerage disposal or health supervision, with unsanitary streets and bad housing, and still have a low infant mortality rate. A western mining town will show an unusually low infant mortality rate and a highly socialized eastern city will show a high infant mortality rate.

Indeed, the relationship of women in industry to infant mortality is so constant that I have found it safe to estimate the infant mortality rate of a city by the character of its industry, and it is safe to anticipate a high infant mortality rate when we know that a community contains an industry which offers employment to unskilled female labor. With this view as one of the important causes of infant mortality, we are in a position also to understand a change after several years in the infant mortality rate in certain cities.

It will be found, for instance, that little communities on the eastern border of Pennsylvania have had an increase in infant mortality rates during the past five or ten years. A partial explanation will be found in the fact that during this period some of our silk industries of Passaic and Paterson, on account of labor difficulties, have moved into eastern Pennsylvania and brought with them greater prosperity for the towns of eastern Pennsylvania—and greater destruction of infant life.

The one thread running through all the mass of contradictory statistics on infant mortality will be found to be conditions, like industry, that interfere with maternal nursing and mothering.

In this paper I wish to ignore the effect of industry upon the woman herself before the birth of the baby and its relation to miscarriages, stillbirths and deaths in the first days and weeks and to emphasize only that it makes for a high infant mortality because it interferes with mothering and maternal nursing.

It is only fair to point out that other conditions and forces in a community might have the same effect, such as social agencies which try to solve family problems by offering employment to nursing mothers, day nurseries which tender heartedly offer to take care of young infants so that the mother may become self supporting, hospitals that accept young infants but refuse to take in their nursing mothers or are willing to treat and operate on nursing mothers but refuse to accept their nursing infants.

After we have accepted this view of the relation of income and various social and industrial and economic conditions to infant mortality it becomes obvious that only through that kind of public health education that develops and maintains maternal nursing effectively will infant mortality be reduced.

To sum up my views, therefore, on the first phase of the subject assigned to me, I would say that a considerable reduction can be effected in infant mortality by that form of economic adjustment which will guarantee to every baby its birthright of maternal nursing and mothering and

to every mother her maternal right and privilege to mother and nurse her own infant.

In discussing what can be accomplished by public health education in the reduction of infant mortality I am reminded of a definition of scientific training as given, I believe, by Matthew Arnold, who said, "Scientific training consisted of learning what to look for and where to look for it," and so I believe that public health education for the reduction of infant mortality to be effective must be directed to those things that really bear a very direct and pertinent relationship to infant mortality and must be so given that it can really effect these factors.

In speaking to workers in large cities I would give first place to the education of the midwife, because in large cities the midwife attends approximately 50% of all the births and as much as 80% of the births in certain foreign-born groups, and that among these groups the midwife is not only accoucheur but also family doctor and friendly advisor. What can be accomplished by supervision may be gathered from a summary of the results obtained in Newark during the past three years.

In 1917 the infant mortality rate, the death rate of babies who died under one month of age, and the puerperal death rate were lower among the babies and mothers cared for by midwives than those cared for by doctors or in hospitals. For the city as a whole the rate has been reduced. In 1910 the puerperal death rate was 6.4 or 1 in 150. In 1917, the puerperal death rate was 2.4 or 1 in 450.

I had occasion, two years ago, to present the American Association of Obstetricians and Gynecologists a complete study of the results obtained in Newark in midwifery practice in which we showed in detail that with proper training, supervision and regulation the results for the babies and mothers were as good as those obtained in general medical practice or hospital service. As a result of this public health education among midwives who reach each year over 5,000 mothers we feel we have added 100 teachers of infant hygiene to our staff, and that the policy of ignoring the midwife or denying her existence helps no one except the undertaker.

The education of the mother in the essentials of infant hygiene at a time when this knowledge can insure proper prenatal care, proper supervision for labor, and above all else, prevent unnecessary weaning or improper technique in maternal nursing, prevent cracked nipples and breast abscesses, is the most effective manner of reducing infant mortality and of increasing the health and vigor of the children who live.

This instruction should be given during the prenatal period if possible, but under no circumstances, I insist, later than two weeks after the birth of the baby, for it is to be remembered that if we wait until the mother brings the baby to a clinic, a consultation station or milk station the baby is usually three months of age, and more than one-half of the babies who ordinarily die in the first year of life are already dead. It is to be remembered that even at the end of the first month one-third have passed away.

The purpose of all our instruction must be to maintain maternal nursing. If this is accomplished the death rate is kept down and health and normal development maintained. If the number of breast-fed babies is reduced, no matter for what reason, the health index falls and the death rate goes up, even though experts on infant feeding or milk stations are able to salvage some of the wrecks.

In certain individual cases money can buy service, better physical environment, perhaps life, but generally speaking the mother is the baby's whole environment; and if we will in our social and industrial development guarantee to each baby its mother and to each mother her baby we may feel sure that we are treading the right road towards normal family life, where each mother will be permitted to develop spiritually and physically as nature

intended she should, with intimate contact with her baby, and where each baby will be kept totally and physically dependent upon its own mother as evolution has definitely shown it should, and each baby will be given its own natural food, its natural caretaker and its normal environment.

Public health education and economic adjustment that makes possible these normal minimum standards will reduce infant mortality.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

The Chair called on *Dr. Josephine Baker* of New York to open the discussion. Dr. Baker stated that she thought both Miss Rochester and Dr. Levy were right. She concurred heartily in Dr. Levy's statement that the baby's natural environment was its mother, and whatever affected that adversely affected the baby. In New York it has been found that the babies of the native born middle class have a higher death rate than those of foreign descent where more educational work is done. She spoke of the fact that during the reign of Louis XVI, French mothers on account of the scarcity of food were obliged to nurse their babies, and the death rate was lower than ever before. She reminded the audience that while animals were born with instinct to guide them, the human mother was possessed with intelligence which needed to be educated.

A number of questions were asked including the following: to what extent does prenatal work affect the mortality rate? Are not schools in mother craft needed for adult mothers as well as little girls? Could Dr. Levy corroborate the statement that infant mortality and poverty were not casually related? Would it not be wise in a system of mother's pensions where funds were limited to concentrate on mothers with babies under one year? Does it make much difference whether we subsidize industry or subsidize the mothers?

Mr. Douglas F. Falconer of Buffalo stated that most of the physicians he had come in contact with, and social workers, too, seemed to favor separating the illegitimate child and its mother within two weeks after birth, and he did not believe we would ever get our rates down until something was done about this. He referred to a book by Dr. Walker of Baltimore, called "Traffic in Babies."

Miss Alice Waldo of The Connecticut Children's Aid Society replied that Mr. Falconer was mistaken, that the attitude of practically all social agencies was in favor of keeping mother and child together as long as humanly possible, though the attitude of many physicians was as stated.

Dr. Kate Waller Barrett of the National Florence Crittenton Mission in Washington stated that the difficulty in getting mothers to keep their illegitimate babies was because so many commercial agencies and some philanthropic organizations offered an easier way out. Many child caring agencies also assist and believe it advantageous to separate mother and child, and use their influence for it.

Miss Cullen of Bridgeport urged that we advocate legislation to hold the presumptive father guilty till proved innocent, rather than the opposite, as at present.

Miss Charlotte Whitton of Toronto told of conditions in Ireland where the infant death rates are not as high as the economic conditions would indicate. Roscommon in Connaught had a rate of 35 only, while Bradford, England, one of the most advanced centers of child welfare, registered 135, in 1917. The acceptance of the natural maternal responsibilities was explanatory of the situation. There, great influence is exerted by the Church to develop mothers in good motherhood.

In closing her discussion, *Miss Rochester* protested against being quoted as saying that the economic was the only determining factor in infant mortality. The Children's Bureau has attacked the problem from many other angles. The Bureau's reports have never suggested subsidies to a family to supplement the father's inadequate earnings; the wage-scale itself should be raised. She stated that she never knew of mothers' pensions being given when fathers were living with their families and able to work. She said that one reason the study was made in Baltimore was because that city had had good visiting nurse and infant-welfare organizations. The Bureau hoped soon to have tabulations showing whether or not such work affected the death rates in the several groups within the Baltimore study.

Dr. Levy in closing denied having said that economic conditions had no relation to infant mortality. He did feel that they did not have an immediate, direct and constant relation. He felt that the constant factor was whether or not a baby had its mother's milk and mother, and economic factors were prejudicial only in so far as they interfered with that. Industry might or might not. This should give a basis for policies of day nurseries, hospitals, social agencies, etc. The fact that the educational campaign in the poor ward helped shows that the economic was not the determining factor, but ignorance associated with low income. Dr. Levy stated that he believed that the illegitimate death rate need be no higher than the rate for legitimate children, if mothers and babies were kept together.

Others who participated in this discussion were: Mrs. Haley, New York City; Mrs. C. W. Green, Columbia, Mo.; Mrs. Reeder, Philadelphia; R. E. Mills, Toronto; Miss Babbitt, Washington; Mrs. Gillann, Chicago; Mr. A. H. Burnett, Cincinnati; Mr. Wile, Rochester, and Miss Halsey, New York.

ECONOMIC PRESSURE AS A FACTOR IN VENEREAL DISEASE

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The topic assigned to me essentially is, or rather should be, a subject for statistical analysis. Unfortunately it is a subject on which there is no statistics. We are almost wholly lacking in data, even data as to the prevalence of venereal diseases among the civil population. Such reports as are available have not been adequately analyzed from the point of view of any of the factors that are conventionally considered with respect to disease incidence, such as race or nativity, age, occupation and marital condition. And, excepting the records of physical examinations of drafted men in our army, these reports cannot be analyzed from the point of view of any of the possible environmental conditions, including economic status. No attempt, so far as I am aware, has been made to utilize the records which form the exception noted except to obtain crude prevalence rates.

It will not be possible, therefore, for me to give to this discussion any new statistical facts. We are at the stage in the study of venereal diseases, and, let it be said, in the study of most other diseases as well, where we have some rather broad impressions based on individual observations, uncorrelatable records of scattered instances, and occasional statistics for small groups of individuals. A few of these impressions are so common to all observers that they may be accepted as generally true; others doubtless are seriously erroneous or entirely contrary to fact. Very rightly we have come to a realization of the terrific meaning, in terms of health and happiness, of venereal diseases, and are eager to do whatever can be done to abate them. Can it not be said with propriety at this time, therefore, that before embarking on large campaigns of what euphemistically and too optimistically are termed "control," "eradication" and "prevention" we must lay the foundation for most effective control in scientifically determined facts as to the prevalence and incidence of the diseases in relation to conditions of the individual and his environment? This, in justice not only to ourselves as scientific investigators and to those whose work it is to educate the public, but also to the public itself.

The difficulties of assembling a sufficiently large body of dependable data relating to the prevalence and incidence of what have been regarded as unmentionable diseases have been assumed to be almost, if not wholly, insurmountable. The challenge afforded by obstacles, of course, cannot forever be evaded if the knowledge of the facts are necessary, and I prefer to believe that the absence of data is due more to a lack of realization in the past of their fundamental importance in the study of diseases in general rather than to a disinclination to undertake this particular task because of its difficulties. In fact, there are encouraging signs of a tendency to consider environmental conditions of an economic nature in relation to disease prevalence, a tendency that is being manifested in recent studies and surveys. There can be no doubt that a similar point of view is taken by many students of venereal diseases, and that it will bring about a demand for accurate economic and sociological facts. We may expect that, as the result of the educational movement now so broadly begun, the obstacles that have arisen because of the close association of venereal diseases with immorality and that have caused a misunderstanding of their social significance, gradually will be lessened. Certainly the time is ripe for the collection, by special surveys and by more complete and accurate morbidity and mortality reports, of the facts upon which must be based an intelligent knowledge of the economic circumstances which affect the occurrence of venereal diseases.

It may be worth while to consider briefly at this time the purpose and

the possible value of including in such studies the collection of facts relating to economic conditions. To define our terms: By "economic pressure," in so far as its relation to the prevalence of a disease is concerned, is meant the lack of financial ability, on the part of the individual or of the population group, to those provide conditions of living which are preventive of or, at least, do not promote the occurrence of the disease. The purposes of any study of economic pressure in relation to disease may be considered to be:

- (1) To discover the extent to which economic conditions are causative factors in the prevalence of a disease; and by analysis of carefully collected data
- (2) To ascertain the inter-relation between various conditions of an economic nature and other conditions affecting its incidence, as a basis upon which
- (3) To aid in determining the most advantageous points of attack in the effort to mitigate or control its prevalence.

In such a study, economic status as expressed in wages or family income is merely an index of environment with which can be correlated the disease rate among the population under consideration. If an association appears, the relation must be analyzed further in order to find out what specific conditions of environment are directly or indirectly involved. For example: In our studies of pellagra in relation to economic conditions in southern textile communities it was found that a definite inverse relation existed between the disease rate and family income. An analysis of the factors represented by family income, however, revealed that differences in housing conditions and community sanitation, for instance, were not associated with variations in the rate, but that there was a clearly defined relation between the availability of supplies of certain foods as affecting the diet of the poorer households in certain communities and the incidence of disease. Similarly, studies of infant mortality from certain causes have revealed a definite relation between the economic status of a family and the mortality of children under one year of age, a condition which upon further analysis was found to effect non-nursing infants more than others and to be related definitely to the quality of the community milk supply as well as to the intelligence and health of the mother and the sanitary conditions of the home. A study of tuberculosis prevalence from the same point of view would, I believe, clear up the conflicting testimony which has come out of attempts to correlate a single general condition—housing—with the tuberculosis rate without taking into consideration at the same time the possible effects of other conditions such as diet, occupation, or inherited physiological poverty.

What economic factors affect the prevalence of venereal diseases?

Manifestly it would be improper at this time, without more accurate and complete data than are now available, to do more than suggest some of the considerations which, from a review of such evidence as we have, appear to be worthy of attention in a study of actual conditions.

The problem involves, of course, the concept of supply and demand—the sources of infection and the conditions which are favorable to transmission of the disease. So far as the sources of infection are concerned, there seems to be general agreement that the great majority of venereal infections are traceable to prostitution. It is estimated by Vedder that innocent extra-genital infections of syphilis, for example, constitute less than 10 per cent of total infections and that nearly 80 per cent of infections among women are acquired from their husbands. Economic pressure as a direct cause of prostitution, however, has been shown from studies of prostitution, to play a very unimportant part. At the same time, while the need for immediate wages does not drive girls to immorality, it seems to be indicated from studies of prostitution that prostitutes come almost entirely from families of

low economic status. Thus the sources of infection are not only well established but it appears that the point at which economic pressure effects the sources of infection is family income.

An association seems to be indicated, from such data as are available, between the prevalence of venereal diseases and economic status. That is, a higher prevalence is found among individuals whose economic status is relatively low than among the well-to-do. Vedder's surveys, to cite a single source of information, of white healthy men (army recruits, enlisted men and cadets) show that the per cent which were syphilitic was 5.5 for cadets, who were "representative of the better class of young men that are found in our colleges," as contrasted with 16 per cent or more for recruits and enlisted men who were regarded as representative of "mechanics, artisans, and untrained laborers."* He estimated that a prevalence of 20 per cent existed among men of the latter class as against from 2 to 10 per cent among men of higher education and economic status. The prevalence of venereal diseases among women is, of course, largely governed by that among the men of the same economic and social scale. The specific conditions accompanying low economic status which are favorable to this higher incidence cannot, of course, be enumerated or appraised without a great deal of careful study. I can only suggest some conditions as possible factors which might be considered in making surveys and in the analysis of such data as may be available:

1. That large group of influencing conditions which tend, on the one hand, toward increasing sexual excitement and, on the other hand, toward lowering self-restraint. There hardly will be any disagreement on the general observation that among the economically less favored group of our population these conditions are far more pronounced than among the well-to-do. These influences arise not only from the conditions which directly stimulate sexual activity but also from the conditions of living. The lack of healthful recreation and avocational opportunities; the monotony of daily life and work, the brevity of formal education—these are factors which may be considered just as seriously as the more direct and positive forces that lower the standard of morality and tend towards vulgarity and grossness of thought. It is not necessary, before an audience of students of social conditions, to enumerate these conditions in detail. Some of these are a part of the community environment in which the relatively poor must live; others are linked up with housing conditions and the conditions of household life; others arise from the absence of substitutes for sexual excitement at those ages when marriage is impossible or economically impracticable. Just as poor diet and insanitary housing in large degree result from poverty, so do the conditions which promote illicit sexual activity and fail to promote sexual self-restraint accompany low economic status.

2. Under these environmental conditions economic pressure may directly influence the prevalence of venereal diseases in causing postponement of marriage. The significance of this fact has been commented upon by various students. I may, however, refer to some recent reports of venereal cases to the State Health Departments of Texas and Indiana which show that of the total number of cases among white affected persons, either married or single, 84 per cent are single. These reports also indicate that about 37 per cent of white cases are persons under 20 years of age, 55 per cent between 20 and 31, and only about 8 per cent over 40. Among negroes in Texas and Mississippi 54 per cent of all cases reported were for persons under 20 years of age, a considerably higher proportion than among the whites. Among persons over 20 years of age in that group of our population which must subsist upon wages, marriage is directly involved in the question of financial ability to support a family. Increasing cost of living

*Vedder, E. B.: *Syphilis and Public Health*, pp. 76-77.

in conjunction with the increasingly expensive habits, or the "standard of living," cannot be interpreted in any other way than as at least one factor contributing to the postponement of marriage at those ages when sexual instincts are especially active and when infections are almost as frequent as in the age period from 17 to 20 years.

In view of a situation so complex, is it sufficient to preach continence to our young men? Or attempt to abolish or regulate prostitution? Will any one doctrine, admirable though it may be from the point of view of morality, suffice to solve the problem in the face of the many conditions which are not fully recognized and not accurately evaluated?

The subject must be approached in the same way as any other problem of disease must be approached. We must know the economic conditions as well as the other conditions under which venereal diseases are prevalent. These conditions should be ascertained in such a way as to render possible the accurate statistical analysis and the definite conclusions that must be the basis for discovering the most advantageous points of attacking the question of control.

If you will permit me to close with a few suggestions of a practical nature, so far as the study of economic conditions in relation to venereal diseases is concerned:

1. A definite, though necessarily tentative, plan for collecting necessary data should be carefully prepared, the plan to be based on the principle that a knowledge of *actual* conditions under which venereal disease occur among the civil population is wanted rather than any arguments for or against pre-conceived theories or doctrines of control.

2. The usual sources of these data should be considered both from the point of view of their limitations as well as of the possibility of improving them. Thus, morbidity reports are necessarily limited in their value as a general thing, but under certain conditions and in some communities they can be made extremely valuable for our purposes. We may scrutinize and revise morbidity report forms as possible sources of information as to race, sex, age, marital conditions, age of marriage, occupation, general social or economic status of the persons affected, as well as the desired clinical facts. Our birth and death certificates can be greatly improved, at least in some localities, as sources of information relating to venereal diseases. Physical examinations of industrial workers and other groups can be designed to include data of vital importance to the problem. The records of physical examinations of men drafted into our national army in conjunction with the questionnaires of these men constitute an invaluable cross section of a large group of our population. At least selected parts of this material should be tabulated and analyzed without delay, as it constitutes the most promising data that are now available.

3. A series of intensive surveys should be undertaken, after thorough consideration of the possible factors, in carefully selected communities. These surveys, to be of value, should include (a) the non-affected as well as the affected individuals of the group to be studied and, (b) should be designed to yield (1) tabulatable material relating to the race, sex, age, marital conditions, age of marriage, occupation, family and individual income, and incidence of venereal as well as of certain other diseases, and (2) data relating to certain environmental conditions of the home, the school and the community.

This is not only a large but a long task. It cannot be accomplished in a few months. Some such procedure, however, it seems to me, is vitally necessary if our knowledge of venereal diseases is to be complete and more scientific than it is now. Certainly it is vital to that real understanding of the problem, arrived at in a scientific spirit, which is fundamental to well directed and fruitful measures of control.

THE FEDERAL CAMPAIGN AGAINST VENEREAL DISEASES

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During the progress of the war, every agency of the Government, every organization and every patriotic citizen throughout the country devoted their energy to increasing every phase of national efficiency with a view of terminating as quickly as possible the great world war. This concentration of effort on the part of the entire citizenship will have a far-reaching effect upon our national development, and in no class of public service has a greater progress been made than in the important work of controlling the spread of the venereal diseases. The development of a national program for this important work would have taken more than a generation had it not been for the awakening of the civic consciousness resulting from our military activities.

The Public Health Service early realized its responsibility in connection with the development of this campaign, and on January 2, 1918, the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service sent a telegram to each of the state health officers, the first sentence of which said: "The control of venereal infections in connection with the prosecution of the war constitutes the most important sanitary problem now confronting public health authorities of the United States." This statement is just as true today as it was then and the encouraging feature of the whole campaign is that this statement of fact has been recognized and accepted by practically all health authorities.

Following this telegram, a letter was sent to each of the state health officers, further explaining the proposed campaign and containing this important statement: "It is evident that the prevention of venereal infections in the military population is dependent on the degree with which these infections are prevented in the civil community. This imposes upon the civil health authorities the duties of forcefully attacking the venereal problem upon the basis of the control of communicable diseases." The response to this suggestion was very encouraging and by May 24, 1918, thirty-two states had undertaken systematic efforts to control the further spread of venereal diseases. This number has now (June 1, 1919) been increased to forty-four.

So great was the interest created in this important public health work that a bill was introduced in Congress to enable the Government to better meet the responsibilities confronting health authorities. On July 9, 1918, the Chamberlain-Kahn bill passed Congress and was signed by the President. The Surgeon General of the Public Health Service has characterized this bill as the most important public health legislation ever enacted into law.

This bill created an Interdepartmental Social Hygiene Board consisting of the Secretary of War, Secretary of the Navy and Secretary of the Treasury, and the Surgeon General of the Army, Navy and Public Health Service, or representatives of the Surgeons General. The bill also established a Division of Venereal Diseases in the Public Health Service, \$200,000 being appropriated for its maintenance, and imposed upon this Division the following duties:

- (1) To study and investigate the cause, treatment, and prevention of venereal diseases;
- (2) To cooperate with State Boards of Health for the prevention and control of such diseases within the states; and
- (3) To control and prevent the spread of these diseases in interstate traffic.

These specific duties being defined, the Public Health Service decided that the second was the most important one upon which to concentrate effort for the present, although each duty has received attention. It is obvious that

the knowledge already possessed in regard to the cause, treatment and prevention of venereal diseases was quite sufficient to demand a definite effort to put into practice methods of control based on known scientific data in regard to the cause, treatment and prevention of gonorrhea and syphilis; and therefore, active cooperation with state boards of health has been the first objective desired. To meet the third duty imposed, Amendment No. 7 to the Interstate Quarantine Regulations was promulgated by the Secretary of the Treasury on November 22, 1918, under which venereally infected persons should obtain permits from their health officer to travel from one state to another, and permission from the state health authorities of the state in which they intend to reside.

The bill carried appropriations for encouraging scientific research in connection with the development of better medical measures for the treatment of venereal diseases and for discovering and developing more effective educational measures for the prevention of venereal diseases, and for the purpose of sociological and psychological research related thereto.

One million dollars was appropriated for distribution to the various state boards of health to enable them to cooperate with the Public Health Service in establishing venereal disease control measures. This appropriation was made for a biennial period and during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, each state was entitled to its allotment without the state being required to make any appropriation of funds, the state agreeing, however, that the funds so allotted would be expended in accordance with regulations promulgated by the Secretary of the Treasury.

For the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1919, in order for a state to receive a renewal of its allotment, it is necessary for the state to appropriate or otherwise set aside an amount equal to the allotment. Thirty-one states have already passed the necessary legislation to receive their allotment for the ensuing fiscal year; in six states the legislature does not meet until January, 1920, and in four states the appropriation of funds has been defeated. In the remaining seven states there is yet an opportunity of the appropriations being made.

The requirement that the state should expend its allotment in accordance with certain regulations is the basis upon which the entire national campaign is being standardized. These regulations require that state boards of health shall agree to carry out the following measures:

Put into operation through a legislative enactment or a state board of health regulation having the effect of law, regulations in conformity with the suggestions approved by the Surgeons General of the Army, Navy, and United States Public Health Service, for the prevention of venereal diseases. The minimum requirements of these rules are:

(a) Venereal diseases must be reported to the local health authorities in accordance with state regulations approved by the United States Public Health Service.

(b) Penalty to be imposed upon physicians or others required to report venereal infections for failure to do so.

(c) Cases to be investigated, so far as practicable, to discover and control sources of infection.

(d) The spread of venereal diseases should be declared unlawful.

(e) Provision to be made for control of infected persons that do not cooperate in protecting others from infection.

(f) The travel of venereally infected persons within the state to be controlled by state boards of health by definite regulations that will conform in general to the interstate regulations to be established.

(g) Patients to be given a printed circular of instructions informing them of the necessity of measures to prevent the spread of infection and of the importance of continuing treatment.

Each state receiving an allotment also accepts the assignment of an officer of the Public Health Service for the general purpose of cooperating with the state health officer in supervising the venereal disease control work in the state.

The general plan of the work for each state bureau of venereal diseases is

- (a) To secure reports of venereal infections from physicians and others in accordance with state laws.

It is to be strongly emphasized that in reporting venereal diseases the right of the individual to keep his infection from public notice is carefully safeguarded. In most states the names and addresses of the patients are not required, unless their conduct makes them a danger to the public health, or they stop treatment before they are made non-infectious. In the former case, the public welfare requires legal action; and in the latter case it is for the patient's own good that he or she is compelled to complete the course of treatment. There is no question but that public opinion will sustain this measure, and all other reasonable measures for the control of the venereal diseases as soon as the people generally are informed on this problem. Every physician, therefore, who reports his cases of venereal diseases to the board of health, according to his state law, is placing himself in line with the soundest and most modern social progress; and whoever conceals these cases from the state health authorities is antisocial and reactionary. The Attorney General of the United States, in discussing venereal disease control, cited from Black's Constitutional Law the following statement: "The right of a state to enforce quarantine laws in the interest of public health, or to abate nuisances which are of a character likely to injure the health of a community, has rarely ever been questioned. . . . It seems that medical and surgical treatment can be prescribed against the consent of the individual, as a preventive of contagious and infectious diseases."

- (b) To isolate and treat infected persons who are unable or unwilling to take measures to prevent themselves from becoming a menace to others.

There are at the present time in the various states cooperating with the Public Health Service more or less adequate provisions for the proper detention of venereally infected persons. During the detention there should be ample time for the examination of the mentality and the past record of each individual. These detention hospitals should be administered with a view to the moral and mental rehabilitation of the patients. Some persons have an erroneous impression in regard to the detention of venereally infected persons, the claim being made that only infected women are detained. Such is not the case, however, as many venereally infected men have been detained during the past year for treatment. The reason for detention is not based upon sex, but based upon the necessity for control measures being taken to prevent wilful or ignorant persons from exposing others to venereal infections.

- (c) To establish clinics for the free and proper treatment of venereal diseases and to eliminate conditions favorable to the spread of these infections.

During the war the Public Health Service established twenty-six venereal disease clinics in extra cantonment areas. Since the various states have been cooperating with the Public Health Service, approximately 250 clinics are now available where venereal diseases may be treated. In addition to furnishing treatment to infected persons, these clinics become the center of the venereal disease attack. Through the female medical social worker, infected persons may be followed into their homes and advice given for the protection of the other members of the family. The nurse can also bring back to the clinics patients who have failed to return for continued treatment. This outside service also makes it possible to ascertain whether or not patients are guilty of continuing to expose others to infections. As an educational center the clinics distribute literature where it is most needed and should

become bureaus of sex information where persons can obtain accurate information in place of the quack literature that causes needless worry and often worse results.

- (d) To provide facilities for early diagnosis and treatment and laboratory examinations for exact diagnosis to determine the period of non-infectiousness.

The necessity for accurate laboratory diagnosis is obvious to all, as without this procedure it would be impossible to treat cases scientifically. Standards for the discharge of infected persons, recommended by the Public Health Service, may be found in Reprint No. 477 from Public Health Reports of July 19, 1918, and in connection with releasing patients physicians should remember that the discharge of venereal patients as cured or as non infectious, is an act to be seriously regarded both from the standpoint of public health and human happiness. The examining physician should be fully aware of the responsibility resting upon him.

- (e) To carry on a general educational campaign for the purpose of informing the general public as well as infected individuals regarding the nature of the disease and the manner of their spread, and the measures that should be taken to avoid infection.

The various state boards of health, cooperating with the Public Health Service, are developing their own educational campaigns; literatures, placards, exhibits, lantern slides and motion pictures being made available to the general public.

- (f) To cooperate with local civil authorities in securing the passage and enforcement of necessary ordinances for preventing contact between venereally infected and well persons.

In order to facilitate the question of discussion of satisfactory ordinances and regulations, the Public Health Service has prepared standard forms of such proposed legislation for distribution to those interested. These model laws are set forth in V. D. Bulletin No. 39 entitled "Venereal Disease Ordinances."

In carrying out these measures, each state assumes the direct responsibility and supervision of the development of its own standardized program for venereal disease control. The cooperation of the Public Health Service in the capacity of consultant has the effect of harmonizing the various organizations interested in the future development of the campaign, and therefore has facilitated the progress of the work. At the present time (June 1, 1919) 44 states have accepted their allotment and are prosecuting an energetic venereal disease control campaign within their state, developing the work along the three separate phases of medical measures, an education campaign and law enforcement activities.

In giving certain details of the program for the purpose of illustrating the work, all of the various phases will not be discussed. Also the grouping of the work under the headings "Medical Measures," "Educational Campaign" and "Law Enforcement Activities" cannot be a systematic classification because certain activities overlap. For instance, the circularization of physicians and druggists is both educational and medical, but as it has such a direct bearing upon the treatment of infected persons, it is classified as a medical measure.

Medical Measures

In connection with the development of the medical control of venereal diseases it is obvious that the cooperation of the profession is essential. With a view of securing this cooperation and active participation in the campaign by all physicians, the Public Health Service prepared a circular letter which was sent to 131,780 registered physicians in the United States. With this circular was sent a postcard for the physician to sign and return, thus indicating his willingness to cooperate in the campaign. The essential agreement clauses on this card were:

To report venereal disease cases in accordance with the laws and Board of Health Regulations of the State; to secure prompt treatment for all venereal cases, either treating them himself or referring them to a clinic or physician known to be competent in the treatment of such cases; to give to every venereal disease patient a circular of instructions, a supply of which is to be furnished free of charge by the United States Public Health Service, or the State Board of Health.

Upon receipt of such cards by the Public Health Service, they were forwarded to the State Board of Health in which the physician resided so that the further development of the program in the various states might be decentralized as rapidly as possible. Each physician responding was furnished the "Manual for Treatment of Venereal Diseases," first prepared for medical officers of the Army and later issued in civilian edition by the Public Health Service and various state boards of health. More than 115,000 copies of this manual has been printed and distributed, and its use will standardize treatment in accordance with modern, scientific methods. That doctors are reporting venereal diseases is proven by the data collected by one state board of health from September 1, 1918, to January 31, 1919, during which period (5 months) 24,477 cases of venereal diseases were reported.

Forty-eight thousand five hundred retail druggists in the United States likewise received a circular letter from the Public Health Service, setting forth their responsibility in connection with preventing the spread of venereal diseases, and asking that they sign and return a card containing these clauses:

1. Not to prescribe or recommend any remedy for a venereal disease.
2. Not to purchase a "proprietary remedy" to be sold to the public for the self-treatment of venereal disease, and not to sell any such "remedy."
3. To refill only such prescriptions for the treatment of venereal disease as were given originally to the customer by a reputable physician who is still in charge of the case.
4. To cause literature furnished by the Public Health Service or the State Board of Health to be handed to every person, asking, without a physician's prescription, for a remedy customarily confined to the treatment of a venereal disease. Further, to direct the applicant to a reputable physician, to a board of health, or to an approved venereal clinic.

The signed agreement cards from druggists were also turned over to the respective state boards of health in order that the local authorities might know which druggists were cooperating in this work. Supplies of a folder to be handed by druggists to persons asking for venereal disease remedy were furnished each state board of health for the board to place with druggists for that purpose. This leaflet which will be given directly to known infected persons, advises them to go to a clinic or a competent doctor for treatment and not to attempt to treat a serious communicable disease themselves or by nostrums designed primarily for revenue only.

Replies were received from 50 per cent of the physicians and from 60 per cent of the druggists, which was extremely gratifying and indicated their readiness to accept responsibility and fulfill the local civic duties that must be assumed in order to insure the success of the national campaign.

Already more than 250 clinics where venereally infected persons can receive prompt, scientific and effective medical attention have either been organized or made available by hospitals to the health authorities for providing facilities for treatment of infected persons, thus destroying foci from which the diseases spread. A list of these clinics, giving their exact location, was published in the Weekly Public Health Reports of May 2nd. The general requirements for equipment and personnel of venereal disease clinics is described in Miscellaneous Publications No. 19, entitled "Instructions to Medical Officers in Charge of State Control of Venereal Diseases." It is in this publication that "early treatment" is mentioned, and the part this measure

has in the general program as sponsored by the Public Health Service, which has been clearly set forth in Public Health Reports of April 18, 1919, should be briefly mentioned. It is not desirable to establish prophylactic or early treatment stations primarily as such, but all clinics should be prepared to intelligently administer this treatment to voluntary applicants who give a history of exposure within a few hours immediately preceding their application. Every extramarital intercourse is to be regarded as an exposure to venereal infection, and the so-called "prophylactic" treatment is really "early" treatment given without waiting for definite diagnosis. Each person applying should also be furnished with the circular of information given to infected persons so that he may be fully informed as to the dangerous nature of the venereal diseases. Persons requesting "early treatment" who develop venereal infections are reported by the clinic to the state health authorities in accordance with law, and are brought under control to prevent the spread of infection in the same manner as are other patients of the clinic. The community is entitled to the protection given by prompt "early treatment" in preventing the development of these potential foci of venereal infections, while it (the community) is, in the meantime, strengthening the other medical and civic measures of prevention which the condition may require.

In Miscellaneous Publications No. 19, the value of trained nurses as medical social service workers is also mentioned. This phase of the work has proven of such importance that arrangements are now being perfected to give a limited number of graduate nurses a special course in follow-up, medical social service work with cases of venereal infection. These especially qualified nurses will be able to pass on much of their training to other nurses through being placed in supervisory positions by various states and the Public Health Service.

Educational Campaign

In developing the general educational phase of the program, such pamphlets as "War on Venereal Diseases to Continue," "Ravages of the Innocent Must Stop," "The People's War," "When They Come Home" have been mailed to select lists of interested persons in order to arouse public opinion to the continued support of the organized effort being made by the various health authorities. Thirty-five different pamphlets have been issued and are sent on request to those groups for whom they were designed—educators, young men, young women, parents, civil authorities, physicians, ministers, etc. Thirty-three of the states have provided reprints of various of these or similar pamphlets to meet the demands arising in their state. More than 52,000 requests for pamphlets have been received by the Public Health Service within the past eight months; which requests were filled by the Service or state boards of health.

In addition to pamphlets, moving picture films are being utilized for reaching the general public in a rapid manner and impressing upon those that really most need the information the menace of venereal diseases. The Public Health Service and various state boards of health own copies of venereal disease educational films that are used in giving free showings to invited audiences. However, there is a very definite need for approved social hygiene films to be shown through the usual commercial moving picture channels, admission being charged. Three such films are now being shown by moving picture distributors, and great good is being accomplished thereby in educating the public.

In addition to this general stimulation of public interest, the definite cooperation has been obtained of Rotary Clubs throughout the United States, women's clubs, also work by women, boards of commerce, Y. M. C. A.'s, ministers, public libraries, fraternal organizations and similar agencies. Each of these various organizations can take a very important part in the program

for their special field of effort and can develop auxiliary agencies of great value to the constituted health authorities in furthering the detail work in connection with the suppression of venereal disease. As an example of the kind of help that is given by these organizations, may be mentioned the work of public libraries is making available approved books relating to sex hygiene for the use of parents and teachers in securing the necessary knowledge to enable them to impart instruction to children. The Public Health Service is not advocating the introduction of sex instruction into schools until the method of giving the instruction and the trained personnel for this important task become available. At a conference of educators from several states, at which representatives of the Public Health Service and the Bureau of Education were present, a resolution was adopted, the important features of which were (1) that the development of ideals of physical fitness is essential to the better conservation of national vigor and must include knowledge of the principle facts of sex; (2) that sex education be given its normal place in relation to physical education, biology, physiology, hygiene, general science and such other subjects to which it has a rational relation; and (3) that universities, colleges and normal schools be urged to prepare teachers who will be equipped to present the facts and ideals of sex in their relation to the subjects taught. Such instruction will have a great effect in reducing the incidence of venereal infections during the next generation.

Enlisting the support of negro citizens in the campaign is of great importance and has been partially met by the Public Health Service employing three colored physicians to present this program to their own race in such a way as to attract their interest and at the same time present to negro organizations a definite program which may be carried out by them in cooperation with the constituted health authorities having jurisdiction. The importance of this question to the negroes of the United States is made evident by the statistics compiled by the medical records section of the Surgeon General's office of the United States Army relative to the percentage of venereally infected persons found upon examination of the drafted men. Approximately the second million men examined in seven southern states were found to be more than ten per cent infected with venereal diseases. This condition was largely due to the fact that these were the states furnishing the largest number of negro soldiers, another probable contributing factor being illiteracy of both white and colored soldiers.* The willingness to meet their responsibility has been demonstrated by various negro organizations in the United States, and this phase of the work is referred to at this time in order to remind those, intending to give their support to the campaign for venereal disease control, of the fact that negroes can play a most important part in developing this campaign and that the leaders of the race has been found willing to assume their full share of the work of venereal disease control.

One phase of the campaign which may be classed as an educational activity really includes all phases of the work, in that each of the 710 cities in the United States having a population of 10,000 or over are to be graded by representatives of the Public Health Service and the various state boards of health to show their standing in relation to the national campaign for venereal disease control. The schedule for grading comprises a total possible 1,000 points assigned as follows:

I. MEDICAL MEASURES

1. A free clinic..... 125 points
2. Venereal disease control ordinances or regulations..... 75 points

* Combining the data of the last ten years the rate for all venereal diseases for colored troops is a little less than double that for whites. (Love and Davenport—Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, Vol. 5, pp. 58-67. March, 1919.)

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|---|----------------------|
| 3. Facilities for hospital treatment, including facilities for detention and isolation of carriers..... | 50 points |
| 4. Elimination of advertising quacks and of the sale of venereal disease nostrums..... | 50 points 300 points |

II. EDUCATIONAL MEASURES

- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| 1. Venereal disease educational placards..... | 50 points |
| 2. Educational pamphlets | 65 points |
| 3. Educational books | 20 points |
| 4. Educational lectures | 50 points |
| 5. Motion pictures..... | 65 points |
| 6. Exhibits | 50 points 300 points |

III. LAW ENFORCEMENT MEASURES

- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| 1. Law prohibiting prostitution..... | 25 points |
| 2. Rooming-house and hotel licensing law..... | 30 points |
| 3. Dance hall law..... | 25 points |
| 4. Law regulating taxi-cabs and for-hire automobiles..... | 20 points |
| 5. Adequate detention facilities..... | 50 points |
| 6. Rehabilitation facilities..... | 25 points |
| 7. Institution for feeble-minded..... | 25 points |
| 8. Enforcement of law..... | 100 points 800 points |

IV. COOPERATION

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|
| Team Work..... | 100 points 100 points |
|----------------|-----------------------|

Grand Total.....	1,000 points
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It is the intention of the Public Health Service to have graphs prepared showing the relative standing of each city graded, and in this way to stimulate the various cities to greater activity.

Law Enforcement Work

This phase of the national campaign for combating venereal diseases is one that unfortunately has been somewhat misinterpreted by many physicians and officials whose interest has been only partly aroused, and who, therefore, have failed to realize the necessity for strict law enforcement measures. Others have not appreciated the direct bearing such laws have upon the strictly medical phase of the subject. Laws for the suppression of prostitution in all its forms, regulating lodging houses, the operation of taxicabs, providing supervision of dance halls and other amusement places will do more than better the morality of the community—such ordinances are actually laws for the protection of the health of the people. The effect of the proper enforcement of these laws will be to limit the contact between venereally infected and well persons and thereby to directly reduce the number of cases of gonorrhea and syphilis that will require treatment at the hands of physicians and in the venereal disease clinics. Practically every city in the United States has passed laws for the abolishment of open segregated districts, and where such districts are abolished, they will never be re-established. Public sentiment is united against the legalizing of disease-spreading foci. However, the degree of activity displayed by local communities in suppressing clandestine prostitution in its many forms varies considerably. The support that physicians and health officers will give local authorities for the proper enforcement of such laws will depend upon the clarity of vision which such groups possess in interpreting the value of these laws as sanitary measures.

The most encouraging development of the work is the knowledge that the general public throughout the United States is in hearty accord with the efforts that are being made by the Government in cooperation with state boards of health for the development of the nation-wide plan for venereal disease control. The prevention of venereal diseases is a subject which makes a universal appeal to all classes of citizens in every section of the country. "The real thing that we have to conserve in America is the American people,

their energy, their elasticity, their originative power, their capacity to hope and to achieve."—(Woodrow Wilson—1912.) The people are ready to help in this great public health work and only need be told what part they are expected to play in order to quickly meet their responsibility. All health officials are encouraged by the great pressure and support of public opinion to combat this menace to national efficiency in an open fight and to keep up the work until these dangerous communicable diseases will no longer menace the welfare of the people nor posterity need to bear the burden of a tainted heritage.

THE PROSTITUTE AS A HEALTH AND SOCIAL PROBLEM

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You will agree with me that this is a tremendous subject, and in a paper such as this one can only speak briefly of some of its important aspects. The prostitute and prostitution have long been recognized as social and moral evils. All through the ages we find protests and sporadic crusades against them, but the efforts usually resulted in failure to eradicate the evil, and the failure is largely due to the fact that the remedies applied were inadequate and superficial. Take, for instance, the idea of driving the prostitute from pillar to post, punishing her by imprisonment and fine. Even in our own day, when we began to realize that she spreads disease and devised the newer methods, such as registration, segregation, and examination, the situation did not change much. This is all because we refused to face the facts honestly and frankly, and not only the facts but the underlying causes of this most complex phenomenon, prostitution.

Our difficulties have no doubt been largely due to the fact that prostitution is very closely interwoven with the subject of sex. The sex relation in the human, largely because of the problem of progeny, has never been faced openly, nor considered on its merits. It has always been hedged around with religious and moral doctrines, and consequently very little has been added to our store of knowledge.

As far as we know there has always been current a deep-seated belief that men at a certain age must satisfy the instinct of sex, regardless of conditions, for the sake of good health. This opinion has been fostered by some of our most eminent and high-minded physicians. It has been shared by scientists and philosophers, written about in novels, until most men and women came to think that this indulgence is not only essential to physical welfare, but to proper mental and moral development. Such a man as Professor Lecky held in his "History of European Morals" that there is no hope and no cure for prostitution.

A New Epoch

There is where we practically stood when we were shaken out of our deep slumber by the medical facts as to the great danger of the venereal diseases that result from prostitution. This subject had been discussed for many years, before congresses of physicians, but not until 1905, when the International Congress met at Brussels, was an actual change in sentiment registered. It came to us in the shape of a resolution that sexual continence is consistent with health. This was the beginning of the new era and formed the new basis for a more scientific and intelligent attack on the main underlying cause of prostitution. In this campaign the position taken was that the old idea is wrong; that sex indulgence is not essential to good health, and that venereal disease resulting from prostitution was a great menace to the individual, community and nation.

Dangers of Venereal Diseases

We know today that gonorrhea is not as simple a disease as a cold; that it is a germ disease; that it is one of the most prevalent diseases, next to measles; that it not only affects the local genital organs, but that there is such a thing as gonorrheal rheumatism and gonorrheal heart disease; that the young man who contracts this disease even in the mildest form, unless he is completely cured, may bring the infection to his wife, even after the lapse of many years; that gonorrhea in women is a much more dangerous disease than in men; that half of the operations performed on the former for the removal of the tubes, ovaries and uterus, are due to this disease; that it is responsible for 80 per cent of blindness in the newly born; that it causes sterility in men and in women; that there are thousands and thousands of women who are chronic invalids as a result of the effects of gonorrhea; and that it greatly decreases the efficiency of the individual.

Syphilis, again, we know, is due to a definite germ, is a blood disease, and highly contagious. It affects from eight to ten per cent of the population. It is one of the most destructive diseases. It affects every part of the body as well as the mind. It is transmitted from husband to wife and then to offspring. It is responsible for the birth of diseased children, 80 per cent of whom die. It is the cause of one-fourth of all insanity. It is one of the most frequent causes of feeble-mindedness. It greatly decreases one's efficiency and earning capacity. And we know that prostitution is the main carrier of both gonorrhea and syphilis.

A campaign of education along these lines has been carried on in the United States for the last fourteen years in spite of ridicule and opposition, and not without considerable success. Indeed, hundreds of thousands of men, women, and young men during their adolescent period, in all classes, had been taught the new ideas and the single standard of morals. In addition new methods have been devised to deal with commercialized vice, and gradually an entire social hygiene program has been developed which deals with practically every aspect of prostitution and its causes.

The Courageous War Program

When we entered the late great war and came to realize that venereal disease was one of the greatest menaces that confronted European armies, the men at the head of our government appreciated very readily that something more fundamental than was being done abroad would have to be done by us if our boys were to be protected from this menace and kept fit. We are thankful that those men had the vision and courage to accept a radical social hygiene program that was presented to them by some of the leaders of that movement. Under this program between three and four million boys in our army and navy were taught for the first time that sexual continence is consistent with health, and the very best preventive of venereal disease. They were taught in detail the dangers of these diseases and the truth that prostitution is the main source of these infections. In spite of the fact that most people still believe that segregated districts are absolutely necessary, especially in war time, and that they could not possibly be abolished anyway, it was decided by those in charge of the social hygiene work that those agencies of vice must go if we were to make it easier for the boys to live up to the new standards of morals and to protect them from disease. To the surprise of the old vice lords, new law enforcement agencies were created which succeeded in closing eighty segregated districts in and near cantonments. This required wonderful skill and tact, for it was necessary to enlist the cooperation of the citizens of the respective communities, and in most cases the cooperation was extended.

Nobody doubts now that the campaign of education, with the closing up

of the segregated districts and saloons, and the furnishing of all kinds of sports and recreation, helped enormously to keep up the morale and to decrease the venereal disease rate among our boys. Outside of the camp factors which contributed most to keep the boys clean are the following: Responsibility aroused in our communities to furnish proper recreation and home protection to soldiers and sailors; the realization of the fact that the call of patriotism had stirred us emotionally and keyed us up nervously, and that the lure of the uniform was great, and consequently to keep all that in check a campaign of education and protection was necessary among young girls and women. It was made clear to thousands of young women what the government social hygiene program was, what the boys were taught, and that the government expected them to help carry out that program by being friends and comrades of the boys and inspiring them with the highest conception of womanhood.

While our own venereal disease rate at the beginning of the war shocked most of our draft boards, and even surprised the doctors, and while we treated during the first year of the war 170,000 cases of venereal disease, the venereal rate as the boys settled in the camps began to fall, until at the end of the war, it is stated on good authority, our venereal rate was lower than in any other army and navy in the world.

Task Not Finished

Now that we have learned definitely what can be done with these diseases, and how vice is to be handled, it would be a crime not to continue the fight to the finish. We can easily adapt this war program to civilian life. The government is ready to aid us in this campaign, and we hope that all the existing agencies will combine and work as hard as they worked during the war to wipe out the plague.

The Prostitute as a Social Problem

Our attitude toward the subject of prostitution has changed greatly in the last few years. Thanks to Dr. Flexner's book "Prostitution in Europe" and numerous reports on vice in our own country, we have learned to speak on the subject more intelligently and humanely. When we now discuss the prostitute, the questions we ask ourselves are: who is she? where does she come from? and why is she there? Regarding the first question, various studies have been made at the morals courts, prisons, and other places where prostitutes are gathered and detained. All these studies point definitely to the same facts. Between thirty to fifty per cent of all these unfortunates are mentally subnormal or disordered. Most of these girls are physically attractive and sexually rather over-developed. Their mental state fits them only for menial or tiresome work at a very low wage. Yet like the rest of us, they long for comforts, finery, and male companionship and amusement. Not being able to satisfy these desires, they become easily discontented with their lot and are ready to fall as prey to vicious men who are always at hand. Seduction usually follows and the downward road begins.

This is the story of many of this type. We have here a definite social problem. These girls are not what they are because they are essentially immoral. They are generally victims of conditions that make them what they are, and it is our task to protect society from them and to protect them against themselves. By doing that we shall remove half of the prostitutes from the market. This can only be done, as we know, by establishing training schools in connection with farms to which these girls could be sent for permanent care and taught to do work which will make them self-supporting. We must go further. We must diagnose these cases early, before they do mischief and spread disease. In our public schools we ought to have quali-

fied people to watch and study the children. Under present conditions the subnormal child is usually a nuisance to the teacher because he does not keep pace with the other children. He is usually made fun of by the rest of the pupils. He is pushed out of school early into the unsupervised home, and from there into the street to fall into delinquency and vice. The subnormal child, if given special training suited to his intelligence, can become a useful and self-supporting individual.

Ignorance as a Cause

The other fifty per cent that go to make up the supply of prostitutes are not so easy to diagnose or eliminate. We can only hope to do it when our society changes more fundamentally, and every child has a chance to be well born of parents physically, mentally and morally sound, is provided with a good education and special training for some particular kind of work which shall yield just remuneration. However, while we are dreaming of this millennium, there are things that we can do. There are very definite facts that we have learned about this group from cases who come into our clinics for treatment or for detention. There is a large number of girls who, because of lack of home care and protection, and because of complete ignorance as to the sex organs and instincts, have not the slightest idea as to why certain liberties with their persons are not to be permitted, and are enticed early by boys of the neighborhood and seduced. After one sex experience it becomes harder for them to resist temptation. It is a well known fact that a great number of prostitutes come from that class of juvenile offenders.

The Economic Factor

Then comes the girl who has not been trained for any special work, who left school early for one reason or another, who is working hard getting a wage that is far too low for the modern standards of living, and is living at home or in a boarding house with very few comforts. If she lives at home, there may be a large family of children, a grouchy or drinking father, a shiftless or worn-out mother. There is not much joy or fun in remaining at home in the evenings or on Sunday. She craves for a male companion who could take her to places to which she could not go alone, like cabarets, dances, excursions—who could take her into the country and with whom she could stay out late at night.

Here again is the natural craving for excitement. It is always easy to pick up boys. They are always at hand and ready. The first one the girl meets is good enough no matter who introduced him to her and how little she knows about him. She asks no questions provided he furnishes her with what she has been longing for. They go along for a while having a good deal of fun in perfect innocence. Then the time comes, when under the influence of a little drink or after dancing until late into the night, or resting in some isolated spot in the country, he declares his love to her, telling her that he fully expects to marry her soon, that nothing much will happen anyway if she yields, and that hundreds of others are doing the same. She, under this strong urge, without knowledge as to the real dangers, consents. Then comes desertion, disappointment, pregnancy, and frequently disease. It is hard under these conditions to go back to a dull life. There is nobody to comfort her and get her out of trouble except persons of the underworld. These are always there to promise to have a miscarriage induced, after which, they say, the girl can go on earning more money and enjoy greater luxury and excitement. Downward she goes to add to the whole unfortunate group.

Then comes a group of widows, with or without children, who are left without means of support and no qualifications to earn a living wage. Of these a certain percentage drift gradually into a life of prostitution.

What Must Be Done

Here again the lesson we have learned from the war must not be forgotten. We now know definitely that a clear scientific and frank discussion of the sex organs and instinct, and of the reasons against promiscuous indulgence, has helped thousands of girls to a better understanding of themselves, to better self-control, and decent conduct. It has helped them to realize their responsibility to men, to understand that they must not overstimulate his already powerful urge of sex; and that comradeship and friendship must take the place of playing with sex. We also know much better what kind of protection girls and boys need, and how to furnish it. We know better than ever before that the spirit of youth craves fun and recreation, and that unless we provide these, youth will indulge in anything and everything it can find.

These are now among our social problems. Each community must realize its responsibility. For its own sake it must see that all young people are provided with more decent home conditions; with more intelligent understanding of sex; with a living wage; with the right kind of amusement and recreation.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Answering various questions, *Dr. Pierce* replied that it had been estimated that 65 per cent of those infected with venereal diseases go to quacks and drug stores, etc., and that one of the most difficult features in the cure of venereal diseases is the fact that the reputable doctors get hold of the cases so late. He replied further that the purpose of the interstate travel law was to prevent communities from shipping away their diseased people. The constitutionality of the law had never been tested, and the government had no officers enforcing it. He said further that, in his opinion, the combination of a venereal clinic with a health center should not decrease its other attendance, though provision should be made for segregating the venereal cases, both for the sake of the other cases and for proper privacy for the venereal patients.

To a question as to why only female follow-up workers seemed to be used, *Dr. Pierce* replied that in his experience trained nurses had proved the most successful social workers; that there was a definite field for men, too, though women could reach more people.

Being asked to what extent the doctors had carried out their promise of co-operation *Dr. Pierce* replied that practically all the better class doctors were reporting their cases. The practice of the rest depends absolutely upon the activity of the state board of health. Public opinion must demand it.

Answering other questions the speaker said that the examination of the families of infected persons was one of the duties of social service nurses; that the Public Health Service followed up no cases at all. State boards of health seldom, if ever, followed up cases reported by private physicians, leaving that to them. They do, as a rule, try to follow up cases that come to clinics.

Being asked about the ownership of moving picture films, *Dr. Pierce* stated that the Public Health Service owned 34 copies of films, six state boards owned 13 more, and the others were owned by commercial companies. The negatives of the films were owned by the American Social Hygiene Association, Y. W. C. A. and other similar organizations. On the matter of training, he replied that the course was to be four months in length, given to graduate nurses who had already had experience in the field work.

To a question as to governmental prevention of sale of patent medicines, *Dr. Pierce* replied that it was the duty of local health boards of health to regulate the practice of the drug stores, as the government could not regulate them. He also stated that the Public Health Service had three colored physicians working among colored organizations, and that they were getting excellent response.

Professor Winslow pointed out the danger of confusion in the use of the term "medical social worker," and suggested that only persons who have had systematic training for at least eight months in case work and other branches of social work should be designated in this way. Public health nurses who have had only elementary instruction in case work should be called public health nurses and not medical social workers.

A question was asked as to whether it was the experience of smaller cities that the combination of a venereal disease clinic with a health center decreases attendance at tuberculosis or infant welfare clinics.

Among those participating in the informal discussion, aside from the ones mentioned above, were: George J. Nelbach, New York; J. J. Weber, New York; Louisa Wenzel, St. Louis.

POVERTY AND MALNUTRITION

*John C. Gebhart, Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor,
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In the popular mind poverty and malnutrition are closely associated; indeed to many, the terms are practically synonymous. Among public health authorities and social workers, however, who are attempting to deal constructively with the defect, one finds a wide variety of opinions as to the role played by poverty. But most of the differences of opinion appear, on analysis, to be due chiefly to a different understanding of the term, poverty. Those who regard poverty as of slight importance use the term in its narrowest sense of meaning an inadequate and unsteady income; on this premise they logically conclude that poverty is responsible for the defect only so far as it results in an inadequate supply of food. Those who regard poverty as a major, if not the chief, cause of malnutrition use the term to embrace all the usual concomitants of poverty, bad housing conditions, a low standard of hygiene, inadequate provision for sickness and even ignorance itself. It is quite obvious that if the term is used in this larger sense, poverty must be given an important role.

The larger use of the term is the one which describes poverty as we know it and as we deal with it from day to day. By poverty most of us understand the whole vicious circle of living which originates in an inadequate income and leads back to the same condition. The poor are the underfed, the overcrowded, the sick and the ignorant. Their underfeeding, congestion, ill health and ignorance again tend to keep them on the same economic level or to plunge them even deeper. It is difficult even for purposes of analysis to break this vicious circle at any point and isolate the various factors. Using the term in this sense, we shall attempt to discover first, whether as a matter of fact malnutrition is more prevalent among the poor than among the well-to-do; second, to what extent the evil is due merely to an inadequate food supply and to ignorance, ill health and other factors which are themselves the result of inadequate and unsteady income.

Malnutrition More Prevalent Among Poor Children

The comparison of the growth of large numbers of children of different economic status is a fair index of the relation of poverty to under-development and malnutrition. In this connection the comparison of the heights and weights of school children of Glasgow compiled by Mr. Arthur Greenwood is most significant. His study included 72,857 boys and girls whose ages range from five to eighteen. His findings are the more pertinent in that the factor of racial differences is practically eliminated. The children are divided into four groups on the basis of economic status. Group I as composed of children from "schools in the poorest districts of the city"; group II, from schools in "poor districts"; group III, from "schools of the better class" and group IV from "schools in districts of a still higher class."

The contrast between the two extremes is most striking but the same variation is found to apply between the children of the same age in each group. The weights of the children in group I, the poorest group, range from six to eleven per cent less than those of group IV, the most prosperous group. In other words, the poorest children are about one year behind the well-to-do in their growth. The difference in heights is less striking, ranging from four to six per cent in favor of the more prosperous children. Indeed, the growth of the children at every age varies according to economic status with such mathematical certainty that we are found to conclude that the economic factor is a constant one in determining the growth of children.

Unfortunately no similar comparison has been made of American chil-

dren. The comparison, however, of the heights and weights of 60,000 school children as compiled by Dr. Burk and Professor Boaz with the 30,000 recorded by Professor Baldwin reveals the same tendency. The Burk-Boaz measurements were made of average children attending public schools in various American cities while Baldwin's measurements were exclusively of those attending expensive private schools. The average curves of growth is from two to ten pounds higher for the private school children.

The number of children fed under the English school feeding act is a clear indication of the effect of increased income on malnutrition. In England, ninety per cent of the school meals are furnished to "necessitous" children, i. e., children whose malnutrition is due to inadequate income. The reports of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education of England shows that during 1914-15, the first year of the great war, the total number of meals served was 29,569,316; and that in the year following, 1915-16, it had fallen to 9,930,074; and in 1916-17 only 5,781,504 meals were served. The Chief Medical Officer ascribes the great decline in the number of meals served to the fact that because of increased wages and steady work in war industries and regular government allotments to soldiers, for the first time in their lives great sections of the working population had sufficient income to feed their children properly.

Such broad surveys prove beyond the peradventure of a doubt that not only is poverty largely responsible for malnutrition, but that the two are in direct ratio. While most of us would accept this statement as self-evident, there are many, among them workers in the field of nutrition itself, who attach only slight importance, if any, to poverty as a cause of this defect. One physician who is doing excellent work on the nutrition problem states categorically that malnutrition is more prevalent among the rich than among the poor. If such misconceptions are allowed to go uncorrected, the effect will simply be to delay the advent of an effective program for dealing with this defect.

Effect of Limited Income on Family Food Supply

For purposes of a clear analysis of the subject, so essential to dealing effectively with it, we must determine as clearly as possible just what elements in the standard of living of underpaid groups work most havoc to their nutrition. The interrelation of the various factors makes this a most difficult task. The experience of workers in daily contact with such groups has, however, cleared the field of much of its obscurity. Rowntree's study of poverty in York, England, in 1900 and Chapin's exhaustive work on the Standard of Living in Workingmen's Families in New York City in 1907 are of invaluable service to us here. The method pursued by these workers and their general conclusions are so familiar to social workers as to need no elaboration here. I want simply to recall to your mind what these studies show with respect to the effect of an inadequate income on the food supply of families falling under their notice.

Rowntree analyzed the dietaries of his families with respect to the food requirements laid down by Chittenden and Atwater for men engaged in various pursuits. We shall have to be content with a mere summary of his conclusions. He found that among the middle class there was more than an adequate supply of food; that among well-to-do artisans there was on the whole an adequate food supply, but that among the laboring class there was a seriously inadequate food supply. His study further showed that among the laboring group the dietary was, on the average, twenty-five per cent below that which is deemed essential.

The work of Chapin made a similar contribution and one which strikes nearer home. The weekly dietaries of the families studied were submitted to Dr. Frank P. Underhill, a food expert of Yale. The families were classi-

fied according to their annual income, which ranged from \$400 to \$1,100 and over. His results are summarized as follows:

Income	Total No. of Families	Underfed Families (22 cents per man per day and under)	
		Number	Percent
\$ 400 to \$ 500	25	19	76
600 to 799	151	48	32
800 to 899	73	16	22
900 to 1,099	94	8	9
1,100 and over	48	0	0
	801	91	23

Thus it will be seen that among the lowest income group—those earning from \$400 to \$600 a year, seventy-six per cent were underfed. The percentage of families underfed declines as the income is increased until in the group earning between \$900 and \$1,100 only nine per cent were underfed and in the group receiving \$1,100 or more none were underfed.

Dr. Chapin's study showed that in 1907 between \$850 and \$900 was necessary to support a family of five in health and efficiency, provided the income were laid out with unusual foresight. Of the group actually receiving this amount twenty-two per cent were underfed. In other words, it is not until the families are well above the margin necessary for subsistence that an adequate food supply is assured.

Both of these studies clearly indicate that when families are near or below the poverty line the tendency toward underfeeding and hence malnutrition is inevitable. To what extent, however, the food inadequacy is due to a lack of income and to what extent it is due to improvidence, ignorance and other factors, we are not enlightened. A recent study made by Miss Lucy Gillett, formerly of the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, and Professor Sherman of Columbia University is the first contribution to this phase of the subject.

The family dietaries of ninety-two families were examined, classified and rated by these experts. With respect to the amount of money spent, the families were grouped into four classes of twenty-three each. The amount of food provided in each case was considered not simply from the point of view of its caloric value, but also from the point of view of the balancing of the various elements in the dietary. The following table indicates in general, the food value which the average family in each group was receiving:

Group	Cost Cents	Calories	Protein Grams	Phosphorus Grams	Calcium Grams	Iron Milligrams
I.....	19.2	2043	78	1.14	0.51	12.1
II.....	28.2	2665	91	1.39	0.64	14.8
III.....	34.7	3106	109	1.60	0.72	17.7
IV.....	49.4	3859	126	1.95	1.01	20.6
Standard allowance....		2500-3500	75	1.44	0.69	15.0

The dietaries of groups I and II who were spending 28.2 cents per man per day or less were deficient not only in energy but in all of the mineral elements essential to growth and a sound physique, phosphorus, calcium and iron. But the dietaries of groups III and IV who were spending from 28.2 cents to 50 cents per man per day were generally not only adequate in energy value, but were well balanced. Their work bears testimony to the tendency frequently noted in close work with such families, viz., that where the family budget is limited an inadequate food supply results. Families living on an inadequate wage attempt to distribute the income proportionately to cover the various essentials. In order that rent, clothing and other needs may be cared for, it is, of course, imperative that the food supply should suffer. The study further shows that not only are such dietaries inadequate with respect to the total caloric value, but that where economic resources are limited a proper balance is more likely to be lacking.

Inadequate Income Leads to Bad Food Habits

The authors found that in many cases where the amount of money spent for food was obviously inadequate a better distribution of food could have been secured for the same outlay. Most striking of all was the scant allowance for milk, fruits and vegetables which in many cases could actually have been increased without sacrificing the energy value of the diet and for the same outlay of money. In other words, a considerable number of families suffered from a combination of two evils, an inadequate income and an ignorance of food values. When it is considered, however, that an adequate working knowledge of food values is possessed today by only a very limited group of educated people, we can afford to be charitable in our judgment of a group who because of economic suppression are totally deficient in such knowledge.

Though less tangible, the evidence is no less real that a state of continued economic deficiency has the effect of establishing unfortunate food habits which persons of fair or ample means seldom acquire. In most workers' families the meals are prepared chiefly in the interest of the bread winner, the needs of the children being regarded as of secondary importance. During the day the children are mainly supplied with left-overs from the main meal or are given "pieces" which temporarily assuage their hunger but which do not always contain the elements necessary for their growth. In this custom there is perhaps at work a primitive economic instinct to preserve the health and vigor of the bread winner on whom they are dependent. The great misfortune of such a custom is that the needs of the growing child, which from the social point of view are quite as essential, do not receive proper consideration.

Another unfortunate tendency among families of limited economic resources is to regard certain foods as luxuries after the commodity has reached a certain price. This is particularly true of milk and was brought forcibly to our attention during the recent unprecedented rise in the cost of this important food.

During the Summer of 1917, the New York Health Department and the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor through Miss Gillett made a survey of the effect of the rise in the cost of milk from nine cents to fourteen cents a quart on the milk supply of twenty-one hundred families living in the poorest districts of the city. Only families with at least two children were considered, for it was obvious that any curtailment in milk consumption would have its worst effect on such groups. It was estimated by Miss Gillett that these families required 8,149 quarts of milk daily. In 1916 these families were actually receiving 4,797 quarts daily, more than half the required amount; but in 1917 they were purchasing only 3,193 quarts daily, a little more than a third of the required amount. The number of families getting less milk was 1,480, about seventy per cent of the total number. Most of these families reduced their milk supply from twenty-five to seventy-five per cent, while 121, nearly ten per cent eliminated milk entirely. Of the 1,480 families buying less milk, 1,213 were substituting tea and coffee.

The effect of the increase in the price of milk, which incidentally was less marked than in the case of other commodities, had a most serious effect upon families of limited means. It was at that time the verdict of the Health Department that the curtailment of milk consumption throughout the city had a marked effect upon the death of infants from summer complaint and on the nutrition of all growing children.

The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor undertook recently to assist families of limited means to secure good milk at lower prices by selling at one of its food stores loose or dipped milk.

While the price was ten cents a quart, eighty quarts of milk were sold daily, but when the price rose to eleven cents, the sales fell to forty quarts daily. This is simply added testimony to the fact that in families of limited means this important food, after it reaches a certain price level, is put in the class of a luxury rather than remaining in the class of an essential where it properly belongs.

Poverty Lowers Other Standards

But defective nutrition is due not merely to a lack of food or to an improper selection of food. Clinical experience with undernourished children indicates that an unregulated diet, bad hygienic habits, uncorrected physical defects, such as diseased tonsils and adenoids, chronic indigestion and other ailments, prevent children from making normal gains. Here, we are in a twilight zone. It would be far from the truth to assume that such conditions, springing as they usually do from neglect and ignorance, are found only in the families of the poor. There ought to be no doubt, however, that they are more prevalent among economically submerged families than among those of adequate income. Inadequate provision for medical care, overcrowded and unsanitary apartments are, however, in most cases the result of insufficient income and these conditions are responsible for many of the physical ailments and defects which have an unfavorable effect on the child's nutrition. Chapin found that in families whose income was less than \$800 a year, the provision for medical attention was inadequate. So clearly in this inadequacy recognized that the program of health insurance, whereby industry, the community and the worker himself each share the cost of this service, is recommended by most social workers who are at all familiar with the problem.

The housing standards of the family, which have obviously close bearing on its physical condition, are almost entirely the result of economic pressure, though of course ignorance and shiftlessness play their part. Several English studies have indicated that malnutrition increases in a direct ratio with overcrowding. By this, we must not be led into believing, however, that overcrowding is in itself solely responsible for the poor nutrition of such children, but rather we must regard the overcrowding as an index of the poverty of the family which in turn is largely responsible for their poor nutrition.

So far as poverty both directly and indirectly is the cause of malnutrition the logical step is the improving of the economic resources of all members of the community who are now unable to maintain an adequate standard of living. Various reliable estimates are available as to the annual income necessary to provide a minimum standard of living consistent with health and efficiency. The careful work of Chapin led to the rather general acceptance of the standard which he deemed essential. His conclusion was that an annual income of between \$850 and \$900 was necessary to support a normal family of five individuals decently. In the twelve years that have elapsed since that estimate was made, however, the cost of living, according to the most conservative estimates of the United States Department of Labor have risen at least eighty per cent. Translated in present day terms this would mean that the minimum living cost for a normal family is between \$1,500 and \$1,800.

Current Rise in Wages and General Standard of Living

The question has frequently arisen within the past three or four years in view of unusually increased wages, as to whether the standard of living of workingmen had actually improved during the period of the Great War. The estimates of the United States Department of Labor would indicate, however, that real wages, which represent nominal wages divided by the cost of living, have made little if any advance and that in many industries they have actually decreased. According to the Labor Department of New York

State, during the greater part of the years 1917 and 1918, the average weekly earnings in New York factories have not kept pace with the rise in the cost of food. The indexes of food costs and labor costs did not meet until February, 1919, and since that date there has been a slight gain of food costs over wages.

We must not, therefore, be too optimistic when we hear of carpenters getting \$6.00 a day where formerly they got \$3.50 and \$4.00 a day. This is an increase of fifty per cent in wages, while living costs have increased since 1914 eighty per cent. In spite of the fact that such workers are securing larger wages than they ever received before, they are inadequate to keep pace with living costs. Their economic condition is no better than it was before the war.

There is considerable indication, however, that in the skilled trades, particularly those which are well organized, there has been a definite gain of wages over living costs which ought eventually to result in an actual rise in the standard of living among these groups. Among the more poorly paid groups the great class of unskilled workers, increases have not been so marked, but of course, living costs have risen at the same rate with them as with other groups.

I realize that there is little which the members of this conference can do to raise the general economic standards of the community. As citizens, however, they can do much in insisting on the rights of labor to organize for their own protection and to bargain collectively for the price of their labor. As citizens and as social workers they can insist on adequate provision for the education of children and on social insurance to protect the workers against illness, accident, death and old age. As social workers they can make all their schemes for immediate aid fit into the larger plan for the complete economic adjustment of all classes toward which all democracies are striving.

I should not wish to appear, in stating the problem as I have, to discourage the various educational and public health programs which are now being directed to the problem of malnutrition. Nutrition clinics for the medical supervision of children who are so badly under-nourished as to require medical care, facilities for the removal of physical defects which retard nutrition, nutrition classes run both in connection with nutrition clinics and with the public school, medical inspection of school children, the work of dietitians in collaboration with relief workers—all these movements are sound and are destined to make telling attacks upon those elements of the nutrition problem which are retarding so many children in their growth. The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor has itself been a pioneer in this kind of work. It has a staff of dietitians who are carrying over to the families under its care the elements of practical food economy. In one section of the community where it is doing an intensive piece of community health work it is now operating five nutrition classes and plans are being made for the "nutritional guidance" of all under-nourished children of whatever age, who are discovered through its clinics and nursing staff.

Our brief survey has shown that a long period of economic insufficiency has the effect not only of reducing the food supply but in establishing food habits and hygienic standards which themselves militate against the nutrition of growing children. Even if it were possible to assure a competency to every workingman's family a great amount of work would still need to be done in the caring for physical defects and in inculcating an elementary knowledge of food values among the various groups of the population, particularly among those who have not had the advantage of acquiring such knowledge. The task of improving the economic conditions of all our workers and of combatting the ignorance and apathy which now handicaps them, must go hand in hand. The greater task, that of raising the economic stand-

ards, will in all probability not be accomplished for many years, perhaps for a generation or two. The application of the other intensive work can be applied immediately. Real progress will not be made unless all of the factors in this problem are kept clearly in mind and unless in providing for the immediate remedies we do not lose sight of the great economic adjustments which are necessary to make possible adequate living standards among all elements of the population.

EDUCATION IN FOOD VALUES AS A PREVENTIVE OF DIETARY DEFICIENCIES

Lucy H. Gillett, Dietetic Bureau, Boston

There is no way of knowing how many adults are incapacitated either directly or indirectly because of deficiencies in their diet, nor any means of knowing how much energy is used in trying to help these same people in one way or another, but it seems as though there could be no doubt about the innumerable ill-effects and resulting evils due to dietary deficiencies which if remedied would help in other types of constructive social work.

It is a waste of time, money and effort to try to educate, to brace up morally, and to help to become self-supporting those who haven't the physical strength to support their good intentions where that physical strength could be increased.

While it is perfectly obvious to everyone that physical strength is closely related to food, perhaps it is not so frequently known that it is not only related to food but to the right kind of food as well. We are told by scientists that to be able to do the best kind of work, to keep up the strength and resistance of the body, a rather definite amount of protein, iron, calcium, etc., with a sufficient number of calories are necessary. We know that food is composed of or will provide all these needs and that the diet may be so arranged as to furnish all the requirements of the body in the proper amounts. Again we hear and see much about the taking of tonics for that "run-down" feeling, tonics many of which are said to contain the same substances supplied by the food, namely, iron, phosphorus, calcium, etc. Is there any relation between these facts?

May not poorly selected food which does not supply the needs of the body be one of the factors which is responsible for lowered resistance, and in many cases for lack of ambition, moral strength and mental ability?

If these substances which are in the tonics were supplied in the food would there be as much of that feeling among adults which makes the tonic seem necessary?

Then there are the children of today who are to be the citizens of tomorrow, thousands of whom are calmly classed as mal-nourished, but what of their future? What can be done to help them to become the strongest kind of citizens or to prevent them from becoming social burdens?

We do not wish to be understood as thinking that we have perfected the human race when we have fed them properly, nor all mal-nutrition is due to improper food. We know that many who are getting the very best kind of food cannot make use of it because of physical defects, nervous tension or worry, lack of fresh air and sunshine, too little rest and sleep, etc. But there is a large percentage of mal-nutrition which is known to be due to improper food and it is this percentage which we have in mind.

There are some who maintain that taste will regulate the diet in such a way that a person who has what he wants to eat will get what the body needs, who feel that the children in families of limited means are the victims of circumstances and that if there were money enough the children would be well-fed. While we grant that appetite may be a good guide in 65 per cent

of the cases, yet anyone who has worked in families in which there are mal-nourished children because of the food and has seen these children respond by improved physical condition to a change in diet without increase in the cost of the food is "not guilty."

Mal-nutrition Not Always Question of Poverty

Two intensive studies made, one by the N. Y. Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor in 1914, and another by the League for Preventive Work in Boston in the summer of 1917, showed that while in the majority of the families investigated enough money was spent for food to obtain adequate nourishment, about 33 per cent of these families were spending money in such a way that the food did not provide the proper materials for growth. Actual instances will illustrate this point much better than statistics, however:

A fourteen year old boy, son of a widowed mother, had been in a mal-nutrition camp during the summer and gained considerably, but a few months on his old diet put him back into his previous weakened condition again. One day a friend asked the mother if she was sure he was getting enough to eat. His mother said he was always eating but never satisfied. He ate a loaf of bread a day, macaroni and plenty of meat. This was the key to the whole situation—he was eating too much of the wrong foods. After a few weeks' time the diet was readjusted and the boy began to feel better again. At the end of three months, feeling quite like a real boy once more, he exclaimed with glee: "Oh, Miss ———, I won't have to go to camp this summer. I can stay home and work to help mother." And the mother said: "Yes, Joe is feeling much better and I am spending a dollar less a week for food, too."

This is a very frequent experience. This boy had been eating incessantly but was still hungry and mal-nourished. He ate immoderately to satisfy a craving in the tissues which only the right food could satisfy. When the food was adjusted, the craving ceased, he ate less, he felt better—and incidentally the mother was spending less money. Who can tell how much his chances for life have been increased or what burden has been lifted from society through the instruction in food values thus received?

In another family in which there were eight children, three of whom were tuberculosis suspects and all of whom were very much underweight, the mother spent five dollars less a week on food after her diet was readjusted to conform to the food rules of health and for the first time in months the children began to gain in weight and strength. In neither case was malnutrition due to lack of money spent for food. Any mother is glad to know how to make her children healthy, provided she can afford it, and economy which goes hand and hand with health is a welcome guest, but there is need of instruction in the majority of cases.

A lack of knowledge of how to adjust income and food expenditures is also holding many children back in normal development and decreasing their ability. In one family the children were frequently out of school because of illness. They were not much below weight, but the color indicated that they were living on a starchy diet low in iron. The man received fairly good wages, the family lived well the first part of the week but had bread and coffee three times a day for the last two or three days of each week. The mother felt they had enough money to live better and asked to have help in the planning of her food and other expenses. At the end of a month the mother said: "We live equally well the whole week through now, the children are better and the teacher says that they are doing much better in their school work, too."

Need for Education in Food Values

This case could be multiplied a sad number of times. Then who can question the need of education in food values? While no one can doubt the influence of insufficient income, a lack of the knowledge of food values is perhaps more of a factor than has been realized. It is a whole argument in itself when as frequently happens the teacher in the class room testifies to the better work done at school and better attention and conduct of children because of a better type of diet and one less expensive than the one which has left its mark of mal-nutrition.

In many cases education may be done through pamphlets sent to the home and through lectures to groups of people through a direct teaching of food values in terms of protein, calories, vitamins, etc., but there are hundreds of thousands of families where the mother has too many small children to get away from home or where she needs more help for her own personal problem than a pamphlet can give and where scientific terms are impossible.

To meet just such a situation as this, the nutrition specialist in social work has come into existence. Her function is to teach the application of food values so as to help the mother to keep the healthy children healthy and to build up those who are underweight because of improper or inadequate food, and to help the woman to plan the feeding of her family according to the amount she can afford to spend. This teaching is based on a knowledge of food values and proper nutrition.

While an understanding of the scientific principles of proper nutrition is most essential for the worker, it is frequently impossible to use scientific terms in families. If anyone has a process whereby people may be inoculated with these terms so that they may use them intelligently, I am ready to sit at the feet of such and learn. I trust the children of the present generation will get his information in a useable form at school in such a way that its effect will be appreciably felt.

Education Must Be in Simple Terms

But there is an immediate problem to meet, in helping to bring back the strength of a boy just out of the hospital, or of saving a family of children from tuberculosis by building up their resistance. In such cases we can hardly sit down and unfold the mysteries of protein, phosphorus, calories, vitamins and the like to a foreign-born woman who can barely catch the most simple word, and could most surely not get enough to comprehend the meaning of the above, for even the English-speaking after careful explanations often think calories are something which can be dished up with a spoon apart from the food itself. One woman said she wanted to see a certain thing cooked to know how calories were put into it and most of them would look upon protein as did the little boy upon iron. He had been told that spinach was good for him because of the iron in it, and one day when visiting with his mother at the home of a friend, he found a piece of sand in spinach which was served, whereupon he said: "Mother, you're right, I've found the iron."

While doubtless no education in food values will ever be as satisfactory as that which can be built upon a fundamental knowledge of chemistry and physiology, in many cases it would be a hindrance to the work to try to teach these terms to people who cannot comprehend their meaning, and because we have seen the results from teaching the application of food values we know that much can be accomplished, just as much can be done to prevent diseases without teaching all the micro-organisms which cause them.

The method of teaching the application of food values is very simple, yet we offer no apologies. We must talk to people in terms which they understand. If it is dollars and cents then "dollars and cents" it must be. To say

"use less meat and more vegetables" takes some time to get the proper relation between what we have in our minds and what they may have in their minds. This is a long and unsatisfactory process. Readjustment may take place and last while the worker is in a family, but too frequently this relation of "more" and "less" slips away from the woman and she slides back. Then at the end of six months or a year she needs another period of readjustment. Such situations call for something definite and tangible which can be left with these families as a constant reminder.

Education Based on Wise Spending

For such a suggestion we are indebted to Prof. H. C. Sherman, of Columbia University. As the result of some research work in Food Economics done by the N. Y. Association for Improving the Conditions of the Poor, in cooperation with Prof. Sherman he formulated the following helpful but simple suggestions which are a guide in securing a fairly well-balanced diet without a knowledge of food values:

Spend at least as much for milk as for meat and as much for vegetables and fruit as for meat.

A resume of this study was given at this Conference two years ago. During the last two years this method has been tried out in hundreds of families with such satisfactory results as to make us feel confident that this is a very safe basis for judging the wisdom of the use of whatever money is spent for food, especially in families where there are a large number of growing children. Professor Sherman's suggestions were for families in all circumstances. There is one additional feature which we have added to his suggestion for families of limited means or those who want to live most economically. In such cases it seems advisable to have from one-third to one-quarter of the total food money, spent for bread, cereals, etc., to insure sufficient energy for the children so that material which should go for growth need not be used for energy required in work or play.

A Record of Food Purchased Helps

This method necessitates the keeping of a record of food expenditures—this is advantageous for many reasons. It not only gives us a better idea as to how much the woman is spending for food—how she is spending it, where most emphasis in corrective suggestions needs to be placed, and a definite basis for these suggestions, but also it gives her a better idea as to what she is doing and where she can economize, if economy is necessary. It is frequently the starting point for freedom from debt because an actual record of a few cents spent uselessly here and there shows, not only the woman, but the man as well, the force of the old saying, "A penny saved is a penny earned" and often starts them on the road to planning ahead.

As I see the problem, the teaching of the application of food values resolves itself into thrift or the spending of money wisely.

1. A woman who cannot understand scientific terms must be helped to rearrange her food expenditures according to the various types of food such as

- (1) Bread and cereals
- (2) Milk and cheese
- (3) Vegetables and fruit
- (4) Meat, fish and eggs
- (5) Other groceries

For this part of the work a record of food purchased is a great help, though not always possible.

2. She must be shown and convinced of the relative value of different foods in each of these groups—this by means of charts.

The educational work may be done through printed suggestions, leaflets expressed in everyday language, or through consultation with someone interested in the family or through intensive work in the home by the trained nutrition worker. This type of work has been started primarily to help those who are not reached in other ways and because of the intensive work done in families of limited means, gives us tangible results as a basis for discussing the need of education in food values as a preventive measure. What has been said here is equally applicable in other types of homes and many are the reports coming back to us concerning its broader use.

In social work, the best approach to a family is through a nurse or social worker who tells the woman to expect someone to talk to her about food. This introduction almost always means a welcome.

The worker first consults the medical record to see what the physical conditions are; then, if there is a question of economy, she finds out what the income is, calculates the amount of money which will buy adequate food, finds out what the food habits of the family have been, and then with a knowledge of food values she can determine whether protein, calories, iron, calcium, or vitamins or several of these are deficient and makes suggestions accordingly. Changes should be suggested only insofar as are necessary for health or economy, as the case may be. It may or may not be a question of insufficient income.

In one family the fourteen-year-old boy, the oldest of a family of ten, had heart trouble and was not strong. His father had died of tuberculosis. The doctor said the boy must have a quart of milk a day. The mother was right in saying she could not afford it without sacrificing the health of the rest of the children. She was spending every cent she had to good advantage. The milk was sent in. With this extra food the boy was soon strong enough to work an hour or two after school, thereby earning some money, part of which he used to buy the milk for himself. The food record helped to rectify this condition.

In another family the children were thin and frail. They were taken to a dispensary where the doctor said, as a parting remark, "Give them plenty of nourishment." Plenty of nourishment meant meat to them and the meat which had been given twice a day was increased to three times a day and the children grew still worse. The social worker asked the woman if she didn't want someone to talk to her about what to feed the children and the woman said she was afraid she couldn't afford to give the children what a dietitian would want them to have. It took much tact and perseverance to overcome her prejudices. The nutrition worker found that with an income of only \$25.00 a week, \$18.00 to \$20.00 of it was going for food. This was about \$5.00 more than was necessary for adequate nourishment and more than half of the \$18.00 was spent for meat. To make a long story short, the children improved rapidly and a month later the woman told the social worker that she was spending from \$5.00 to \$8.00 less a week for food and the children were feeling so much better. Again the record of food expenditures helped.

In one case there was insufficient income well used—in another more than enough was spent for food but spent unwisely. To teach food value is of no use unless the mother can persuade the children to eat the things that are good for them.

Child Discipline Also Needed

We see so many instances where the mother cannot persuade a child to eat the things which are good for him that we feel as though teaching of child discipline were quite as essential as teaching of food values.

Not long ago a nutrition worker was asked to talk to a mother about feeding a five-year-old boy properly. The woman said she couldn't get him to a dispensary, she couldn't make him eat what he should, she could do nothing with him; in fact, he ruled the house. This was said before the boy, whereupon he put his hands over his ears and shouted: "Now don't talk to me about oatmeal because I won't listen and I won't eat it." He then proceeded to get a box of cornflakes from the cupboard, sat down in the middle of the floor and defiantly began to eat them, thereby expecting to precipitate a quarrel. Absolutely ignoring him, the nutrition worker produced a picture book which she carries with her to impress children with the importance of eating the right things if they would be strong men and women and showed it to the other children. She had a chart showing them how much each food would do toward making them strong. Very soon Johnnie felt a lack of attention, jumped up from the floor and being interested in what makes boys strong, decided that he wanted to eat the food which had the longest line opposite it. This happened to be oatmeal, but this didn't matter now. The next time the worker visited the home the mother said: "Now please wait until I get Johnny. He said he wanted to see you to tell you he has been eating oatmeal so as to get strong." The social worker says the family has been made over but the worker maintains she has done nothing except make the child want to do what he should.

Nutrition Classes of Great Benefit

If one can get ten or fifteen children into a class, the spirit of competition makes the results much easier to obtain. In one such class there were eighteen Italians. At the end of one month, sixteen of these Italians were drinking milk and eating oatmeal to see who could get into prime condition first. The spirit of competition puts new aspects on the eating of oatmeal and vegetables, drinking milk, drinking plenty of water between meals, eating slowly, resting before and after eating, going to bed early, etc. These classes, with the visits to the homes in addition, are by far the most satisfactory way of getting results.

This method for the teaching of food values may seem like a slow process, but since the first of last October one worker has been helping the children and adults in about 150 families in which there have been about 500 children to get started on the road to health. These people would have been reached in no other way. The doctor treats his patients individually, the nurse does her work individually, and the food problem is also individual in many, many instances.

Food and Social Welfare

Food is a very fundamental factor in health. Unless, in creating better social conditions, food plays the part which it was intended to play, other factors will necessarily be less effective. It is the birthright of every boy and girl to have good health. The teaching of the application of food values then seems imperative if we would give them a whole chance to become strong and healthy and capable of doing a whole citizen's duty.

It is a sad comment on our civilization to arrive at the point of realizing the need of a preventive measure through an inestimable waste of human life.

Social conditions, the health of the community and the relation of food to health is a trio which go hand and hand and the time is not far distant when public opinion will demand a nutrition worker in connection with every agency in any way related to public health.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Dr. Royal Meeker, U. S. Commissioner of Labor Statistics, spoke of the budget studies which were being made under the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics by Prof. Wm. F. Ogburn. He stated that their figures indicated that it took from 50c to 60c a day per man now to get 3,500 calories, as purchased. He stated that several years ago his study in Washington had showed a cost of 38c, that the increase in the cost of living between 1915 and 1918 had been about 60 per cent, which had not been a straight 60 per cent increase in each of the previous items, but had affected a readjustment of the factors in the family budget. One reason for the difference in Dr. Meeker's figures from Mr. Gebhart's was probably that the Bureau of Labor statistics had taken only normal American families. Foreign non-English speaking families were excluded unless they had lived in this country at least five years. Few if any were in the dependent class, which probably furnished some of Mr. Gebhart's statistics. Dr. Meeker stated that his conclusions, reinforced by those of the Carnegie Institute, were that there was as much as 25 per cent variation between individuals in their calory requirements, at the same kinds of work.

Mrs C. W. Green of Columbia, Mo., stated that the Federation of Women's Clubs had long worked on this problem and together with the American Home Economics Association had a bill before Congress putting food economy on the same basis with agriculture, providing home demonstration agents in each county, so that not only college girls, but the mothers in poor homes should have instructions.

Miss Louise Stanley of Missouri said that interesting work along this line had been done at the University of Chicago, about which Dr. Blount could give information, and at the University of Missouri, about which Miss Essie Heyle of the Extension Department could give facts.

Answering the question as to whether it was practical for social workers to give dietetic instruction or whether it was always necessary to have experts, *Miss Florence Nesbit* of Chicago replied that a great deal of good work had been done by social workers, acting under the instruction and in consultation with specialists. She added that the expenditure of 50 to 60 cents per man per day, given by Dr. Meeker as necessary to secure 3,500 calories is possible only for those families on an income of at least \$1,800 a year, and that as we all know how few were the \$1,800 salaries, education *must* help those with less. Miss Nesbit felt that 45 cents would buy adequate food, that is, adequate in quantity and kind, if most carefully planned.

The Chairman closed the discussion by mentioning that the New Haven Visiting Nurse Association, and others, had found it well worth while to add visiting housekeepers to their staffs, working under an expert dietitian.

BAD HOUSING AND ILL HEALTH

Prof. James Ford, U. S. Housing Corporation, Washington

During the two years of our participation in the war, attention has been called more than ever before to the subject of housing. This was due primarily to the fact that during the war there were not houses enough in our industrial centers to accommodate the industrial workers brought in to manufacture munitions, build ships or engage in other essential industries. This shortage was met only in part by the relatively meager appropriations of the federal government to provide housing for war needs. Houses were built by the government in very few cities, and private capital did not engage largely in the construction of dwelling houses, because of the difficulty of securing credit, labor and materials. A shortage of dwellings is, therefore, practically universal throughout the United States. New building to meet this shortage should be guided by high standards of planning, construction, sanitation and equipment, so that we will not repeat the mistakes which have been made in the older buildings erected for the use of the industrial classes prior to the war.

Not only is the quantity of houses important, but quality also matters. Not only must we have houses, but we must have good houses. There is increasing recognition on the part of employers of labor that poor housing leads either to a heavy labor turnover (for labor will not come to a plant, or at least will not stay, unless decent living conditions can be provided) or to poor health, and thereby to inefficiency. The public at large is also beginning to recognize the close association of bad housing and the growing

discontent. Prohibition of the liquor traffic by removing the poor man's only means of forgetting his misery is going to increase the volume of such discontent. It is, therefore, urgent that we recognize the correlation of bad housing and ill health and adopt policies which will remove the sources of ill health and of injustice—or, to put it positively, adopt policies which will provide wholesome houses for all.

Any ill to be fought effectively must be understood. When, for example, malaria was believed to be produced by night air and windows of sleeping rooms were kept tightly closed, not only was malaria not stopped, but other ills were induced. When, however, it was discovered that malaria was borne to its victims by the mosquito, which bred in stagnant pools, windows could be kept open, if properly screened, and malaria could be fought at its source by draining stagnant water or pouring oil on the surface. To remove the forms of ill health which are produced by housing conditions, we must, therefore, discover the specific cause of each house disease and remove that cause. This is not easy, because many of the suggested correlations are still under dispute, but pending final agreement on the part of specialists, we must act, as in all other matters of human policy, upon tentative conclusions which may be accepted as reasonable.

Our problem may first be considered with reference to the types of houses which have been or may be constructed. Men may live in detached houses, in semi-detached or row houses, or they may live in flats,—detached, semi-detached or in rows—or in block dwellings, tenements, apartments, hotels or lodging houses. Of these types mentioned, unquestionably the worst, under usual conditions is the multiple dwelling; and although these, if properly planned within and properly placed on the lot, can be rendered tolerably wholesome, they inevitably contain at best features which render them far from ideal as places of permanent residences.

Let us take for example the prevailing type of multiple dwelling as found in our American cities. This is a structure four, five or six stories high, and perhaps higher, built largely of wood, but with brick exterior, three or four rooms deep, sharing party walls with similar buildings to right and left, sharing with its neighbors a narrow court or shaft at the sides and an ugly yard at the rear filled with clothes lines and drying clothes, outbuildings and board fences, and probably ash, garbage and refuse cans, and sharing with its neighbors to the front an ugly, monotonous, treeless, dusty paved street. The picture above given, which describes the urban homes of the middle classes, does not describe the homes of our wage earners who constitute the major part of our urban population, for to it must be added the inevitable dark hallway, the common toilet, often located in hall, cellar or yard, the disrepair and the stench from unclean cellars, halls, yards, from cooking and washing, from unsanitary plumbing, and from years of careless usage.

Such dwellings as have just been described may contribute to ill health on the part of their occupants (even though these tenements or apartments are newly constructed) in the following ways:

1. Through improper location by building on wet and imperfectly drained land; the buildings, especially the lower stories, may be damp, and dampness tends to lower resistance to disease. Or by placing the building in a highly exposed position, proper heating in winter season may be impossible for many rooms and such exposure may reduce resistance.
2. Through the characteristic use of wood for interior, if not exterior, construction, tenants are exposed to a continuous fire risk. Few tenements or apartment houses have more than one fireproof means of egress, if any is provided, so each family is continuously exposed by the carelessness of all the other families in the building. A tenement house fire may mean not only the possibility of death from burning, but the greater probability of

suffocation or accident, but perhaps the form of ill health which is most lasting in its effects is occasioned by freight, which may cause sleeplessness or even permanent nervous impairment.

3. Through defective structure or bad repair there may be continuous danger to life and limb from accident. Winding stairs take their annual toll in broken limbs; rotten flooring, insecure railings of stairs and piazzas or fire escapes insecurely attached are cause of many of the diseases technically classified as traumatic.

4. Through defective orientation with reference both to the points of the compass and to neighboring buildings, tenants may be deprived of sunshine and even of adequate light. Many of our cities have planned, and continue to plan, streets running due east and west. If the apartments are built up to their side lot lines, approximately half of their rooms are sunless. The absence of sunshine generally means dampness, cheerlessness, and for those thousands of flats which have no sunlit room a reduced resistance and an increased exposure to disease, for sunshine is an effective germicide as well as a promoter of improved metabolism. The sunless room or apartment facing the north or facing a narrow court or yard shadowed by neighboring buildings is, therefore, a favorable medium for the transmission of certain respiratory diseases.

5. Through excessive height, for high buildings may contribute to ill health, not only by increasing the fire risk and shutting out sunshine as above mentioned, but also by necessitating stair climbing, which is a hardship to the aged and a limitation to the play activities of the very young, and often a source of pain, if not positive danger, to women who are about to become mothers. Tenement houses have no elevators and, hence, those families living above the second floor, to avoid stair climbing, will do without out-of-door exercise which is essential to their health.

6. Through the crowding of many families in the same building, sharing the same halls and perhaps the same toilets the chances of exposure to certain infections and contagious diseases are increased. The common stair railing touched by all who go in or out is a fomite by which common colds or other diseases of the respiratory system may be transmitted via the hands of the infected person to the hands of the new victim. The unwashed hand may soon be carried to the mouth and the infection accomplished. Though this mode of transmission is perhaps less serious than the common hand towel or drinking glass, it is not negligible, especially where halls are dark, for the railing is more used in such halls and sunlight does not exercise its germicidal action.

7. Through crowding of population within the tenement, block, or district, for, whether among rich or poor, density of population further adds to ill health by the nervous wear and tear which it entails. It is difficult to secure relief from the noises made by your neighbor, who insists upon moving around his furniture late at night, or walks the floor with his crying baby, or plays his pianola, Victrola or cornet during the hours when you wish to concentrate upon your work or to sleep. Moreover, where there is large population there must be considerable traffic of persons returning home or delivering goods or making visits, and such traffic means noise, which in turn means nervous fatigue and sleeplessness. As sleep is essential to the repair of the body after the fatigue and wear and tear of the day's activities, the sleeplessness entailed by crowded living must be considered one of the most serious of the sources of reduced resistance or ill health on the part of the tenement dweller.

8. Through crowding of rooms. Crowding may be caused by shortage of housing, poverty, or ignorant racial habit. It almost inevitably means increased opportunities for a communication of disease, either by direct con-

tact, fomites or droplet infection. Where there is crowding of lodgers in the same apartment with the family there are reduced opportunities for privacy and perhaps for the accepted decencies of life, which may be an occasion in conjunction with other causes for immorality with its train of sexual diseases, or for excessive sexual stimulation, especially on the part of the adolescent, resulting in perversions or neuresthenic tendencies.

9. Through inadequate plumbing or the use of undesirable or defective fixtures which may mean reduced cleanliness and in various ways increased opportunity for transmission of diseases. Lack of water supply within an apartment makes personal cleanliness and house cleaning difficult. Broken or imperfectly trapped fixtures mean that occupants must continually breathe sewer gas. Though sewer gas has been determined to be free of bacteria, its presence in an apartment leads to discomfort, reduced appetite and imperfect nutrition, and in extreme cases to nausea. Where fixtures must be shared by several families there is danger of transmission of venereal diseases and of body parasites.

10. Through poor ventilation. The habitual use of windowless rooms, of rooms on narrow closed courts, or even of rooms having only one window, where, for reasons of privacy the door must be kept closed, means at least discomfort from hot, humid, stale air and probably reduced resistance to disease.

11. Through poor lighting. Dark rooms cause ill health in a variety of ways. In the first place, a room which is dark is likely to be dirty, because the dirt cannot be seen. Such dirt may contain disease germs, and may contaminate hands or throat and lungs. Families living and working in imperfectly lighted rooms are likely also to suffer from eye strain. When members of the family do housework, sew or read in such rooms for long periods, there may result permanent impairment of the vision, of which chronic headaches are the usual symptom. Careful experiments by the Boston Board of Health have demonstrated that the germs of tuberculosis can retain their virulence in such rooms for a period of more than two months. As one-tenth of the deaths in America are from tuberculosis and as there are at least three living cases in our population for each death, and as also the tenement house population changes residence frequently, the chances of transmission of this disease from one family to another should not be considered negligible, though other methods of transmission of this disease are more common. If, as is frequently the case, all of the rooms of a tenement are gloomy, the resistance of those members of the family who are forced to pass their days in the home is almost certain to be reduced, for human beings, like plants, need sunshine for vigorous growth. Experiments seem to indicate that living in gloomy quarters, especially where accompanied by lack of exercise, results in a reduction of the phagocytic power of the blood; that is the power to destroy germ organisms, and an anemic condition may also result.

12. Through improper equipment. Defective or imperfect equipment may injure health in a variety of ways. A sink which is set too low means back strain for the housekeeper. A leaky stove may endanger the lives of the tenants from carbon monoxide. Defective gas fixtures may cause poisoning and defective electric wiring may cause danger to life from fire. Careless insertion of plumbing or heating fixtures may make it possible for vermin and insect pests which are disease carriers to pass from the apartments of careless tenants to those of careful housekeepers. Lack of screens or defective screening may expose to mosquitoes, which are bearers of malaria, or to flies, which may be carriers of typhoid fever in cities where modern plumbing is not universal, or of the intestinal infections of infants.

13. Finally, the proximity of the tenement to the factory may mean poisoning of the air by chemical gases, mineral dust or soot, causing throat

irritation and reduced resistance to respiratory diseases, as well as increased work for the overburdened housewife in keeping her curtains clean and her home free from dust.

The effects of the discomfort of an uncongenial environment are cumulative. Continuous living in such quarters tends to produce irritability, aenemia and lassitude, or what is popularly called the "Slum Disease."

Some of the undesirable features in house construction which have been mentioned are actually reducing resistance or causing disease to the vast majority of the persons now living in multiple dwellings and are inherent in that type of dwelling. In comparison with the multiple dwelling the detached house is far more conducive to high resistance and good health. With a little attention to planning, it can be made structurally safe and every room can be well lighted, well ventilated and equipped for the comfort and convenience of its occupants. For families with children it is the ideal place of residence, as it makes possible not only good health, but opportunities for protection from undesirable associates. It also makes possible supervised play activities and through the household garden offers the children opportunity for familiarity with plants and flowers—an essential part of every child's education.

HOUSING DEVELOPMENT AS A POST-WAR PROBLEM IN CANADA

Thomas Adams, Housing and Town Planning Adviser to Canadian Government, Ottawa

On the program announcing the session at which this paper will be read I am announced to address you on "Housing Development as a War and a Post-War Problem." Owing to the fact, however, that I have a time limit I must deal only with the second part of the subject.

Housing as a War Problem

As a war problem, housing has been discussed very fully already. The work which has been done by the British and American Governments is well known, and the Bureau of Housing and Transportation at Washington will shortly issue a report on its operations which will fully acquaint any one with the latest information on the subject from the most authoritative source.

In Canada we did not attempt to carry out any Government housing during the war. That was our misfortune in one respect, since it prevented us using the energy and restlessness that come during periods of war, as a means of creating some bold experiment in model housing.

On the other hand, it is our good fortune that our present position is not prejudiced by the carrying out of any extravagant and hurried scheme during the war; by extravagant, of course, I mean the necessary extravagance created by war conditions.

Housing as a Problem of Post-War Reconstruction

Since the war ceased we have started in Canada to deal with housing as a national affair and as a problem of reconstruction. In that sense I believe the United States is still without any definite policy. In my opinion the Canadian policy in this matter is based on the soundest principles that can be applied under a federal constitution in a democratic country. Of course it is not in any sense final. It is a beginning, and I am certain that if we apply proper administration it will be a beginning of very great things.

In the inauguration of an entirely new policy, involving almost revolu-

tionary changes in sentiment and practice, it is better to begin cautiously and with moderate expectations, only making sure that the principles are sound and that whatever is done is a contribution towards the complete administrative whole it is sought to attain. It is desirable also to use public enterprise as a stimulus and aid to good private enterprise and not as an alternative to anything but bad private enterprise.

The Canadian National Housing Project

The armistice was signed on November 11th. Immediately afterwards representatives of the Federal and Provincial Governments of Canada met and, among other subjects, discussed the desirability of creating better housing conditions. It was observed that there had been a practical cessation of building operations during the war and a scarcity of housing accommodation. The Privy Council only reported on the matter on December 2d, and on the following day, December 3d, an order-in-council was issued granting a loan of \$25,000,000. On December 12th a committee of five members of the Cabinet was appointed to administer the loan. Prior to the taking of this action by the Dominion Government, the Provincial Government of Ontario had decided to appropriate \$2,000,000 for housing in Ontario as an addition to any federal loan that might be given.

The federal loan of \$25,000,000 will be distributed among the nine provinces of Canada, pro rata to the population. It is hoped that each province will add a contribution of its own so as to make the available total much larger. The money will be lent at 5 per cent to the provinces and will be repayable by them, in most cases, in six monthly equal installments of principal and interest.

I will now deal briefly with the administration of the loan under two heads:

First, the administrative machinery, and

Second, the conditions and principles under which state-aided housing schemes will be carried out.

(1) Administrative Machinery

The Federal Government, the Provincial Government and the municipalities are all involved in the machinery that has to be set up to carry out housing schemes.

Under the Constitution of Canada the duty of providing houses and controlling land development is a provincial and municipal and not a federal matter. Many have urged that the Federal Government should itself carry out housing schemes, but this would interfere with the autonomy of both the provinces and the municipalities. For the sake of the future development of government housing and its successful administration, it is essential to pay full regard to this fact. In the working out of the administrative machinery great care has been taken to avoid anything that would have the appearance of interfering with the local government. At the same time it is obviously essential that the Federal Government should take some responsibility with regard to the way in which their money is to be used. They certainly should give some leadership and guidance on the subject and afford an opportunity for co-ordinating the work of the various provinces.

As we shall see later, each province has, before getting the loan, to submit a general provincial scheme of housing for the approval of the Federal Government. Some kind of federal organization is necessary to examine these schemes, to report on them, and subsequently to exercise some oversight to see that they are carried out. All this must be done with great care and tact as a means of assisting the provincial governments, rather than as a means of criticising anything they do. Once each provincial scheme

is approved by the Federal Government, the jurisdiction in respect of all local schemes will rest with the provincial authorities. In the same way it is expected that as a rule the provincial authorities will show a similar confidence in the municipalities and that once the municipal scheme of housing is settled the municipality will be left comparatively free to administer it and to obtain such loans as it requires to be spent in conformity with the scheme.

To put it briefly, the machinery represents complete co-operation between the Federal, Provincial and Municipal Governments, with the responsibility divided as follows:

- (a) *Federal*—Responsibility for approval of general schemes of each province dealing with the standards and conditions to be imposed by the province in making loans to municipalities; carrying out of advisory work in connection with provincial legislation, forms of schemes, and preparation of plans and specifications, etc., and reporting on questions relating to standardization, comparative data collected from different provinces, etc.
- (b) *Provincial*—Responsibility to repay loan to Federal Government and to administer the general scheme it has prepared and to secure from each municipality borrowing money a general municipal scheme for its own area.
- (c) *Municipal*—Responsibility for repaying loan to the province and supervising and carrying out all housing schemes in accordance with the principles and standards included in the municipal scheme which is part of, or consistent with, the general provincial scheme.

The result of the procedure is that the real work and the real responsibility rests with the municipality, although in many cases commissions appointed in municipalities have to be, or in some cases may be, appointed. At any rate the responsibility is local. It is near to the people. Close observation of the working out of details will be best attained by this means. It is likely that the municipalities will be slow to accept the responsibility. This has proved to be a stumbling block to housing progress in most countries where national housing has been carried out. It is also probable that some people will fear that our municipal administrations are not competent to undertake such additional responsibilities.

Undoubtedly there are defects in our municipal councils and forms of government and we can always find good reasons for withholding the giving of any added duties or powers to our municipal administrators, but I shall hazard the statement that the longer we continue to do that the longer we shall have to wait to get local bodies in whom we can have confidence. My own opinion is that we should pile up responsibility on the municipal authority for all matters of local administration; that we should not attempt to supersede them more than is necessary for purposes of co-ordination and general progress and that, even if this does produce mistakes, these mistakes will, on the whole, be less than if we attempted to centralize the machinery of the government too much and to create new forms of bureaucracy.

The actual progress made up to the present is that a federal office has been opened in which there are town planners, engineers and architects engaged in collecting data, preparing reports on different aspects of housing and town planning; preparing model plans for distribution to the provinces and municipalities; acting as a clearing house for information on all phases of the housing question; inquiring into questions of shortage of houses, etc. This office is in direct communication with the administrative departments of each of the provinces. The order-in-council setting out the dominion scheme was not completed and issued until each province had an opportunity

of raising objections, the result being that the federal scheme was practically agreed to by all the provinces before it was made public. Since this federal scheme was issued, on February 20th, the following provinces have passed acts of parliament to take advantage of the loan and deal with the procedure necessary for that purpose: Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba and British Columbia, leaving only two provinces which have, so far, not joined in the government scheme, for reasons that are local and not because they object to the scheme in any principle.

In four out of these seven provinces, general schemes of housing have been prepared, and in the three, schemes are in course of preparation.

In Quebec and Ontario, directors of housing have been appointed and steps to create special officials are also being taken in the other provinces.

I am not able to enter into many details regarding the progress made, but will simply quote the latest report of the director of housing of the one Province of Ontario, which says:

The following 47 municipalities have passed the necessary by-laws bringing them under the provisions of "The Ontario Housing Act, 1919."

CITIES	TOWNS	VILLAGES and TOWNSHIPS
Windsor	Sudbury	Port Dalhousie
Fort William	Sandwich	Madoc
Galt	Hespeler	Port Credit
St. Catharines	Ingersoll	New Toronto
Sault Ste. Marie	Oshawa	Nimitra
Ottawa	Ford City	Point Edward
Sarnia	Cochrane	Richmond Hill
Woodstock	Trenton	Fergus
London	Sturgeon Falls	Port McNicoll
Guelph	Leamington	Milverton
Niagara Falls	Palmerston	Neebing
Brantford	Perth	West Oxford
	Whitby	Gloucester
	Listowel	
	Bridgeburg	
	Thorold	
	Mimico	
	Walkerville	
	Midland	
	Arthur	
	Port Colbourne	

About 500 plans have been approved by the Director of the Bureau of Municipal Affairs, and in a considerable number of the above mentioned municipalities houses are under construction.

The Director estimates that the loans required by these municipalities will aggregate nearly \$10,000,000.

About 20 municipalities are considering plans for acquiring land and erecting houses on a large scale. Some of them have already purchased land.

The largest city in the province (Toronto) is not included in the above list. It is preparing a scheme of its own under special powers, and purposes to carry it out by means of municipal bonds raised for the purpose.

I would refer those who are interested in obtaining further information to the report of the Ontario housing committee, which contains a number of plans for use, if desired, by municipalities, and also to the regulations and forms of the Ontario province, both of which publications can be obtained from Mr. J. A. Ellis, Director of Housing, Parliament buildings, Toronto.

You will see from the dates I have used and the progress already made that the process of joint co-operation of the three sets of government does not lead to any serious delay in administration.

*The number of municipalities is now over 90.—T. A.

(2) *Standards and General Principles of Schemes*

In the order-in-council of February 20th the standards and principles of the federal scheme were set forth. The general object was stated to be as follows:

(a) To promote the erection of dwelling houses of modern character to relieve congestion of population in cities and towns; (b) to put within the reach of all working men, particularly returned soldiers, the opportunity of acquiring their own homes at actual cost of the building and land acquired at a fair value, thus eliminating the profits of the speculator; (c) to contribute to the general health and well-being of the community by encouraging suitable town planning and housing schemes.

Four Conditions of Federal Scheme to Be Complied With by Provinces

Four conditions were attached to the proposed loan as follows:

(1) The general housing scheme had to be approved, as already stated. It was required that the general scheme should include a schedule of minimum standards for purpose of health, comfort and convenience.

(2) Loans were restricted to \$3,500 for frame or veneered dwelling, and \$4,500 for dwellings of more durable construction as specified.

(3) Money could only be loaned to the provinces and municipalities, housing societies of companies with dividends limited to 6 per cent, and owners of lots for erecting houses for their own occupancy.

(4) The period was fixed to twenty years for local improvements such as pavements, and frame or veneered buildings; and thirty years for land and more permanent buildings. Due regard is paid to the life of the improvements with a view to encouraging more permanent construction. Thus a loan of \$3,000 for a frame dwelling for twenty years would cost about the same per month as a loan for a better house costing \$4,000 for thirty years.

These are the four conditions, but attached to the government project are a number of recommendations with regard to standards. Some of the provinces are adopting these recommendations merely as suggestions to be made by them to the municipalities. Others are adopting them and making them compulsory, and others are going further in some respects and not so far in others.

Recommendations of Federal Government as to Standards

I shall have to refer you to the federal scheme, a copy of which I shall be pleased to forward to any applicants, for the details of the standards, and will only draw attention to a few of the outstanding points. The standards set forth are very general and do not enter into much detail. The object was to secure the things that are essential, and that are usually overlooked in municipal by-laws.

They comprise recommendations that land be acquired by a speedy method at the lowest cost; that sites be properly planned, and that local improvements, sewers and water supply, be provided in advance of the building of houses; that one-tenth of all areas for housing schemes be reserved for open spaces; that not more than one-tenth, and in no case more than one-eighth, of the gross cost per dwelling be spent on bare land; that certain standards be applied to the sizes or rooms, distances between buildings and sanitary conditions. For instance—every house should have a bathroom.

Proportion of Cost of Land to Cost of House

With regard to the suggestion that the cost of land should be fixed in proportion to the cost of the dwelling, the reference is to the land in an unimproved condition, and if pavements, sewers and water mains are con-

structed it would mean that the proportion of the site of the dwelling might be a fourth or a fifth instead of an eighth or a tenth.

So far as the bare land is concerned, no workman's house should be erected on land that in an unimproved condition costs more than an eighth or a tenth of the complete dwelling. One of the curious facts is that the provinces where land is most plentiful in relation to population are finding it most difficult to comply with this suggestion. In one of the old towns of Ontario land is being obtained for building houses at \$20 per lot, which will represent about one hundred and fiftieth of the completed building. The effect of this will be that the purchaser will be able to spend an extra \$200 on his house more than he could have done on land costing the ordinary price in a small town. This \$200 will go to supply those improved sanitary facilities that are usually left out through lack of means caused by too much money having been spent on the site.

Canadian Scheme Suitable for United States Conditions

I commend the Canadian scheme to the consideration of this conference as an example that might very well be followed in the United States. You, too, should have your federal office of housing and town planning, a co-ordinating and advisory bureau. The war has been won by organization as well as by the splendor of our men. If it had gone on a few months longer you would have wasted more than you now need to spend in solving your housing problem. Your Federal Government should offer a sum of money which, to be equivalent to the Canadian appropriation, would be about \$300,000,000, to assist the states to carry out housing and town planning schemes. This money should be lent at 4 per cent to be equivalent to our 5 per cent. It should be lent to your state governments after consultation with them, and after settlement with them of the principles that would govern the spending of the money on housing schemes. Each state would prepare its own housing scheme, and one main condition of any federal scheme should be that such a state scheme be prepared and approved before any loan is granted. Under state control the municipalities or housing commissions would work out the problem locally and would build houses where needed.

To make housing improvement more effective, however, it will be necessary to have better and more general town planning legislation in the states and to unite administration of housing and town planning together in a state department.

It seems difficult to believe that the American people with all their resourcefulness, their love of freedom and humanity and their unequalled opportunities, will let their program of reconstruction continue to have the defect that it does not deal adequately with the most pressing social problem of our time. All of us realize what the housing problem is today in our big cities. In New York and Montreal it is getting beyond our control—by any means within our power. Let us ask ourselves what the problem will be in twenty years hence, when the slum population have multiplied more rapidly than other classes of population, and our slum areas have grown relatively greater than now to our healthy areas, and the great cities are spread over double their present territory. There is hardly another social question to which it is more important that we should apply our energies, and there are few other social problems that can be effectively dealt with, without at the same time dealing with the problem of improving housing conditions.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Mr. Carol Aronovici told of a bill before Congress providing for the building of homes for working people, and stated that he thought it an admirable plan to have the state and municipal governments also a party to such plans, not leaving everything to the federal government.

Replying to the question, *Mr. Ford* said that there would probably be several bills before Congress providing for housing in various ways, and that they were not partisan. He also stated that Senator Kenyon of Iowa had introduced a bill providing for the establishment of a commission to study the subject and report at the next session. In the meantime he is asking that the Bureau of Housing be kept on to advise the commission. The Calder bill provides for a Home Loan Bank and is the bill drawn by Mr. Haymaker before consulting the executive committee of the U. S. League of Building and Loan Associations. Mr. Ford stated that as far as he knew, health interests had not been mobilized back of this legislation.

Replying to the question as to what could be done in case a city had a superfluity of old tenements, *Mr. Adams* stated that it was the experience of England that it seldom paid to remodel old tenements. That people ought to be coaxed out into the suburbs, even before the factories they worked in moved out there. This is a question of town planning as well as of housing. In Canada, no public money can be used in fixing up old tenements.

Regarding real estate companies getting hold of the houses, *Mr. Adams* stated that a man could sell his house after he had made full payment on it, but only to someone else who would himself occupy it, and that no house could be turned into a store unless two-thirds of the people on the street petitioned it. It probably will never be possible to absolutely eliminate speculation.

The question was asked as to whether any property was ever condemned, for instance in old residential districts where the houses were run down, but in good location. To this *Mr. Adams* replied that England provided for the purchase of such property, but the Canadian law did not, believing rather in making the control and regulation of slum areas a municipal responsibility, to be dealt with by them.

Others who participated in the informal discussion were George J. Nelbach, New York, and William H. Ogden of Baltimore.

WHAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS DOING FOR INDUSTRIAL HYGIENE

Bernard J. Newman, Sanitarian, U. S. Public Health Service (Reserve)
Washington

During the war period the President turned over to the United States Public Health Service control over all health problems affecting industrial workers within and without industrial plants. By joint agreement with the Department of Labor, the personnel of the Public Health Service designated to have charge of this work, were detailed to the Working Conditions Service. After the signing of the armistice, both the personnel of the Public Health Service and that of the Working Conditions Service were increased in order to meet the problems of reconstruction along industrial lines which were rapidly developing. Numerous industries sought the advice of the federal government as to occupational hazards. In addition, the federal government sought out specific hazardous industries to which it offered its service.

A great variety of industrial establishments were thus studied, including, in addition to group industries such as Niagara Falls, East Chicago, and Kalamazoo, individual plants engaged in chemical production, cutlery manufacturing, metals refining, steel production and die casting.

In such plants, the types of hazards and the risks therefrom were varied. Some were those inherent in old machinery where belts were not guarded, gears were exposed, and high-speed emery wheels were without flanges or hoods. By far the larger part of the problems uncovered, and upon which recommendations were made, had to do with conditions that affect the health of the workers, such as extremes of heat and cold, fatigue, dirt, oils, and other substances used in processing that have either a dermatic or systemic effect upon the workers. Industrial poisonings from fumes and gases, dust hazards from a variety of operations, and ventilation problems presented by both, received attention from the officers assigned to this office. More-

over, special attention was given to surgical and medical supervision provided by the plants, first aid and hospital care, and like factors that affect the welfare of the workers and help to keep their health good and to stimulate them to their greatest efficiency.

This work did not cease with the signing of the armistice. The corps continued to direct researches, largely at the request of the plants, in industries where problems of a more or less acute character were a grave concern to the management and were influencing absenteeism and stimulating turnover. Whenever such studies were made, recommendations were submitted to the plants direct as confidential professional advice. Able engineers attached to the corps directed the necessary experiments, when such were needed to install recommendations made.

Thus, one firm was found on investigation to be liberating in the air of the workrooms a large quantity of valuable graphite dust. To eliminate this hazard, a commercial firm installed an exhaust ventilation system which proved to be inefficient, with the result that health conditions continued to be bad, while the firm itself lost considerable quantities of valuable graphite daily. The office was appealed to for an engineering plan to remove the dust more satisfactorily. A Service officer conducted a series of experiments that resulted in a reduction of over ninety per cent of the waste, with a corresponding saving to the plant and of protection of the workers.

Another plant engaged in abrasive manufacturing found its crushing process exceedingly dusty and the surfacing of the larger wheels likewise so dusty as to constitute a grave health menace. Here, also, the Service designed hoods for both the crushing and surfacing processes, thereby reducing in a marked degree the hazards involved.

These are typical only of one type of constructive service rendered to industrial plants; other types related to occupational diseases. One such came from a plant where there had been an epidemic of furunculosis. Fifteen men in one department, constituting the entire force, had from seven to ten boils each covering their forearms. The plant was unable to account for the trouble, but suspected a grease which was used to cover metal bars handled by the workers. An intensive study showed that the grease itself had no effect, but the unhygienic practice of the men in washing in a barrel of paraffin oil and then wiping their hands on waste, also used in common, had communicated furuncles from the worker originally infected to all the other workers.

In another instance, a plant sought assistance relative to two processes in their industry where the men claimed a health hazard was present. The plant officials did not believe such a hazard existed, but wished the Service to direct a study to make a definite determination. When the survey was completed, the hazards were found to be so slight as to be unworthy of consideration, but in the plant thirty other defective conditions were noted that warranted correction. Of these other hazards the plant officials were seemingly unaware, though they welcomed the information.

In one western city, a plant superintendent took exception to a recommendation made to hood a process where lead fumes were said to be escaping; the reason assigned for the recommendation being that some of the men were suffering from lead poisoning. This official felt the statement was a reflection on his management, as he aimed to keep his plant as free as possible from hazards. In confirmation of his contention, he submitted a letter from the plant physician contradicting the findings of the Service officers. The result was that physical examinations were made of one hundred employees. In thirty-one cases symptoms of lead poisoning were found. The recommendations were then accepted and a special letter written by the plant commending the work done.

When it was suggested to a group of employers that the service was willing to undertake a study of cutting oils and compounds, twenty-six firms in one locality offered their plants for the necessary research, stating that such oils and compounds constituted a serious problem upon which they would welcome advice in order to eliminate their workers from exposure to furunculosis and folliculitis.

From the foregoing it is readily seen that the variety of service called for is extensive. Perhaps its scope is better shown when it is noted that it extends beyond the walls of the plant into the community. Thus, several towns within industrial zones have been surveyed that the hazards arising from the improper disposal of sewage, from the use of a nonpotable water and the occupancy of insanitary dwellings might be noted and plans made for their correction. One construction camp sought and obtained from the Service plans and specifications for a waste incinerator so designed that it could be adapted to the needs of a camp of 200 workers or to one of 1,000 workers.

At the present time, the Division of Industrial Hygiene and Medicine* is engaged in studying several important projects wherein alleged hazards of a serious nature are said to exist and upon which advice as to the engineering features necessary to eliminate such hazards is especially desired. The pottery industry is one such project. Plant officials and pottery workers alike requested a thorough research to determine the extent of the lead hazard in that industry. Three district offices are now studying the potteries, making process analyses, chemical tests, physical examinations and the corresponding tests in a most thorough manner. The results of their work will be available soon.

Another important survey is under way, sponsored by the New Jersey Department of Labor, in order that the exact nature of the hazards in certain industries may be determined. A cross section of the industrial area of the state has been chosen and intensive plant surveys are being conducted. In connection therewith, occupational clinics are being opened and careful physical examinations are being made. This program is receiving the hearty support, not only of the state labor department and local health officials, but of the industries involved and their union labor employees.

In addition to the foregoing, important pieces of research into industrial fatigue and into air conditions are being directed by Professor Lee of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York City, and by Professor Winslow of Yale University, respectively. Dr. Lee is a consulting physiologist and Dr. Winslow a consulting hygienist of the U. S. Public Health Service. Each has a well-organized and skilled corps of Service specialists. Similar studies in other fields, as yet but imperfectly studied, are in contemplation.

Delicate problems of responsibility for accidents or sickness compensable under the U. S. Employees' Compensation Law have been handled by the service. The efficiency of the medical and surgical departments of industries under government control has been measured and reports to the Compensation Commission thereon made. In a measure, a like service has been rendered to industries under private management, and where such medical organization has been found inefficient or inadequate, definite plans applicable to local needs have been outlined, and presented. A registry for public health nurses in the field of industry is maintained and service is rendered to plants in need of nursing organization and personnel. Charge of the medical and surgical relief work of employees of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, Washington, also rests with this office.

*Congress failed to appropriate funds to continue the Working Conditions Service. The Office of Industrial Hygiene and Medicine is again functioning as a part of the Division of Scientific Research, U. S. Public Health Service. The six district offices have been reduced to one located in New York City with the main office in Washington, A. J. Lanza, Medical Officer in Charge.

Not the least of the services rendered by this division to industry has been the encouragement of workers to secure physical examinations, and the inauguration of industrial clinics. This part of the work is only now taking definite shape. It is fundamental, however, to the future of industrial hygiene and to the enactment of sane legislation based upon an accurate knowledge of the effect of occupational hazards, and not upon the theoretical deductions from physical complaints, the causation of which often is improperly diagnosed.

Through the occupational clinic and the physical examinations, the effects of occupational hazards may be determined. Once determined, the engineering problems involved in the control or elimination of such hazards may, in most instances, be readily met.

That the assistance of the office may be readily available to all industries in the United States, six districts have been created and are served by as many district offices. In each office the personnel is made up of medical men, industrial hygienists, and engineers who are conversant with problems of light, ventilation, dust, fumes and gases, safety and production.

HUMANIZING INDUSTRY

Professor Irving Fisher, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut

One of the big war problems, and one of the biggest after war problems is that of industrial discontent. We cannot cope with it unless we understand it better than we do. Some think this class struggle will last until the "under dog" becomes the upper dog. If so, it will continue until both dogs have torn each other to pieces! A solution must bring *harmony* or it is no solution at all. The problem is soluble, but there are many aspects of a complete solution. There are three of special importance: (1) the money aspect, (2) the health aspect and (3) the psychological aspect.

Many people think the entire problem is one of wages and hours, which it is not. So far as it is a problem of wages, it is not in the way most social workers imagine. Attempts to lift wages by law or through labor unions or by means of preaching to employers will not yield substantial results. The real reason why wages are not satisfactory is not in any fault of industrial supply and demand, but in the depreciation of money. This is why I say it is a money rather than a wage problem. The proper solution is to make the money standard one that will not fluctuate. This is a subject on which I have written a special book "Stabilizing the Dollar."

Labor legislation improving health conditions will do much for working men, in two ways,—(1) by increasing their earning power and (2) by putting them in such physical fitness that discontent will not be put in their heads by their stomachs or livers.

The woman in industry should be allowed to absent herself one day a month, without any questions being asked, and with no record kept except by the matron. In my own small factory, we can get more work out of a woman working twenty-five than one working twenty-six days a month. The matter of health is more directly related to earning power even than we have realized. For instance, the campaign against hookworm lifted whole communities from a state of shiftlessness due to invalidism to a state of enterprise and production.

Ellsworth Huntington tells us that bank clearings vary in different parts of the country as death rates, but inversely and one year later. Prosperity and economic crises are largely due to fluctuations in health. So, aside from the benefit to the laborer in a direct way, there is the indirect benefit of real wages and power and productivity.

The study of the psychology of labor goes to the root of industrial discontent. As mental health is a part of physical health, it is part of the health problem, but it is more. We need to recognize the importance of the fundamental human instincts which we must all at least partially satisfy if life is to be worth living. They are seven:

1. Self-preservation—perhaps too much stressed
2. Workmanship or self-expression
3. Self-respect
4. Loyalty
5. Play
6. Love of family
7. Worship, the idealistic impulse, to order our life according to some guiding star above mere material comfort.

Not long ago I was asked to get up a desk card embodying these for the guidance of foremen. I did so and the card* has been submitted to a large number of foremen in Connecticut.

I was asked to prepare a companion card for workmen but have not been able to satisfy myself with it as yet. I will be glad to send it to anyone who would like to see it and criticize it for me.

The main point I wish to stress is that what motivates the worker is not simply the desire for wages. It is more complex and often he himself does not understand it. To illustrate, suppose the President spoke thus to General Pershing when he gave him his last orders before sailing, "Pershing, I take it for granted that you will shirk if you can, so I am going to link up your interests and mine in your pay envelope, and you will be paid according to your success in killing Germans." Pershing would have felt insulted. He went over in response to other motives than that of getting wages. And yet workmen are thus insulted every day! As we asked Pershing to fight for idealistic motives, we must ask workmen to work for idealistic motives too. We must make space for them in industry.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

The remark was made that it was the small groups where there was the most trouble from sanitary and industrial conditions, and asked how these principles could be applied there.

Mr. Newman replied that where the industrial plants were small, a possible solution of the problem of maintaining the health of the workers lay in the establishment of industrial clinics serving all industries. In some cities where the advice of the U. S. Public Health Service has been sought, the service has recommended a group plan for maintaining industrial, medical and surgical relief departments with the cost distributed either according to the number of cases or on the basis of time allotted to each plant. Eventually all industries must establish a plant health department either within the plant or on a cooperative basis and must utilize not only the industrial nurse, but the doctor and the social worker. Pending such time there is a field here for the private physician who in partnership with other physicians can profitably establish a consulting service to the small industries of his city. Where such a service has been established it includes not only the medical and surgical relief specialist, but the industrial hygienist to whom is assigned the task of determining the preventive measures which may be instituted in the plants in order to reduce the occupational hazards responsible for so much of the medical and surgical care given.

Dr. Fisher concluded by saying that if he might point to a small factory in which he was interested, employing only 100 men, the problem was really simpler in the smaller groups, as there was not the lack of personal contact with men and foremen found in large plants, and health work could be gotten on the group system of factories. He thought that in a factory of 100 the hygienic conditions could be of the best, and easily the spirit of the men could be the best. In his factory they insisted that every man be examined by the Life Extension Institute, in order to take out the group life insurance which the factory offered the men. The State Factory Inspector of Connecticut had remarked on the remarkable morale in this factory.

*Omitted in printing.

IV.

**PUBLIC AGENCIES AND
INSTITUTIONS**

DIVISION COMMITTEE—1918-19

Chairman, Robert W. Kelso, Commissioner of Public Welfare, State of Massachusetts.

A. L. Bowen.....	Springfield, Ill.	W. L. Kuser.....	Eldora, Ia.
Amos W. Butler.....	Indianapolis	A. Percy Paget.....	Winnipeg
J. K. Codding.....	Lansing, Kan.	W. G. Theurer.....	Pittsburgh
Mrs. Martha P. Falconer.....	Washington	J. L. Wagner.....	Jefferson City
Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder.....	Framingham	Mabel Weed.....	Berkeley
Maj. Richard C. Hutchings.....	Washington	J. O. White.....	Cincinnati
Florence Hutsinpillar.....	Denver	Henry C. Wright.....	New York

DIVISION COMMITTEE—1919-20

(Year of expiration of term of office appears in parenthesis after each member's name.)

Chairman, Robert W. Kelso, Commissioner of Public Welfare, State of Massachusetts.

Vice-Chairman, A. L. Bowen, Supt. of Charities, State Dept. of Welfare, Springfield, Ill.

Secretary, John A. Brown, Board of State Charities, Indianapolis.

Amos W. Butler (1921).....	Indianapolis	Burdette G. Lewis (1922).....	Trenton
D. Frank Garland (1922).....	Dayton	A. Percy Paget (1922).....	Winnipeg
Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder (1920)	Framingham	William G. Theurer (1920).....	Pittsburgh
Richard C. Hutchings (1921).....	Washington	J. L. Wagner (1921).....	Jefferson City
Florence Hutsinpillar (1922).....	Denver	Mabel Weed (1921).....	Berkeley
W. L. Kuser (1921)	Eldora, Ia.	J. O. White (1920).....	Cincinnati
		Henry C. Wright (1922).....	New York

SUB-COMMITTEES

Institutional Administration and Functioning, Henry C. Wright, New York, Chairman.

County and Municipal Charities and Correction, J. O. White, Cincinnati, Chairman.

State Regulation of Private Social Welfare Agencies, William G. Theurer, Pittsburgh, Chairman.

Organization of Social Data, J. L. Wagner, Jefferson City, Chairman.

State Organization for Public Welfare, Amos W. Butler, Indianapolis, Chairman.

PROGRAM

At the meeting of the National Conference at Atlantic City, June 1-8, 1919, 235 delegates registered as members of this Division. The Division Committee, as elected at the 1918 Conference at Kansas City, is shown on the opposite page. Six meetings for discussion were held as follows:

	PAGE
June 5, 8:15 P. M. The Functions and Limitations of Government in Social Service.....	99
June 2, 10:00 A. M. State Organization for Public Welfare.....	257
June 2, 3:00 P. M. Institutional Administration and Functioning..	267
June 4, 10:00 A. M. The City Poor and the Causes of Their Poverty	281
June 5, 3:00 P. M. The Organization of Social Data.....	293
June 6, 3:00 P. M. Public Aid to Mothers with Dependent Children	299

The general session on June 5, evening, was held jointly with Division II, on Delinquents and Correction.

A luncheon for officers and members of state boards and heads of institutions was held Thursday, June 5, at 12:30 P. M.

TRANSACTIONS

June 2, morning session. On motion of Burdette G. Lewis it was voted that a committee of three be appointed by the Chair to nominate members of the Division whose terms expire, a chairman and vice-chairman. The Chair appointed J. F. Bagley, D. B. Harkness and H. H. Shirer.

June 4, morning session. The Committee on Nominations reported as follows, and the report was adopted: Chairman, Robert W. Kelso, Boston; Vice-Chairman, A. L. Bowen, Springfield, Ill. Members of Executive Committee for three years term: Burdette G. Lewis, Trenton; A. Percy Paget, Winnipeg; Henry C. Wright, New York; Florence Hutsinpillar, Denver; E. Frank Garland, Dayton.

The Division elected J. A. Brown, Indianapolis, Secretary.

June 5, afternoon session. Mr. A. L. Bowen, Springfield, Ill., presented the following resolution which was adopted by a vote of 13 to 4:

Whereas: Since the election of Mr. Owen Lovejoy as president of the National Conference of Social Work, it has been reported that recently he wrote a letter sympathizing with and practically endorsing Eugene V. Debs who has expressed sentiments to which we, as public officials and many other members of the Conference cannot subscribe, and which are repugnant to true Americanism;

Therefore: Be it resolved, that we, the public officials' section, Section IV, memorialize the Executive Committee of the National Conference of Social Work that in the interest of the welfare, the prosperity and the good influence of this Conference the Executive Committee will give this problem the consideration its vital importance demands and that it will afford the Conference an opportunity to express its will, and if it so pleases, to reverse its action in electing Mr. Lovejoy to its presidency.

June 6, morning session. Moved by Miss Mary F. Bogue, Harrisburg, Pa., that the Chairman of Division IV take up with the Chairman of Division I and the Federal Children's Bureau the matter of securing an extensive study of Mother's Aid, to report at the next Conference. The motion prevailed.

June 6, afternoon session. The following reply from the Executive Committee of the Conference to a resolution passed on the previous day was received, this being read by the Chairman, Mr. Kelso:

"In reply to the memorial of Section IV to the Executive Committee dated June 5, the Committee begs to state that the suggestion submitted in the memorial requires that the Committee take or recommend action allowing the election of officers for the ensuing year to be reopened.

"The Committee holds that the election of this ticket took place regularly in due form with due opportunity for the presentation of other candidate or candidates by petition of only twenty-five members. No such petition having been presented the election was unanimous and under the By-laws it is the opinion of the Executive Committee that it has no power to reopen or to recommend reopening the matter. The Division is, of course, free to take such further action as it may desire within the rules of the Conference."

(Signed) J. A. BROWN, Secretary.

A STATE PROGRAM FOR THE CUSTODY AND TREATMENT OF DEFECTIVE DELINQUENTS*

V. V. Anderson, M.D., Associate Medical Director, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York

An enormous financial burden is being carried by every state of the Union in its fight against crime. State and city budgets give startling evidence of the vast expense which criminality is to society, this being said to be the largest single item in the public budget.

The most depressing fact of the whole situation is that though we go to vast expense, spending millions to arrest, try, convict and punish the criminal, in the long run we have failed to accomplish that which we set out to accomplish. Of the inmates received into the prisons of a certain large Eastern State during the year 1917, 87 per cent. had served previous terms; this particular State was spending two and one-half million dollars each time it convicted this particular group of repeaters over again; what can be said to have been accomplished in the way of permanent good for all this expenditure, if the criminal has not been deterred from repeating his criminal acts? If at the expiration of his prison sentence, he has to be handled at great expense over again? Sixty per cent. of the inmates of all penal and correctional institutions of New York State during the year 1917 had served previous commitments.

Fifty-seven and one-half per cent. of the inmates of all penal and correctional institutions in Massachusetts in a given year were repeaters, averaging six previous commitments to each person. Throughout the country these same startling and depressing facts of recidivism (chronic criminality), stand out as a proof of the complete breaking down of social security furnished by the State, in that it has failed to repress crime through the rehabilitation and readjustment of the criminal.

The most hopeful part of the situation is found in the widespread interest in the entire subject and the existence of powerful forces bearing in from all sides, tending to greater enlightenment upon the problems of crime; whether these forces come from law or medicine, or psychology or social and public agencies, or what, they have all combined to a better understanding of the criminal and the problem he presents. Facts of unquestioned value are already at hand which go far towards explaining much of past failures in readjusting the criminal. Reports coming from prisons, reformatories, training schools, houses of correction and such throughout the country speak in no uncertain terms of conditions found with such a high degree of frequency among prisoners, particularly among recidivists (chronic repeaters), as to make clear a definite relationship between the criminal conduct of these individuals and their abnormal mental condition (mental defect or disease).

At least 50 per cent. of the inmates of state prisons throughout the country are suffering from some form of nervous or mental disease and defect, and require much more specialized and much more individualized treatment than is afforded by the ordinary routine methods employed in the average penal institution, and this not as a sentimental consideration, but as a practical matter of social security; laying aside the humane element involved, the paramount interests of society are at stake, in that social security is jeopardized if we ignore the well known facts of individual differences. This fact may be well illustrated by discussing more fully a type of individuals who are regarded as one of the most important if not the most important single group of which society needs to take cognizance: "The

*Author's abstract.

defective delinquent." These individuals furnish a substantial nucleus to that most expensive body, the recidivists (chronic repeaters) who clog the machinery of justice, who spend their lives in and out of penal institutions and furnish data for the astonishing facts of recidivism—facts which are serving to awaken our social conscience to the need of more adequate treatment under the law for repeated offenders. It is of this group that Dr. Walter Fernald has so well said, "Feeble mindedness is the mother of crime, pauperism and delinquency. It is certain that the feeble minded and their progeny constitute one of the great social and economic burdens of modern times."

Twenty-seven and one-half per cent. of the inmates of State prisons throughout the country are found feeble minded. About 30 per cent. of the inmates of reformatories, training schools, work houses and penitentiaries are found feeble minded. The full meaning of such figures may be realized if we bear in mind that not more than $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent. of the general population are feeble minded. Some idea as to just what problem the defective delinquent may present is seen from the following study, undertaken in connection with the Municipal Court of Boston; the careers of 100 defective delinquents were intensively studied. These particular individuals were arrested 1,825 times; record cards dating further back than five years were not gone into, though many had such old court records. The futility of employing for this group measures intended for those capable of profiting by experience is shown from the following facts. The cases of these delinquents in courts were placed on file or discharged after short periods of detention or judicial reprimand a great many times, but they returned with unfailing certainty to be handled over again. They were placed on probation 432 times, but had to be placed on inside probation; that is, within institutions non-penal in character, 118 times. Of the remaining probationary periods, they had to be surrendered to the courts 220 times, making in all not quite one successful probationary period apiece for each of these one hundred individuals. The chances were better than four to one against any one of these individuals conducting himself normally for a six-months probationary period.

The court, in addition, tried penal treatment; they were sentenced 735 times. In fixed time, they were given 106 years of imprisonment, to say nothing of 250 indeterminate sentences, but this did not in any way suffice to change the course of their careers. Finally, as an explanation of all this maladjustment, examination disclosed that each one of these 100 persons possessed a degree of intelligence equivalent to that of the average American child of 12 years or under, and 75 per cent. had the mental level of children under 10 years. Investigations into their past histories disclosed the astonishing fact that 75 per cent. had never been legitimately self-supporting and, worst of all, so far as society's responsibility is concerned, 75 per cent. of these persons, having had ample opportunities for common school education, beginning school at the usual age and leaving at the ages of 14, 15 and 16 years, never were able to get further than the fifth grade in school. How much more profitable it would have been to have recognized at this time the condition from which these persons were suffering when a chance really existed in each and every one of these cases for some advance along the lines of proper habit training and to have saved all of this economic waste, protecting society as well as these individuals themselves from their weakness, and making them happy and useful members of the community, or placing them in a limited environment suited to their special needs.

Two things stand out in recent studies of delinquency: First, the really difficult problem in the prevention of crime is the recidivist (chronic repeater); second, an important, and probably the most important under-

lying causative factor in his failure to profit by experience is the defective mentality by which he is so commonly handicapped. In a study of the relationship of the mental condition of the offender to the frequency of his offence, the following findings are significant: Thirty-five per cent. of first offenders in the group studied were suffering from some nervous or mental abnormality, while 83 per cent. of recidivists exhibited some form of nervous or mental abnormality.

The existence of mental disease and deterioration, intellectual defect, psychopathic personality, epilepsy and such in a fairly large proportion of the inmates of our penal institutions makes clear and obvious how futile it is to merely go on blindly administering the law, instead of endeavoring to solve the problems these individuals present. A similar situation in treating disease would consist in sending all sick persons to hospital to be given the same treatment, fixing in advance the length of time they were to remain there, and then sending them out without any reference to whether they were well or not. Are we not following similar lines in locking up criminals and then turning them out again, without any reference to whether our purpose in locking them up had been attained, or whether they were any better fitted to assume their normal relation to society on the day they left prison than they were the day they entered it?

As suggested before, the crux of the whole problem is to be found in the recidivist, and the greatest problem to be met with here is mental deficiency. In these hard facts, there is no sentiment. The problem is preventable in that the one sensible, ready and efficient measure that can be carried out is to dam the stream near its source. As far as delinquency in the defective is concerned, there need be no delinquency if the defective as such is reckoned with early. Proper institutional provision for the feeble minded, at a time when all these anti-social problems are preventable, is an idea that the State can most profitably set itself to achieve.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Mr. Amos W. Butler of Indianapolis called attention to the State Prison Farm at Raiford, Florida. All felons of that State are committed there. These men are examined by physicians who come once a week from Tallahassee. Proper disposition and treatment follow. This is not what Dr. Anderson recommends, but is a step in the right direction. Indiana has a state prison and in connection therewith but wholly separate from it is an institution for criminal insane. An important problem is that of the feeble-minded. Studies of institution inmates show that a large number are committed to institutions where they do not belong. Indiana made a survey of ten counties. Experts were employed. The co-operation of local people and institutions including the schools and medical societies was secured. School teachers' estimates could not be taken, but the families had to be visited by the experts and the children in many instances had to be tested. Among other things the survey showed that the place to begin with these problems was at the school house door.

Rev. G. Croft Williams of Columbia, South Carolina, secretary of the State Board of Charities and Corrections, reported progress in his state. Appropriation had been made for a training school for the feeble-minded. The psychologist of his office had tested prisoners in several of the state institutions. A social survey was made of institutions for women. A commission on child welfare had been appointed by the Governor to work under the direction of the State Board of Charities and Corrections. More progress had been made in social affairs of the state during the past forty years than in forty years before that time.

THE NEW JERSEY PLAN IN OPERATION

Burdette G. Lewis, Commissioner, State Board of Control of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, New Jersey

Two and one-half years ago a prison inquiry commission was appointed in the State of New Jersey pursuant to a joint resolution of the Senate and General Assembly "to investigate into conditions of the penal, reformatory and correctional institutions in this state, and also into what is known as the State Use System and the employment of prisoners on roads, prison farms or in other capacities."

The Governor, Walter E. Edge, constituted the commission so provided for as follows: William B. Dickson, chairman; Seymour L. Cromwell, Henry F. Hilfers, John P. Murray and Dwight W. Morrow. Some months later Mr. Dickson resigned from the commission; Mr. Ogden H. Hammond was appointed to fill the vacancy and Mr. Dwight L. Morrow was designated as chairman.

The commission conducted an exhaustive investigation, and under date of January 1, 1918, submitted a comprehensive report to the Governor and the Senate and the House of Assembly, recommending the enactment of a new law which would centralize all responsibility for the conduct and management of the state charitable, correctional and insane hospital institutions, including the power of appointment of local boards of managers of these institutions, in the hands of a state board of charities and corrections consisting of nine members, eight of whom were to be appointed by the Governor and of which the Governor himself should be a member.

It was further recommended "that such central board shall exercise its powers of administration and the supervisory powers which may be vested in it, through an expert commissioner of correction to be appointed by it and who shall be removable by it in its discretion, and that such commissioner shall have the power of appointing, subject to the approval of the central board, such expert deputies or bureau chiefs not exceeding six in number, as may be authorized to assist him in the administration of his office, as follows:

- (1) A medical director;
- (2) A dietician;
- (3) A director of education;
- (4) A director of industries;
- (5) A statistician, and
- (6) A chief parole officer."

Another special commission, with Mr. E. P. Earle of Montclair as chairman, was appointed by Governor Edge pursuant to legislation enacted in March, 1917, for the purpose of investigating into the conditions of the industries of this state which come within the scope or under the supervision of the Department of Charities and Corrections, other than penal, reformatory and correctional. That commission submitted a report to the Governor and to the Legislature, recommending the centralization of the authority over all state charitable institutions in the hands of the central board, which should be empowered to select a commissioner who should be the chief executive officer of the State Board of Charities. Thereafter the two commissions agreed to support a bill centralizing control over all state charitable, state correctional and state hospital institutions in the hands of the new State Board of Charities and Corrections which was created under Chapter 147 of the Laws of 1918.

The State Board of Charities and Corrections unanimously resolved to request the Legislature at its last session to change the title of the board and of the department to the State Board of Control of Institutions and

Agencies and the Department of Institutions and Agencies, respectively. In a special brief citing the reasons for amending the act it was pointed out that the original titles do not describe the work, functions and powers of the board, department and commissioner. State hospitals for the insane, for the tuberculous, soldiers' homes, the Commission for the Blind and the State Board of Children's Guardians, all under the control of the state board, were listed as charitable institutions and non-institutional agencies. This is unusual. Further, in New Jersey the state hospitals receive private patients who pay for their treatment. The counties pay part of the cost of maintaining indigent patients. It is unfair to call such persons "charity" patients. It is also unfair to call our soldiers' homes charitable institutions, and so legislation was enacted changing the titles in question.

The revised act now segregates the two classes of institutions under the jurisdiction of the State Board of Control of Institutions and Agencies. The first class, termed the correctional institutions of the state, includes the New Jersey State Prison, Rahway Reformatory, Reformatory for Women at Clinton, Jamesburg Home for Boys and the State Home for Girls at Trenton. The second class of institutions now designated as charitable, hospital, relief and training institutions, not merely charitable institutions as formerly, includes the two New Jersey State Hospitals at Trenton and at Morris Plains, State Village for Epileptics at Skillman, Glen Gardner Sanatorium for Tubercular Diseases, Vineland Institution for Feeble Minded Women, New Lisbon Colony for Feeble Minded Males, Kearny Memorial Home for Disabled Soldiers, the Vineland Memorial Home for Disabled Soldiers, Sailors, Marines and their Wives and Widows, State Board of Children's Guardians and the Commission for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Blind.

To return for a moment to the considerations which led the aforementioned commissions to make such recommendations, I may state that one of the principal considerations was the appreciation of the necessity for the strictest economy in the use of moneys and of man-power, including the expert staff of the central department and of the various state and county institutions, and for the wisest, most scientific and many-sided development of the functions of the various state and county institutions in order to serve directly the national interest in the maintenance of proper standards because of the serious economic and social changes brought about or impending in consequence of the world war, and in particular because of our country's participation therein, and for the establishment of the proper standards in all of them, so that they might serve the nation directly in furnishing hospital and rehabilitation service not only to the army and navy but also to the civil population of the state.

Administrative Organisation

The administrative organization and functional plan of operation of the recently created department fulfills the purpose of the Legislature when it enacted the new law, which provides for the cohesive development of a department with the institutions functioning as integral divisions and not in isolation as hitherto.

New Jersey has not hesitated to centralize in the hands of a small board vast powers relating to charities and corrections, and has thus changed from a weak supervisory system to a strong, unified administrative system. Governor Edge did not hesitate to disregard political and religious affiliations and has appointed a State Board of Charities and Corrections which is representative of the best interests of the state in every way. The present members of the board are: Mr. Dwight W. Morrow of Englewood, chairman; Mr. W. P. Earle of Montclair, Mr. Ogden H. Hammond of Bernardsville, Mr. Frank A. Fettridge of Newark, Mrs. Lewis S. Thompson of Red

Bank, Mrs. H. Otto Wittpenn of Hoboken, Mr. F. Wallace Armstrong of Moorestown, Mr. J. M. Byrne of Newark.

The New Jersey Legislature, acting upon the recommendations of the two commissions, recognized that the success of the new and enlarged Department of Charities and Corrections depended for the most part upon the type of man chosen as Commissioner of Charities and Corrections of the state. In pursuance of this recognition it was provided in law that the commissioner should hold office at the will of the state board; that he might receive a salary equal to that of the Governor of the state, and that in the selection of a commissioner the state board should not be restricted to the residents of the State of New Jersey.

The state board appointed a sub-committee of its members, whose chairman was Mr. E. P. Earle of Montclair, which made an investigation and recommended my appointment as commissioner. The State Board accepted the report of this sub-committee and at its meeting on May 7, 1918, unanimously elected me as Commissioner of Charities and Corrections of the State of New Jersey.

Upon my recommendation the six divisions of the department, which the new law recommended, were established under the following titles in place of those enumerated in the law:

- Division of Labor, Agriculture, Food and Dietetics;
- Division of Education and Parole;
- Division of Records, Reports and Information;
- Division of Medicine and Psychiatry;
- Division of Administration; and,
- Division of Inspection.

Also a Medical Advisory Board on Classification was created for the purpose of grading and correlating the physical age and mental age groups distributed throughout the correctional and special institutions of the state.

A Farm Supervisor of institutional farms and a Supervising Steward, the latter a trained dietitian, were also employed as permanent officers assigned to the Division of Labor, Agriculture, Food and Dietetics of the Department.

A plan has been devised and put into operation for the unification of the farm management in all the institutions. It will aid in finding out what products are needed for food for inmates, patients and employees and how they may best be produced, including a careful study showing the present year's crop plans to grow these farm products with the estimated increase in such products for the ensuing year.

Business Methods Adopted

As to a few of the more important details of the departmental organization, it may be worth while to dwell for a moment or so upon the business methods which have been adopted in the administration of the department's affairs.

We have worked out a definite assignment of duties and responsibilities for each staff member of the department. It is a manual of organization and is similar to those of the departments of the federal government and of the largest corporations of the country. It outlines the duties and legal responsibilities of the members of the State Board; it defines the functions and assignments of each one connected with the department from the commissioner to the office boy.

A staff conference was next organized so that all chiefs of divisions could be kept in touch with the work that each was responsible for, and so that the commissioner could carry out intelligently the provisions of the law requiring him to direct the work as a whole.

In order to facilitate the work a system of progress reporting and of keeping daily logs was established. Each member of the staff keeps a brief statement of his daily work, which is filed with the commissioner once a week, and thus keeps him informed as to the work individually and collectively of the department.

In order that the members of the State Board, the staff members of the department and the public may be fully acquainted with the progress of the work in the institutions and agencies under the control of the State Board, a system of progress reporting was established in accordance with which the superintendents report to the central office weekly the important achievements and results of effort in their respective institutions. These and the "central office daily logs" are compiled into summary form and are sent to the members of the board and are issued in the form of weekly bulletins to the press.

Administrative Council

A bi-weekly conference of superintendents of the institutions, known as the Administrative Council and presided over by the commissioner, is held to discuss reports and various problems which may arise in connection with each and all of the institutions.

The advantage of that conference may best be illustrated by reference to the problem of discipline in the correctional institutions, special institutions for the insane and for the epileptic and for the feeble minded for developing a routine method of handling difficult patients without undue use of force. The disturbed patient is given a therapeutic bath by means of a continuous bath equipment, which has been devised for such cases. Correctional institutions on the other hand have continued methods which were discarded in our best managed special institutions fifty years ago and have been apparently ignorant of the tremendous advances made in the handling of disciplinary problems in such special institutions, and in particular how to handle their refractory inmates without the constant display of clubs.

Another illustration of the advantage of the round table conference is afforded in the case of the conservation of clothing. Dr. David F. Weeks, superintendent of the State Village for Epileptics at Skillman, has probably developed the best system of clothing conservation of any state institution in New Jersey. After the superintendents of other institutions have heard him explain this system and have visited the institution and have observed it in operation, there is no excuse for them if they have failed to profit by the example.

We may illustrate the advantage again by referring to Dr. Madeleine A. Hallowell's development of military training for the feeble-minded women of her institution at Vineland. If the feeble minded may be benefited by a system of military training, and if it can be carried out with the signal success achieved by Dr. Hallowell in that kind of an institution, there is no excuse for a superintendent who makes a failure of military training in a correctional institution.

The presentation of the research work and treatment, which is now being done in the New Jersey State Hospital at Trenton, outlining the results of eleven years of careful, scientific experimentation, recording remarkable results flowing from the treatment of even chronic cases of insanity where the extraction of teeth, the removal of infected tonsils and the clearing up of the gastro-intestinal infection have brought about extraordinary recoveries—all of which is of special interest to all other institutions for the insane, feeble minded, epileptic and other sub-normals, at the very least suggests the application of similar methods of treatment in those institutions as soon as they become sufficiently standardized to permit the medical and dental surgeons to make use of them.

State Use System Developed

When the board became responsible for the administration of the state institutions on July 1, 1918, its most immediate problem was the introduction of the state use system, particularly in the state prison where the abolition of private contracts had thrown four hundred men out of employment. It was early determined to install at the state prison a shoe industry, using the latest and best machinery; to employ as many as possible in the construction of roads and work on farms, in particular the clearing of the uncleared portions of the 1,100-acre farm at Leesburg in the southern part of the state.

Contracts have now been drawn with the federal government under which sixty-five prisoners in the state prison are repairing one thousand pairs of soldiers' shoes per day. For this the men will be paid twenty, thirty and forty cents an hour. This agreement was made possible by the new law, authorizing the state board to do work for the United States, and by President Wilson's special proclamation empowering the federal government to make contracts with managers of prisons and reformatories. The principles of this proclamation coincide with the provisions of the New Jersey law, which permits the employment of prisoners provided fair wages are paid. The President determined in these cases that the prevailing rate in the locality be fair wages, and the War Policies Board has determined that twenty, thirty and forty cents per hour per man are the fair wages for shoe repair work.

The manufacture of auto license plates by inmate labor has been carried on in the state prison in Trenton for the past ten months. This year thirty-five prisoners engaged upon this work manufactured 405,800 plates. The cost of installing and manufacturing auto license tags for the year 1919, exclusive of the payment of wages to prisoners doing the work, was 9½ cents per plate. The contract price last year averaged twenty-eight cents per pair.

Large numbers of inmates at the Rahway Reformatory have been employed in road construction work at the prevailing rate of wages. Some of them work in the hospital and relief institutions of the state when it is impossible to obtain help from the free labor market.

The Union Printers League, which is the state organization of the International Typographical Union, for the first time in its history has gone on record as being in complete accord with the plans of the state board for the welfare and proper training of the youthful offenders committed to the institutions of this state. The union has now informed the department that it will credit the course of study installed in the New Jersey correctional institutions, in lieu of the requirements for apprenticeship in the union, for all or any part of the five year regular apprenticeship course in the union successfully completed in the institutional printing shops.

It is most gratifying to know that organized labor is thoroughly in sympathy with the efforts made to find work for unemployed prisoners and has been most helpful and has co-operated in every way to help my two very able associates, Mr. David I. Kelly and Mr. Calvin Derrick, and myself solve the problem of unemployment and of vocational training, not only in the state prison but also in the state homes for boys and girls and in the Rahway Reformatory.

In order to develop as quickly as possible the state use system, with the approval of the state board, I recommended to the War Department a plan for the utilization of the man-power of the correctional institutions of the United States. After discussion with that department it was agreed that we should make a beginning of the plan in New Jersey. The road construction and shoe repairing contracts are the results of these conferences.

Credit-Marking and Parole Plans in Operation

A careful study of the administrative system in force at the state prison has now been made and the details of a scientific credit-marking and parole

system have been worked out and installed by the assistance of the Directors of Education and Parole and of Labor, Agriculture, Food and Dietetics of the department. The credit-marking system, including new disciplinary rules, is working smoothly and successfully not only in the prison but in the Jamesburg Home for Boys and in the Rahway Reformatory. It is now being installed in the other two correctional institutions for women, the State Home for Girls and the Clinton Reformatory. Principal Keeper Mulheron of the state prison states that the reports obtained at the end of the first month of the operation of the credit-marking system showed very good results, and that the system is proving valuable to both officers and inmates.

Application of Army Group Tests to Prison Populations

The state board has engaged Lieut. Edgar A. Doll, U. S. A., of Princeton University and formerly of the psychological unit at Camp Dix, to measure the intelligence of the inmates of the state correctional institutions by means of the army group intelligence test. Most significant results have already been obtained from the state prison and the Jamesburg Home for Boys, where the tests have been completed.

In the case of the prison, the scores obtained by the 700 prisoners tested show that over one-third of the men are illiterate in the sense that they could not read sufficiently to answer questions or comprehend instructions. This percentage of illiteracy, according to Lieut. Doll, is about the same as that found in the soldiers of the draft armies. About one-quarter of the men obtained scores indicative of good average intelligence, that is, mental power above the mental age of 13 years, or the degree of intelligence in the classes of wage earners such as skilled workers and clerks. About 6 to 10 per cent of the men obtained scores equal to those made by average officers in the United States army. About 3 per cent of the men obtained scores within the highest range that was recognized for army purposes, and so for the first time an entire prison population was given the army group test. This was done in order to measure the physical and mental abilities of prisoners, so that they may be properly assigned to work which they are best fitted to do.

Scientific Diets and Basic Ration Tables Adopted

At a recent conference in Washington with the food experts in the United States Department of Agriculture, the diets and ration tables formulated by the Department of Institutions and Agencies in New Jersey were approved as practical and scientific from the standpoint of food values selected with due regard for the several classes of patients and inmates. Scientific diets and basic ration tables have been established for each institution and have been promulgated under general rules by the state board. Utilizing these tables, it is now possible for each institution to know when it has enough food and for the central office to know that the food is being purchased, stored and served properly. Every pound of waste food must be reported and accounted for under this system of food regulation.

The department is now formulating standards of clothing, so that each institution will know just how much each inmate is entitled to, and so that appropriations may be made intelligently for the proper provision of wearing apparel for all state wards.

Consolidated Budget Prepared

Under the new law the state board transmits the budget requests of every institution and of the central office to the State Budget Commission. In this way it is responsible for the finances of the department as a whole.

In the course of the preparation of the 1920 budget, hearings were held

daily at which the boards of managers and their superintendents appeared in the office of the commissioner to defend their budgetary estimates. You may appreciate the size of this task when I tell you that the budget for the Department of Institutions and Agencies is about one-third of the total budget of the state.

The state board has recently engaged the services of Herbert R. Sands, examiner and certified public accountant, under a special contractual agreement by the Department of Institutions and Agencies, with the approval of the Civil Service Commission, to systematize the business and accounting methods of state institutions under the control of the state board. He will prepare an administrative code for each institution, which shall include a definite written assignment for each institutional officer or employe. It will be similar to the manual of organization instituted in the central office. A completed set of forms and procedure will also be prepared for the use of the state board and other officials in obtaining and considering the board's appropriation estimates, and as a basis for administering the institutional appropriations.

Institutional Extension Advocated

A serious problem is the one of institutional extension, because of the outside demands for supplies, materials and labor as a result of the war. There is an urgent necessity for the construction of new buildings to house the large number of insane, tubercular and feeble-minded cases now unprovided for in this state. It would appear that funds, amounting to millions of dollars, will be required in the near future to relieve present congestion and provide facilities for the increasing number who need to be cared for by the state.

It has not been possible for me to touch upon all the work of the state board, and I have indicated briefly but a few of the salient points of the work of the Department of Institutions and Agencies, showing the New Jersey plan in operation. In a word, our aim is to make our state institutions serve the nation to the limit of their possibilities, especially now during the period of reconstruction. It is also our aim to emphasize the necessity of preventive work, so that we may not go forward merely treating or caring for sick patients in the old-fashioned custodial way. It is much easier and more economical in the long run to prevent the development of diseases than it is to devote all our energies to their treatment after they have been allowed to develop.

The question of delinquency in its relation to education and the labor phase of correctional treatment have been covered more fully by me in addresses delivered before other sections of this Conference. The subject of juvenile delinquency as a community problem has been treated comprehensively by Calvin Derrick, Director of Education and Parole of the Department of Institutions and Agencies, while our food service has been described by Mr. Kelley, our Director of Labor, Agriculture, Food and Dietetics, in his discussion of Mr. H. C. Wright's paper.

In working out our plans for this state it is very important that we have the continuous support of great national organizations, such as this National Conference. I trust, therefore, that your members will keep in close touch with our work and will familiarize yourselves with our problems, so that you may be able to give us the benefit of your very valuable support.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Mr. A. Percy Paget and Mr. D. B. Harkness of Winnipeg reported progress in Manitoba. The commission known as the Public Welfare Commission was appointed nearly two years ago to make a study of all phases of Welfare work. It has formulated a definite program on supervision and control of dependent children, the dependent poor, hospitals, prisons and reformatories, and mental defectives. A survey has been

made of all institutions in the Province and a Board of Welfare Supervision is to be created to supervise all Public Welfare work. The commission has recommended that all private institutions shall operate under license to be granted upon the recommendation of the Board of Welfare Supervision.

Others who participated in this informal discussion were: J. F. Bagley, Augusta, Me.; Mr. Lewis; Robert W. Kelso, Boston; Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, Washington.

FOOD CONSERVATION IN INSTITUTIONS

Henry C. Wright, Acting Secretary, State Charities Aid Association, New York

I welcome the opportunity to emphasize the conservation of food and supplies in institutions, since a proper system of control with records is essential as a protection against unwise and restrictive legislation. Legislators rightly seek to protect the taxpayer. If they find waste in public institutions, they turn to some sort of central control as a corrective. Such control too frequently hampers the vital work of the institution.

Control of Use More Important Than Refined System of Purchase

Of recent years marked emphasis has been placed on efficient buying on the part of state and municipal governments. In some states and cities this emphasis has taken the form of some central purchasing body. Undoubtedly, considerable has been saved by this increased emphasis laid upon buying efficiency. Much less consideration has been given to the conservation of supplies after purchase and delivery. City and state legislative bodies have been impressed with the buying problem, and have thought to secure marked economies by readjustment of purchasing methods. The amount that could be saved in any readjustment of purchasing methods over those in existence is minor compared to the economies that could be secured by a proper and efficient regulation of use. It is probable that the amount saved by the most efficient purchasing system as compared with the average purchasing conditions will not exceed five to ten per cent, while a proper regulation of the consumption of supplies may easily secure a saving of from fifteen to thirty per cent. Thus, the regulation of use is of much greater importance than the regulation of purchase. This statement may be confirmed by prices secured by institutions purchasing separately as compared with those whose supplies are secured in some central purchasing system. For instance, each of the institutions purchasing separately in Indiana was able to secure as low prices as the combined purchasing done by the Board of Control in Iowa or the Central Purchasing Committees in New York state. New York City introduced a central purchase system, but was unable to secure lower prices than each of the institutional departments secured while purchasing separately. On the other hand, the saving in the regulation of the use of supplies has been very marked where intelligent attention has been given to the matter.

Necessary to Determine the Quantity of Food Actually Eaten

The State Commission in Lunacy for New York State, having in charge the insane hospitals, employed Dr. Austin Flint to make an examination, report and recommendation as to the dietary of the hospitals. After an examination, in 1894, he made a recommendation for a daily ration to be used in the hospitals. The following table shows the recommendations made by

Dr. Flint and the actual amounts issued as averaged by all of the insane hospitals in 1918:

	Recommended by Dr. Flint Per capita per day	Actually issued in 1918 Per capita per day	Per cent. Reduction
Meats	13 oz.	7.44 oz.	38
Farinaceous Foods	14.85 oz.	11.5 oz.	20
Potatoes	12 oz.	7.22 oz.	40
Eggs	2 oz.	.473 oz.	76
Milk	16 oz.	16 oz.	00
Butter	2 oz.	1.193 oz.	40
Cheese	2 oz.	.193 oz.	90
Sugar	2 oz.	1.5 oz.	25

It will be noted that the actual present issue of meat has been reduced 38 per cent from that recommended by Dr. Flint; farinaceous foods have been reduced 20 per cent; potatoes, 40 per cent; eggs, 76 per cent; milk has been issued as originally recommended; butter has been reduced 40 per cent; cheese, 90 per cent, and sugar, 25 per cent.

The commission at the end of the same decade employed Prof. W. O. Atwater, of the Wesleyan University, to make a report and recommendation on the food question in the institutions under their supervision. He reported in 1901. He recommended that there be served in the institutions, per capita per day, 2,500 calories and 85 grams of protein. The actual issues in the institutions for 1918 were 2,696 calories per capita per day, and an average of 90 grams of protein,—the lowest record made by any of the institutions was 85 grams. Thus, the actual issue at present in use exceeds but very little the recommendations made by Prof. Atwater eighteen years ago. It is highly probable that if the waste system in operation in some of the insane institutions of the state were thoroughly applied by all of the hospitals, the recommendations of Prof. Atwater would actually be met and proven practicable.

It is interesting to note that when Dr. Flint made his recommendations in 1894, a number of the superintendents protested that the proposed rations were too small. One superintendent stated that in his opinion twelve ounces of meat per day was insufficient and should be increased for patients to fourteen ounces and for workers to sixteen ounces, whereas the actual issue now in use has been reduced to an average for these two classes, officers and employees, of 7.44 ounces per capita per day. One of the superintendents then and now in the service of the state recommended that the issue of milk and potatoes as recommended by Dr. Flint be doubled, whereas the issue has been reduced from that recommended by Dr. Flint for potatoes by 40 per cent, and for milk it has not been increased. The reductions made have proven satisfactory, and are used without protest on the part of any of the superintendents of the state. Moreover, it is generally conceded that the patients are better fed and in better condition today than under the larger issue recommended by Dr. Flint.

Insufficient attention has been paid to the matter of accurately determining whether or not too little or too much food is served in public institutions. A proper regulation of food preparation and distribution would not only save millions of dollars in the aggregate in the country, but would at the same time furnish to the superintendents accurate information as to what is happening in their kitchens and dining rooms.

It is within comparatively few years that attention has been paid by engineers to the regulation of the consumption of coal in producing steam. In years past the firemen were instructed to be careful, and were furnished the amount of coal which they claimed necessary to produce the required amount of steam. Now, however, well equipped and operated steam plants have various recording gauges that will inform the chief engineer just how many

pounds of water have been evaporated by a given amount of coal; just the steam pressure that has been registered at each hour of the day; whether the fires have been fed regularly or intermittently. His records tell him at a glance whether his steam plant is operating at the highest efficiency, and if not, within fairly close limits the cause for any deficiency.

The feeding of a large group of people can be gauged with almost as great accuracy as the feeding of coal to furnaces to produce steam. Experience has shown how much protein and how many calories are necessary to maintain health and vigor for children and adults, male and female, those doing vigorous work and those sedentary or aged or sick. With this knowledge in hand, it is comparatively easy to formulate dietaries which will be ample yet not wasteful, and reasonably satisfactory. But there is no assurance that a properly formulated dietary based on accurate calculations will properly feed the inmates of an institution unless there be the knowledge that the raw food furnished is good, that it is properly prepared in the kitchen, that it is accurately distributed from the kitchen to the tables, and that the waste corresponds to a normal expectation. In other words, our knowledge today, based on experience, is sufficient to formulate with accuracy our dietaries, but, generally speaking, we have not adopted practices that insure that the dietaries are properly feeding the inmates without unnecessary waste.

Instances of Food Saved by a Proper System of Control

The character of waste that is likely to occur in institutions where no other supervision is made than to occasionally examine the garbage can, may be illustrated by facts taken from the Report of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment on the examination of the hospitals in New York City in 1913. That examination showed that in a given week of two corresponding years, 1912 and 1913, one institution fed 3,300 pounds more of meat when it had 200 less patients. It was found that some of the institutions used more meat per capita in the summer than in the winter owing to the fact that the census had decreased but the same winter total amount of meat was distributed. It was further noted that the tables of the higher class employees had nearly four times as much waste as in one of the institutions of the state where a waste control system had been installed. In one institution caring for children, it was found that large quantities of cereal were thrown into the garbage can, which fact had not been noted by the management; and when it was suggested that an additional amount of sugar on the cereal might induce the children to eat it, and this was subsequently served, most of the cereal waste was eliminated.

The following incidents illustrate some of the results that have been brought about by giving particular attention to food preparation, distribution and waste: One institution in New York state which introduced a waste control system in 1913, reduced its annual food waste from 85 pounds per capita in 1913 to 17 pounds per capita during the last two years. This low per capita waste is at the present time being maintained. In other words, this institution in cutting its per capita waste of food from 85 pounds to 17 pounds would be saving \$5.44 per capita per year, if figured at an average of eight cents per pound, which, for an institution of 2,000 inmates, would represent a saving of food formerly wasted amounting to \$10,880 annually.

Another institution in New York state having had a waste control system in operation about four years, states that four years ago they were enabled to feed from their garbage three hundred pigs; whereas, today they have not sufficient garbage for one hundred.

An institution in Pennsylvania during a two-years period of use of the waste system, reduced its waste about 55 per cent.

The steward of another institution in New York state has recently reported as follows:

There is no question in my mind as to the saving in food by the use of this dietary; in fact, our farmer is complaining continually of shortage of waste from the kitchen.

Where we used a few years ago to maintain from two to three hundred hogs and grow them to 250 to 300 pounds before killing, it is almost impossible now to maintain two hundred and grow them to 200 or 225 pounds without the purchase of considerable amount of corn. This, I believe, is one of the best indications of the reduction of waste from the kitchens in the last two years.

A waste accounting system was introduced in the institutions of the province of Ontario, Canada. That department reported under date of July 12, 1916, as follows:

As you will no doubt recall, we installed the system November 1, 1914, which date is the commencement of our fiscal year. For the first year's operation, ending October 31, 1915, the results have been exceptional. The net saving to the Province was approximately one cent per meal on 7,500,000 meals.

The report further states:

I put a great deal of study and work to this particular end, and I know that our patients have better food, that they received a better variety, and the cost to the State has been less, than any similar period on record, during the last 25 years.

Major R. G. Hoskins, of the United States Sanitary Corps, in the January, 1919, issue of "The Modern Hospital," makes the following statement:

The elimination of waste is highly important, and the amount of waste in different hospitals varies greatly. In one hospital observed, the 24 hour accumulation of garbage for 823 persons amounted to 1,600 pounds. In another hospital, in which a conservation officer was utilized, the edible waste was held down to 0.4 ounces per man per day, or less than 3 pounds per hundred men.

In 1913 a waste system was introduced into some of the institutions in Illinois. Dr. Sidney D. Wilgus, superintendent of the Kankakee State Hospital, reported that during the month of June of that year the system reduced the waste 21,000 pounds. Since that time the system has been continued until the waste has been reduced to a safe minimum.

The waste control system above referred to was first published in a Report on Fiscal Control of State Institutions, by the State Charities Aid Association, in 1911, and subsequently described in the Report on Hospitals of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment of New York City, in 1913. Last year the United States government, deeming the control of waste food of importance, through the Food Administration issued a pamphlet describing in detail this waste accounting system.

Food Control Records Needed to Insure Proper Feeding

The importance from an economic standpoint of the conservation of food is very great. The aggregate saving, were a system carefully operated in all the institutions of the United States, would amount to a number of million dollars annually; but, great as the economic value would be, and is where it is in operation, its chief value by many would be considered the daily information that it gives the superintendent as to whether or not his patients or inmates are being properly fed. Not only does such a system save food, but it informs the superintendent whether or not appetizing food is being served or the food is being improperly prepared; or whether or not food which was acceptable in one season has become distasteful in another. If he uses in connection with it—which he must have to operate satisfactorily—a basic dietary ration table, he can know with certainty whether or not his patients are getting enough, or too much, food. If, according to his distribution tables, they are getting the right amount in pounds or in protein and calories as distributed from the storehouse, and then there occurs too much waste, he knows that the actual amount eaten is less than

needful, and he inquires at once the reason for the rejection of the food on the part of the patients. He may discover that the quality of the food as purchased was unsatisfactory or that it has been largely destroyed in the process of preparation in the kitchen or in serving. In other words, of a given amount of food which he has determined by tables and his dietary should be served to his tables, he knows how much is actually eaten. While sitting at his desk he can be reasonably assured that the patients are properly fed.

Complaints were received by the Commissioner of Charity in New York City from certain charitable societies that the patients in a certain institution were not well fed. The commissioner had in hand full statistics as to the amount of food served, article by article, and the amount of waste collected. He knew by these figures just how much food had been eaten, and he was enabled to assure the complainants that the patients had been sufficiently and properly fed. The complaints, when examined in detail, resolved themselves into the sporadic complaint of a few disgruntled patients; such complaints periodically occur in hospitals. Had, however, the commissioner not had in hand these figures, it would have been impossible to make a satisfactory reply to the protesting societies.

In one of the state institutions in New York state, it was necessary to put a new cook in charge of a certain kitchen. One of the dining rooms served by this kitchen complained that they did not receive a sufficient amount of cereal. The shortage was not marked, and yet it was sufficient so that possibly ten per cent of the patients could not be fed the allotted portion. The cook was supposed to have sent, in accordance with the census in this kitchen, a certain number of rations by measure to the dining room, and the amount sent was served in a standard ration dipper. The amount sent did not furnish sufficient portions. It was clear to the server that a mistake had been made in the kitchen and an insufficient amount sent. Had the ration dippers not been in use, an error of this character would not have been discovered and the patients would have had distributed among them the amount actually sent from the kitchen, which, through error, was too small, and each would have received too small a portion.

Complaints time by time will arise as to the feeding of patients in any public institution. It is highly important that a superintendent have in hand figures that will enable him to show the complainants just how much food has been eaten. He cannot give such assurance, however, unless he has on record the exact amount of each article of food served, and also the amount of each article of food not eaten. To secure such statistics, he must have in operation a ration distribution table, and also an efficient waste control system.

No Additional Help Needed to Operate Control System

The usual reply made by superintendents to a proposition that they introduce dietary tables and a waste system is, that they have not sufficient help to operate such a system. Where the system has been introduced, no additional help has been employed. The number of persons usually employed in the kitchens, serving rooms and dining rooms is sufficient to do the little extra work required. It is necessary, however, to have employees of a reasonable degree of intelligence and with sufficient wages to insure interest in their work and loyalty to the institution. Without a thorough co-operation on the part of the staff, it is difficult to carry out any such system, but the results of the system when well operated produce such marked economies that any necessary increases in wages would be many times offset by the saving in the amount of food used.

Condemnation System Needed to Conserve Supplies

As little attention has been given to the conservation of other materials used in institutions as to the food supplies. Very few institutions have a condemnation system in operation which insures the superintendent that no article is put out of commission until it is actually useless for the purpose for which it was issued. In many institutions the person using the articles, such, for example as brooms, scrub brushes, bed linen, etc., is also the one who condemns them, and they are permitted to requisition new articles without the return of the old. In other institutions, where there is a partial system, the original user must return an article the use of which it is proposed to discontinue, and the final condemnation and disposition is left to the person passing upon the returned articles. No system will produce the best results unless it contains: (a) a provision for a designated number of articles of each kind that should be in use at a given time in a specific division; (b) a provision that the article it is proposed to condemn be passed upon not only by the storekeeper, or issuing officer, but also in addition by the superintendent or someone delegated by him; (c) a provision that records of the number of articles condemned and the number reissued be so tabulated that at a glance the superintendent can see whether any division is using up and replacing its articles at a more rapid rate than another division operating under like conditions. When such a system is in operation, the superintendent is in a position to know the number of each article needed in his institution, division by division, and the number needed for replacement during the year, and what portion of this replacement was needed on account of actual wear or breakage or theft.

To summarize: It is much more profitable to systematize and control the use of food and articles than to devise refined systems of purchase. No superintendent can most efficiently administer his institution unless he can know day by day, by reports placed on his desk, whether or not his patients or inmates are eating what is placed before them, and whether or not the various classes of supplies and materials used throughout his institution are not discarded until they are worn to a predetermined degree; and that the articles that are condemned are subsequently used for other purposes or sold when advisable. No institution can be properly operated unless it has recognized standards and has reports which will let the superintendent know whether or not these standards are being met.

AN ADMINISTRATIVE IDEAL IN PUBLIC WELFARE WORK

Owen Copp, M. D., Physician-in-Chief and Administrator, Pennsylvania Hospital, Department for Mental and Nervous Diseases, Philadelphia

The ideal is probably never fully realized. It may, however, set a definite goal whose persistent quest might be worth while. It may embody some prerequisites of worthy achievement. At least it may possess elements of suggestion.

Elements of Individual Efficiency

Every great enterprise bears the impress of some dominant personality, a Lincoln in moral issues, a Pasteur in science, a Webster in statesmanship, a Rockefeller in big business. The man of brains and proved efficiency is always sought by captains of industry to initiate and direct an undertaking. They cull from the technical schools and universities capable graduates to train in every detail of constructive process and management. The trained man has become the basic factor in the evolution of successful business. He holds an individual place, a definite sphere of duty, an open field for

self-expression and accomplishment, which are the only criteria of his capacity and worth. Nothing from without is imposed by experimentalist. Growth proceeds from within, as of a living organism, in harmony with natural laws discerned, interpreted and applied by the intelligence acquired through training and experience. Big business is the expression of such individuality and growth. The man tried out by such a method is valued by his chief. No ordinary inducement can separate them. Both recognize that stability and continuity of wise planning and right effort are essential to highest attainment.

A system of administration, however perfect in theory, which fails to attract such men, to develop them under such conditions and retain them in stable service, lacks the primary requisite of high achievement.

Furthermore, no individual nor local unit of administration long remains in isolation. Both are multiple or become multiple and operate in combination varied and innumerable. But no combination nor system ever rises above the standard and quality of its individual components.

Hence, the inter- and extra-relationships of the individuals and local units constituting a system of administration must be governed by the same principles as promote individual development and efficiency.

These Principles of Administration

and their requirements may be stated briefly as follows:

1. Each local unit, institution or department should be a *complete mechanism* of administration in both professional and business fields under the conditions described relative to the individual.

2. The sphere of duties of each local unit of a system of administration should be clear cut in relation to other units and general interests, in order that their inter- and extra-relationships may be clearly defined.

3. The correlation of such inter- and extra-relationships should be effected through a general board having investigatory, advisory and supervisory authority, but no power of direct control except enforcement of decisions of appeal.

4. True uniformity of product and method which recognizes and reconciles essential differences of conditions results from accurate knowledge acquired by impartial and expert investigation.

5. Co-ordinated action of associated units results from such information conveyed *on time* in definite and easily comparable form, which reveals deficiencies and offers helpful suggestion and constructive criticism.

6. Enlightened publicity based on such knowledge and method is a sharper spur to action and a more potent agency of compulsion than the dictation of any control board. It is a driving force acting through reason, competency, facts and good will. It never fails.

7. Appeal in final disagreement should be made to the general board of supervision whose decision should be absolute and binding.

These principles and methods are fundamental in successful business. They are democratic in spirit and equally fundamental in the great economic and humanitarian undertakings of state government under a democracy.

State Government

State government should not be a mere aggregation of departments in haphazard association. It should be constituted as a living organism with inherent forces manifest in growth and development in every department whose activities, correlated according to similarity of function and harmony of action, should promote the public welfare in the broadest sense. An evasive attitude of government that shirks all duties, which are

not obvious and unavoidable, is unwise and wasteful. The right spirit is constructive, alert in foresight and prevention, virile or initiative and *zealous in searching out public needs* and formulating the practicable and economical plans for their satisfaction.

Four Allied Fields

This conception of government, based on the foregoing principles and methods of administration, is especially applicable in four allied fields having

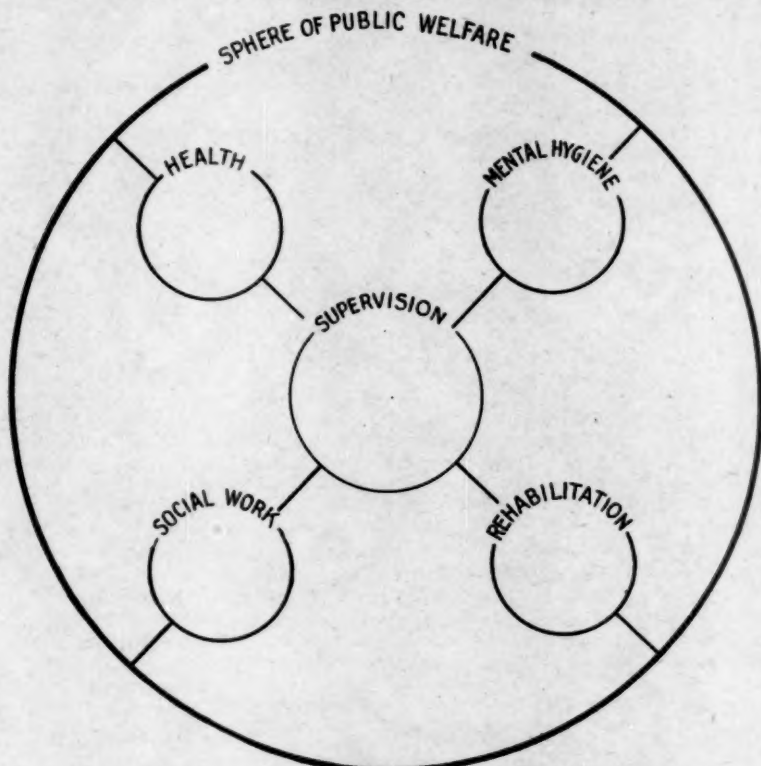


DIAGRAM I

intimate relation to the public welfare. These comprise, in the usual nomenclature, the departments of public health, of insanity, of charities and of correction. In the beginnings of state government and in small states these departments may be variously combined as a temporary and practical matter, but in every large state each is big enough and special enough in requirement to justify, in my judgment, separation from the others and autonomy under general regulation of state organization.

Consolidation of State Departments

It is frankly conceded, however, that distinct trend in the opposite direction toward large consolidations of state departments is gaining in

favor. Constitutional revisionists are demanding them. The appeal is particularly strong to the business mind and public economist, whose appreciation of medical, scientific and human needs may not always be as keen as the sense of economy. Nevertheless, the conviction is deep and honest in the minds of some of the fairest and most single purposed men of my acquaintance. The current may be irresistible, and commands attention as a matter of helpfulness in solving a difficult state problem and striving to satisfy business instinct without destroying individuality and personal initiative, which are as indispensable to good business as to the attainment of high professional standards in adequate response to public needs.

Careful analysis of the situation in the light of long and close experience in such matters leads to the belief that the key to solution will be found in efficiency of state administration, especially institutional management which constitutes so large part thereof, that the terms may be almost interchangeable in this discussion. Doubt in this direction is the inciting ferment of agitation for change and reorganization. Once satisfy the governor, the legislature and interested public on this point and such agitation, in my judgment, will cease in the main and essential issues in this great field of public service will become paramount.

Institutional Management

Is the strongest bond in consolidation of these four departments in which are largely concentrated the institutional interests of the whole commonwealth. Their monetary outlay as well as value in public service is so enormous that the organization of their activities assumes a commanding place in state government. Furthermore, the scope of their duties extends far beyond institutions widely into community service, whose agencies have the same need, as institutional management, of unification under sound principles and methods of administration.

How mutually helpful, efficient and economical would be a co-ordinated system of all the agencies for social work and child welfare, of rehabilitation of the physically, mentally and morally handicapped, of neuropsychiatric examination and diagnosis, of provision for the preliminary care and after care in the community of mental patients, the physically diseased or disabled, the indigent, inefficient or delinquent!

Worthy achievement to this end requires fine and smooth adjustment of the mechanism of administration and their co-operative relationship.

Conservation and Promotion of Health

The second bond uniting these departments is created by their professional requirements in the conservation and promotion of health. Health is the common axis around which all their activities center and revolve. Its two great sub-divisions, physical health and mental hygiene, are, as it were, the binding cements in every product of constructive effort in these fields. Physical abnormality and mental abnormality pervade their whole domain as disintegrating ferments. The conservation of the former and elimination of the latter are the first and imperative steps in resolving the problems of poverty and charity, child welfare and delinquency, within the compass of social work and rehabilitation among persons who are normal or amenable to normal methods. Thus, would be cleared the path of constructive endeavor, unhampered by the lack of expert knowledge and experience possessed only by the internist and psychiatrist.

A natural differentiation would concentrate the chief factors and interests of physical health and abnormality under the control and supervision

of the internist and sanitarian in a *bureau of health*; the chief factors and interests of mental health and abnormality under the control and supervision of the experienced psychiatrist in a *bureau of mental hygiene*. The chief factors and interests of child welfare, ministration to the poor, removal of their social and industrial handicaps and the conservation of the family under the control and supervision of the expert in social science in a *bureau of social work*; the moral regeneration of the delinquent, his re-education, vocational training and restoration to the social and industrial life of the community under the control and supervision of the expert in such matters in a *bureau of rehabilitation*.

These four bureaus, pre-eminent in service for the common weal might appropriately constitute a

Department of Public Welfare

The new nomenclature may be too inclusive and otherwise inadequate. It expresses, nevertheless, the constructive purpose of each bureau and the ultimate goal of all. It is free of ancient prejudice and misconception which dishearten the unfortunate and obstruct progress. It affords temporary relief from unmerited odium, although there is the anticipation that the aroma of idealism may be dissipated by any deserved stigma of reality.

The elements of our ideal may be correlated in diagrams as shown herewith. The circle represents bi-sections of a sphere, the symbol of definiteness of function and field of duty; contact of circles, the *control* relation; union by connecting line, the supervisory relation; interspaces, over-lapping fields with their inter- and extra-relationships.

Diagram I presents the great sphere of public welfare circumscribing its component spheres of health, mental hygiene, social work and rehabilitation.

Diagram II adds the common bonds uniting these bureaus as shown by dotted line circles: (1) Administration or institutional management; (2) Physical health.

There remains the presentation in Diagram III, of the mechanisms of administration and their relationships. These should operate under the control relation within the *individual* field through a *local bureau* of administration with correlation of inter- and extra-relationships by a supervisory body.

Specifically, the functions of the great department of public welfare should be differentiated into four autonomous bureaus, each complete within its field in both professional and business requirements for full discharge of direct duties under a commission of public welfare, having only advisory and supervisory powers save in the enforcement of decisions of appeal.

The Bureau of Health

Should have all the usual powers and duties of a state board of public health, and, in addition, the administration of state institutions for the treatment of physical disease and disability unless mental disease, defect or abnormality should be a *primary* consideration.

It should be consultant and advisor to other bureaus and other departments of state government in sanitation and the treatment of physical disease and abnormality, whose *secondary* importance might properly leave them in other fields.

It should be under control of a directorate of three members appointed and removable by the governor. The chairman should be its executive

officer, expert and experienced in internal medicine and sanitation, required to devote full time to official duties and paid an adequate salary in addition to necessary expenses; the other members should have special qualifications and interest in the work of the bureau, but should be required to devote only necessary time to its duties and be paid only necessary expenses incurred in their performance.

The Bureau of Mental Hygiene

Should have the usual powers and duties of a state board of insanity, and to its institutional equipment should add agencies for community service sufficient for prevention, early treatment of incipient mental con-

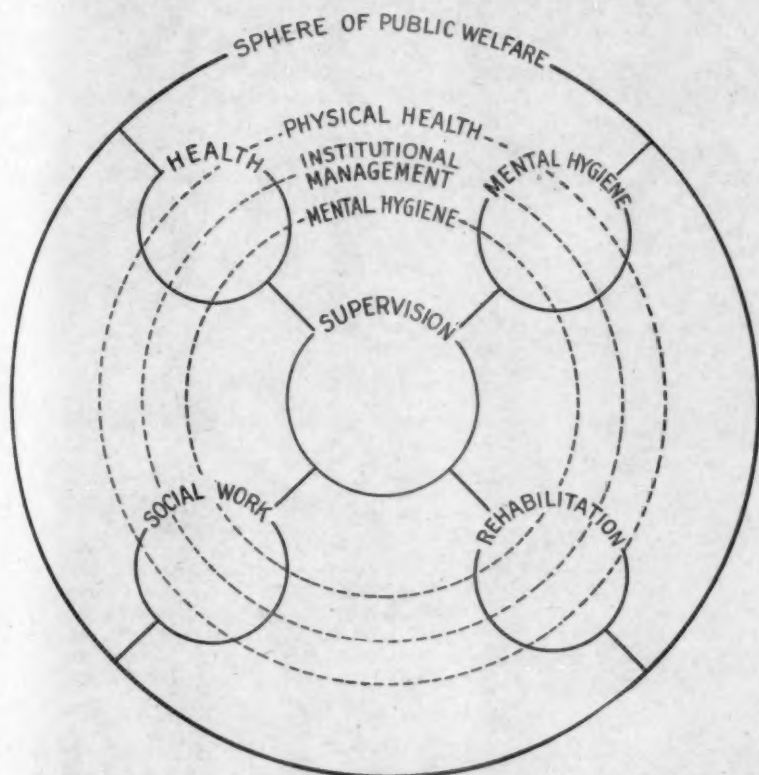


DIAGRAM II

ditions and supervision of the mentally affected, feeble-minded and epileptic before their admission and after their discharge from institutions.

Its psychiatrist should be consultant and advisor in mental hygiene to other bureaus of the department of public welfare and other departments of state such as that of education, immigration, etc., whenever mental disease or defect, or abnormal conduct is so *secondary* in requirement, that

such affected may properly be left outside the direct field of the bureau of mental hygiene.

Its directorate of control should be constituted and organized as prescribed for the bureau of health; its executive officer should be a registered physician expert and experienced in mental hygiene and the treatment of mental disease and abnormality.

The requirements of him and his remuneration should be the same as in the case of the executive officer of the bureau of health.

The Bureau of Social Work

Should have the usual powers and duties of a state board of charity with modification and additions necessitated in realizing this ideal.

It should have an advisory relation to other bureaus and state departments analogous to that of the bureaus of health and mental hygiene.

The same analogy should be followed in the constitution of its directorate, general organization, qualifications, requirements and remuneration of its officers.

The Bureau of Rehabilitation

should have the usual powers and duties of a state board of correction and its allied agencies subject to similar modification and addition as in the case of the bureau of social work. In other respects the analogy of the board of social work should be followed in the field of delinquency.

These four bureaus of the department of public welfare, autonomous within their respective spheres, have further duties and relationships outside: (1) Between each other, (2) With other departments of state, (3) With other states and other countries. Such duties and relationships should constitute the control functions of a

Commission of Public Welfare

whose other powers and duties relative to internal affairs of the bureaus should be advisory and supervisory.

Its membership should be composed of the twelve directors of bureaus one of whom should be elected chairman.

Thus it would be constituted of experts and those having special qualifications in their respective fields and a common interest in the welfare of the whole department.

The commission should appoint a secretary who should be its executive officer, expert and experienced in administrative research and publicity.

Commissioners should receive no additional compensation, but their secretary should be paid the same remuneration as an executive officer of a bureau and should meet similar requirements.

The secretary of the commission should be the chief of an

Agency of Administrative Research and Publicity

composed of experts who should include an experienced architect, a trained supervisor of construction, an efficiency engineer in heating and lighting, a cost accountant and such others as experience might prove to be necessary.

The chief should nominate and the commission confirm all such appointments.

The scope of such agency should not reach any direct control, but comprehend thorough and impartial investigation of methods and results, furnishing accurate knowledge in definite and easily comparable form, discriminating as to essential differences of conditions, communicable in season to be of use in current operations and serving as the basis of helpful

suggestion and constructive criticism. Enlightened publicity should convey such information in a discreet and co-operative spirit to all bureaus and persons interested.

In like manner the multiform activities outside of institutions in these different fields should be unified and co-ordinated under the supervision of an

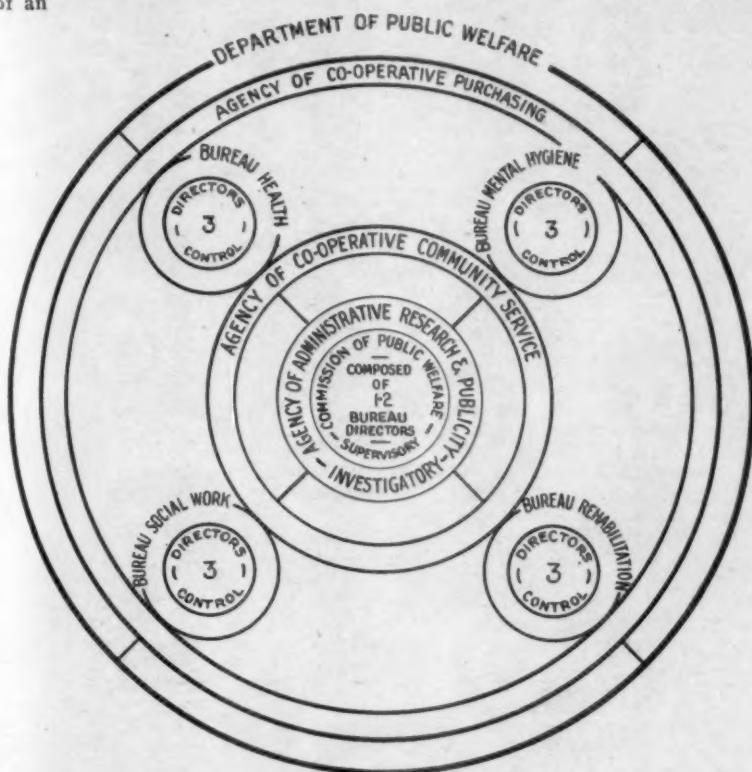


DIAGRAM III

Agency of Co-Operative Community Service

whose membership should be constituted of the chiefs of social work and rehabilitation in the respective bureaus of the department of public welfare.

It should follow the general analogy of the agency of administrative research and publicity in organization and procedure, appointment and requirement of officers, and methods of supervision.

The Purchase of Supplies

and other business operations which are direct functions of the individual bureaus, or their institutions or agencies, require some co-ordinating mechanism which would not violate the foregoing principles of administration.

Each bureau should have a *head* with unity of authority in both pro-

professional and administrative fields as previously stated. Each head should have a duly qualified and experienced assistant, or associate, in direct charge of details in professional work and business matters respectively. The professional assistant should be designated the assistant, or associate director; and the business assistant, the assistant or associate administrator.

The Agency of Co-Operative Purchasing

should be constituted of the assistant administrators and the chief of the agency of administrative research and publicity, which would thus have a membership of five experts in business, possessing full knowledge of requirements and conditions in their respective bureaus, institutions and agencies and common interest in the welfare of the whole department.

It should standardize qualities and rations of supplies and methods of administration with a just discrimination as to real differences of conditions and requirements.

Compliance with the rulings of this agency should be compulsory unless individual purchase could be justified by better results as shown by the agency of administrative research and publicity. Any difference should be settled by appeal to the commission of public welfare as in other disagreements.

The final mechanism is common to all departments of state and designed to minimize political interference. The true spirit of civil service should dominate all appointments in the department of public welfare.

In conclusion, the ideal presented specifically for administration in the field of public welfare, is not less applicable in principle to all other departments of public work.

It diminishes objection to large consolidations under authority, which co-ordinates their activities but does not destroy individuality nor impair personal initiative and self-expression.

It fixes responsibility upon the chief executive from the governor down, but is democratic in principle and practice.

It promotes efficiency of the individual and of the local agency whose competency, stability, fidelity and standards are the measure and limitation of combined achievement.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

*Mr. H. L. Baldensperger** of the U. S. War Department gave an account of the saving made in the army camps. Various food articles grouped and separate reports made. The system is simple and operated without additional help. Reports of state departments should be made to central body for comparison. Wastes could be utilized by careful system of handling. Handicapped persons can be used for this purpose. He gave as an example the saving of tin cans, which were worth \$5.00 per ton f. o. b. New York or Baltimore. Extensive statistics were given.

*Major H. A. Johnson,** U. S. War Department, reported that the Government had large supplies of food and material which must be disposed of. State departments should be able to secure these supplies at reduced cost. Food supplies must be disposed of in car load lots.

Dr. J. E. Fish, Canton, Mass., called attention to the fact that no hard and fast rules could be laid down in the matter of dietetics because we do not at present know enough about the physiology of nutrition, assimilation, excretion, tissue building and tissue waste, to utterly disregard that mysterious power of instinct by which men, as well as animals, are able to satisfy the demands for those elements in which the body tissues may be deficient. Mastication and condition of teeth have much to do with the complex problem. The same ration which will make one person fat will cause emaciation in another and we do not as yet know why. He did not wish to disagree with everything that had been said, but most emphatically wished to call attention to the fact that grave dangers would inevitably follow if hard and fast rules in dietetics were adopted for inmates of institutions who were deprived of an opportunity to secure supplementary

*Notes uncorrected by speakers.

foods. He stated that the steam boiler could be nicely riveted together and supplied with coal, but that it was quite another matter to rivet together the human boiler and supply it with food for nutrition and repair as well as for energy. He did not think that the steam boiler was fairly comparable to the human boiler.

Mr. Wright spoke of the tendency to centralize all control in some form in various states. Two commissions are at work in New York, both of which may recommend a central board of control. In the minds of many business men and legislators centralization will produce greater efficiency and economy. Too frequently they do not take into consideration the fact that institutions are not primarily business concerns, and are not operated to produce profit, but their prime function is to take care of human beings, and any plan of supervision which lessens their efficiency as curative or custodial agents is a defective system. Great care must be taken in devising any centralized plan that in its operation it may not lessen the efficiency of the institutions.

POVERTY IN BALTIMORE AND ITS CAUSES

William H. Maltby, Director, Bureau of State and Municipal Research, Baltimore, Md.

By some accident the title of this discussion was not submitted to me until after the program was in print; otherwise, I would have given it a different phrasing, since the title as it stands covers too broad a field and implies too extensive a knowledge for me to be willing to lead the discussion. The matter which I really wish to present to you is an account of a special study made in Baltimore and a plea for the organization of similar studies elsewhere.

The Need

Like social organizations elsewhere, those in Baltimore, and particularly the relief-giving organizations, have for years been engaged in the compilation of case records in which an enormous mass of detailed information is preserved for future record.

This information is of inestimable value in subsequent dealings with the case, either by the same organization or, through the medium of confidential exchange, by other organizations.

Theoretically, also, these case records, collectively considered, contain the material for a comprehensive study of the various facts concerning nationality, marital status, size of family, housing conditions, economic resources, moral and physical sub-normality, etc., which, whether causal or not, are nevertheless concurrent with the economic submergence of the family.

I say that these facts were theoretically available for study. Practically the mere clerical labor of attempting to tabulate them was so enormous that little, if any, effort was ever made in this direction, and this mine of valuable information remained therefore practically unworked.

On the other hand, it is perfectly evident that the social worker must consider preventive rather than merely remedial measures; that preventive measures demand a knowledge of underlying causes, and that any worthwhile study of underlying causes must include a careful study of the concurrent conditions in large aggregates of cases as well as the study of individual cases.

The Agencies

The Baltimore Bureau of State and Municipal Research was so firmly convinced of the importance of this work that it offered its services to The Alliance of Charitable and Social Agencies, embracing some fourteen social agencies in Baltimore City, on the condition that the alliance should finance the work only to the extent of providing for the actual out-of-pocket cost. The alliance approved the idea and through its president, Mr. B. Howell Griswold, Jr., secured from the City of Baltimore an appropriation

of \$5,000 for the purpose of meeting the expense involved. The work was undertaken by the bureau with the benefit of an advisory committee composed of Judge John C. Rose of the Federal Court, Mr. George E. Barnett of the Johns Hopkins University and Dr. Gordon Wilson of the medical faculty of the University of Maryland. The last named was compelled to withdraw on account of war service and his place was taken by Mr. Roscoe C. Edlund, director of The Alliance of Charitable and Social Agencies.

It is not necessary to say that a study such as the bureau had in mind is impracticable except by mechanical means. For example, we proposed to classify our families into forty-one classes, each of which was, in turn, subdivided into sub-classes ranging from a minimum of three up to a maximum of approximately four hundred, and each one of the more than eight thousand families was to be given its proper location in each of the sub-classes and the total number in each sub-class finally tabulated. Moreover, after this work was done it was essential that it should be possible to isolate from the general mass all families of a given sub-class under any one of the classifications and re-sort them according to any other class or sub-class, in order that any theory as to the causal relations between classes might be tested out practically.

This is neither the time nor the place to enter into any detailed discussion of modern mechanical tabulation. Inasmuch, however, as many of you are probably unfamiliar with its possibilities, I will take the time to point out that any classification of ten groups or less may be represented in a code by Arabic numerals, and that if these ten numerals be printed upon a card the classification of the individual in question may be indicated by a hole punched in the card. By repeating the columns of figures, each being assigned to a definite classification, we may record in this way as many classifications and sub-classifications as we please. Machines have been built which will take a mass of cards so punched and sort them out into the groups represented by the figures in any one column at the rate of something like fifteen thousand cards per hour, and other machines have been built which count the cards or add up amounts which have been punched upon them at the rate of nine thousand six hundred cards per hour. It was one of these machines which the bureau used for its work.

Preparation of a Code

The first step in a study of this kind is the preparation of the code, or, in other words, the plan of classification and sub-classification of the facts which it was desirable to obtain from the case records. Keeping in mind our hope that ultimately this work might not only be continued in Baltimore but might be taken up elsewhere, and in order that data secured with us might be compared with similar data from other locations, we attempted to find out what had been done in this line in other localities, entering into wide correspondence with organized charities in other cities.

Unfortunately, we found that very little had been actually accomplished. New York had done something in the way of a study of case records by mechanical means through the Charity Organization Society, and also something through one of the municipal departments. Philadelphia had also done some work of this sort both through the organized charities and through the Domestic Relations Court. All of the available material from these two cities was very courteously placed at our disposal and, so far as practicable, the classifications used by them were followed by us in order that there might be a broader basis for future expansion.

We were, of course, guided to some extent in our classification of facts by the nature of the case records which had been kept by the local organizations. Believing, however, that we were building for the future, we included in our classifications not only those facts which were already of

record, but those facts which a committee of social workers, acting under the chairmanship of the advisory committee above mentioned, were willing to admit should be collected in order to guide future students of social conditions.

The details of the work are set forth in a bulletin published in January, 1919, under the title, "A Study of Social Statistics in the City of Baltimore," issued first by the Bureau of State and Municipal Research, and subsequently by The Alliance of Charitable and Social Agencies. The persons interested in the details of the study can best secure them by securing copies of this report, but I may say briefly that the basis of classification consisted, first, in treating the family as the unit and classifying the families according to

Source of the application for aid.

Housing conditions, including

Type of house.

Number of rooms

Number of persons in the household.

Toilet facilities.

Bathing facilities.

Number of rooms with outside windows.

Number of rooms with skylight or court windows.

Number of rooms without outside windows.

Family status, including

Marital relation.

Number of children under sixteen.

Number of children over sixteen.

Relationship of the children to the masculine and feminine head of the family.

Other adults in the household.

Other children in the household.

Number of children deceased.

Number of illegitimate children.

Children away from home contributing to support.

Children away from home not contributing to support.

Total income.

Rent per week.

Insurance paid weekly.

Birthplace of the man and woman.

Length of residence of the head of the family in the United States.

Length of residence of the head of the family in Baltimore City.

Religious affiliations.

Age of the head of the family.

Literacy of the head of the family.

Literacy of the children.

Nature of the handicaps—mental, moral and physical which presented themselves in the family.

Institutional record of the head of the family.

Past and present institutional record of the children.

The primary reason or immediate cause as stated by the family itself or by the case workers for their application for aid.

We took up as a separate study each wage earner in the families studied. For each of these wage earners a card was prepared setting forth

Age.

Average weekly wage.

Average weekly income.

Relationship of the wage earner to the family.

Insurance paid by the wage earner upon himself.

Occupation of the man or woman.

Time lost through illness.

Cause of loss of income.

Average time lost through unemployment.

Cause of unemployment.

Age of the wage earner on leaving school.

Amount of schooling.

Present relationship to public education.

Many of the latter items, however, we found had not been sufficiently studied by the case-worker to make our information when secured of any particular value.

In addition to the special cards for wage earners, we also prepared a special card for each individual exhibiting any mental, moral or physical sub-normality.

The information recorded in each of these cases covered:

- Relationship of the sub-normal individual to the family.
- Presence of hereditary and collateral sub-normalities.
- Mental condition.
- Nature of the physical handicap.
- Nature of the moral handicap.
- Court record.
- Institutional record.

This card is somewhat longer than the above summary would indicate, in view of the fact that it was necessary to provide for a reporting of two or more physical or moral handicaps in the same individual.

Method of Work

With this work of outlining the code completed, the next step consisted in translating case records into the code. For this work the bureau employed a staff of intelligent young women, many of whom had already had some experience in social work, and placed them under the general supervision of the secretary of the bureau, Miss Mary T. McCurley. A convenient card was devised corresponding to the tabulating card in the sequence of its items, and this clerical staff given the work of translating the somewhat voluminous case records into the code by entering under each class the particular number or symbol that indicated the condition of the family or individual under consideration. When this coding was completed the work was reduced to the mechanical work of punching the cards and counting or tabulating them by the mechanical processes above outlined.

The Results Fallible

Neither the Bureau of Municipal Research nor the advisory committee which worked with it was under any illusion as to the fallible nature of the results secured. Case-workers, like all other human beings, make numerous mistakes, particularly in questions which call for a certain power of social diagnosis. Moreover, even if the whole eight thousand cases which were handled in the study had represented absolutely accurate information on all questions of inference, no final conclusions as to the causes of poverty could have been drawn from the results of our study. What we believed then and believe now is that such a study as this opens up lines of inquiry which should be still further developed. If the conditions which we found to be true in Baltimore of the eight thousand families studied for the years 1916 and 1917 are found to continue in later years, and still more if the conditions which we found in Baltimore are found to be duplicated as the results of similar studies made elsewhere, then indeed we may begin to rely upon these results as indicating certain casual relations between physical, mental and moral data on the one hand and economic submergence upon the other.

In speaking of the results of the study, therefore, I do not wish to be understood as thinking that we have found the causes of poverty, but merely as saying that we know now in a very definite, specific way the nature of the conditions that surrounded this special group of eight thousand submerged families or individuals. We are in the same position as a physician who now has laid before him the medical history of the flu patients in a single hospital. He is not ready to discover either the cause or the cure of flu, but he is ready to begin his study of that dread disease, and he is probably in a position to reach certain negative conclusions.

Some Conclusions

So, for example, when we found that part-time employment was the immediate cause of the application for relief is only 59 cases out of the over 8,000 studied, while desertion or non-support was the cause in 739 cases, we were ready to say (please note the limitations) that *at the present time in the City of Baltimore* the social worker should devote his attention rather to the family relationship than to seasonal vocations.

So when we discovered that out of the 8,663 families studied the head of the family had spent ten years or more in the United States in 7,922 cases we realized, as we never before had realized, that our problem was not a problem of dealing with the recent immigrant; and when we found out in the same way that the heads of 7,228 of these families had spent five years or more in Baltimore City we realized that we were dealing with our own and not with those who had been drawn to us and quickly submerged by the conditions of city life.

Some of us had assumed, perhaps subconsciously, that the burden of supporting a large family was the cause of economic submergence, but this study showed us that out of the 8,663 families studied 3,367 had no children under 16, 1,210 had only one child, and 1,068 had only two children under that age. We were therefore compelled to abandon that hypothesis.

In the same way the tendency to regard poverty as an old-age problem was weakened when we found that the maximum number of cases, in the case of both men and women, occurred between the ages of thirty and forty, and that the number of cases between twenty and thirty approximately equaled in the case of men, and very much exceeded in the case of women, the number of cases between forty and fifty.

So also we were disposed to congratulate ourselves upon our housing conditions when we found that 3,018 of the families occupied a private dwelling; that 2,042 of them occupied what is known as a two- or three-family house; that only 278 were tenement dwellers, and only 43 basement dwellers.

In the way of positive results we note that the 8,663 families yielded us a total of 10,194 wage-earners, of which the males showed an average weekly wage ranging from \$5.68 for the group aged from ten to nineteen up to \$12.27 for the group from thirty to thirty-nine, while the women, excluding a few cases of children under ten, showed an average weekly wage ranging from \$1.69 for the group between eighty and eighty-nine up to \$5.13 for the group between thirty and thirty-nine. It was also interesting to note that among the men for the year 1916 unskilled workers were most numerous, factory and manufacturing plant workers second, and non-salaried trademen third, but in 1917 non-salaried tradesmen had moved down to fifth position, third and fourth being taken by building trades workmen and transportation employees, respectively. For women, in 1916 factory hands led, followed by personal service workers, unskilled workers and home workers, but in 1917 the order was personal service, factory, unskilled workers and home workers.

Similarly, these 8,663 families yielded a total of 8,568 subnormal individuals, of whom 4,902 were men and 3,666 were women. In 3,343 of the cases among the men the subnormal individual was the head of the family, and in 2,497 cases among the women the subnormal woman was the wife or head of the family. Approximately 1,000 of these men were mentally subnormal and about the same number of the women. The men exhibited about 2,100 cases of physical subnormality and the women about 2,400 cases. The men exhibited about 4,500 cases of moral subnormality and the women about 1,800, while the men showed approximately 2,000 court records and the women about 1,200.

A Beginning Which Should Be Followed Up

The study in question is really only the beginning of the handling of the data which we now have. Nothing has been tabulated so far except the primary classifications, and an almost unlimited number of cross studies and tabulations should be made; for instance, cases of desertion and non-support should be re-sorted by nationality, by age, by number of children in family, by mental, physical and moral subnormalities of the woman and man involved; the tubercular cases should be classified and tabulated by housing conditions and by neighborhoods, provided for in our scheme of charting. The beauty of the process used lies in the fact that any of these sub-studies, and an almost limitless number of others which might be suggested, can be performed at any time in the future by the purely mechanical processes outlined above.

As I said at the beginning, I have made no effort really to tell you anything about the poor of Baltimore or about the causes of their poverty. What I have attempted to show you is the way in which a mass of social data may be prepared for study, and the facts which I have given as resulting from the study in question are given not as having any particular economic value but as showing you the way in which important truths are brought instantly to light when the facts are spread out before one so that their inter-relations can be recognized.

If this Baltimore study stops where it is, it will be an ininteresting experiment, but so far as producing any permanent result of value is concerned it will be practically worthless. At the present time it is a curiosity, a laboratory experiment, if you will, an illustration of what might be done, but if this study in Baltimore is continued from year to year and if corresponding studies are made in the other cities of this country, if social workers will agree upon a system of coding so that the same symbols shall mean in all of these studies in a general way the same thing, so that there can be placed in the hands of an individual or a committee such tabulations as I have indicated, not for Baltimore for two years but for all our great cities for five years, there is almost no limit to the valuable information which may be drawn from a comparison and combination and detailed study of the facts.

We shall be ready then, as never before in our social work, to say to the man who comes to us with those broad generalizations which are the curse of so-called political science, or to the eloquent theorist who gets by with his proposal for some special form of social work merely because of the force of his eloquence and because (while he cannot prove his theories) no one else has the facts to disprove them—to these and to other well-meaning but, in the last analysis, purely speculative workers in the social field: "You are wrong. If you really wish to be of service to humanity, here is the thing which accompanies poverty, here are the conditions which ordinarily produce it, and here is the field in which you are to labor."

Sooner or later the social worker will realize that his present ambitious program of dealing with poverty not as an individual disease but as a disease of the community must fall to the ground unless it can rest upon the sound basis of community knowledge, and that this community knowledge is impossible except after rigid statistical studies covering a multitude of cases and long periods of time.

I am firmly convinced that this work must be done and that the Baltimore study outlined above is nothing more than a preliminary step. Whether or not its scheme of classification shall be adopted or shall be subsequently rejected and replaced by another is unimportant. What is important is that the work should be commenced at the earliest possible opportunity and that from the beginning there should be harmony in the various cities and the

various organization involved, so that the work done in one community may be easily and accurately compared with the work done in another.

PAUPER BURIALS AND THE INTERMENT OF THE DEAD IN LARGE CITIES*

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The following article consists of extracts—chiefly of statement of conclusions, taken from a comprehensive study published by the Prudential Insurance Company of America as an enlargement of the address by Dr. Hoffman at the Atlantic City meeting of the National Conference. The contents of the study are listed as follows: Ancient origin of burial observances; law of burial or interment; burials and funerals; a social and economic problem; origin of burial and funeral benefit societies; origin of industrial insurance in America; pauper burials in American cities; industrial insurance and the decline in pauper burials; the horror of a burial in a potter's field; funeral expenses, past and present; funeral extravagance of the well-to-do; movement for reform in funeral expenditures; the reform movement through associated effort; funeral economy of the well-to-do; thrown in with the city's dead; descriptive accounts of potter's fields; character, love and poverty; interesting side-lights on the problem of poverty and pauper burial; modern cemeteries and the disposal of the dead; the disposal of the dead in foreign cities; the municipal funeral system of Vienna; municipal funeral insurance; horrors of trench burial in Vienna; municipal funeral monopoly of Paris; the municipal burial service of Frankfurt a/M; dignity, simplicity and funeral economy; the municipal burial system of Zurich; summary and conclusions; chart of pauper burials in American cities, 1871-1918; Appendices: Rules of the Burial Society of Lanuvium; the man from Stalybridge; pauper burials in American cities, 1870-1918; pauper burials in New York City, 1867-1918; pauper burials in Newark, N. J., 1878-1918; anatomical law of Pennsylvania; pauper burial abuses in Indianapolis.

Ancient Origin of Burial Observances

The burial of the poor in large cities is a social and economic problem of the first importance, which has thus far received only fragmentary attention on the part of those qualified to give the subject expert consideration. No systematic inquiry into the whole question of interment or the disposal of the dead in modern towns and communities seems to have been made by a competent authority.

According to the law of burial as it applies to the practice of civilized communities at the present time,

No burial is lawful unless made in conformity with the local regulations; and when a dead body has been found it cannot lawfully be buried until the coroner has holden an inquest over it. . . . The leaving unburied the corpse of a person for whom the defendant is bound to provide Christian burial, as a wife or child, is an indictable misdemeanor, if he is shown to have been of ability to provide such burial.

For the health and protection of society, it is a rule of the common law, confirmed by statutes in civilized states and countries, that "public duties are imposed upon public officers, and private duties upon the husband and wife and the next of kin of the deceased, to protect the body from violation and see that it is properly interred, and to protect it after it is interred."

The burial of the dead in modern communities is primarily a social and economic problem, chiefly of community concern. In the United States the annual number of deaths is approximately 1,500,000, for which decent interment must be provided, mostly by the method of earth burial, which is still universally practised, regardless of the decidedly higher expense and the materially important loss in productive land area used for burial purposes. On a minimum estimate, allowing only forty-five square feet of surface area for each interment, the land required for burial purposes annually in the United States is over fifteen hundred acres, equivalent to more than two

*Complete study in pamphlet form sent free on request by the Prudential Insurance Company.

square miles. Since burial grounds or cemeteries are rarely surrendered, and since the practice prevails, in this country at least, of acquiring land for burial purposes in perpetuity, the abandonment or re-use of old cemeteries is extremely rare.

Pauper Burials in American Cities

It is regrettable, but no statistics of pauperism or of pauper burials for the entire United States are available through official sources. It has, therefore, been necessary to secure such information by means of correspondence with local boards of health, etc., and the accompanying chart shows for several cities the results of such an inquiry, which has been carried backward to an earlier period, when industrial insurance was in its beginnings and when pauper burials were almost at their maximum.

According to this chart the pauper burial rate has greatly declined, or, precisely, from a maximum of 171 per 100,000 of population during 1880-84, to 78 during the four years, 1915-18. The maximum figure for 1880-84, was, however, very considerably exceeded during the early seventies, when a rate of nearly 300 per 100,000 of population was reached in a few cities for which the returns are available. This, however, was at a time when the industrial and economic distress of the nation was probably at its worst.

Summarizing the results of the inquiry, limited to large cities, it appears that for only fifteen cities was a separate return secured as regards adults and children buried at public expense. Excluding the still-born, it is shown that the normal proportion of adults in pauper burials is about 60 per cent. of the total, and that of children 40 per cent., the term children being limited to persons under ten years of age.

For twelve cities a return was secured as regards the still-born buried at public expense, and out of an aggregate of 3,936 pauper burials in the twelve cities, 1,249, or 31.7 per cent. were still-born infants. Eleven cities returned a total of 1,634 children buried at public expense, and out of this number 925 were returned as still-born, or 56.6 per cent.

The foregoing analysis clearly emphasizes the necessity for the adoption of standard methods of statistical practise. It would certainly seem desirable in each and every case to differentiate the sex and the race of the person buried at public expense, and to fix some broad age division separating adults and children, including a separate consideration of the still-born. The term "pauper burials" is a more satisfactory one than "pauper funerals," in that the question involved is one of interment at public expense and not of the ceremonial incidental to such interment, usually called "funeral," though frequently not properly such within a strict definition of the term.

Summary and Conclusions

The foregoing discussion emphasizes the practical importance of a subject heretofore much neglected. Apparently the question has never received adequate consideration on the part of the Conference of Social Work or by the National Conference of Charities and Correction. There are few useful references to pauper burials in the literature of social reform, and while more extended consideration has been given to the disposal of the dead or the problem of interment in large cities, no clearly defined set of principles has been evolved really useful for the practical needs of large communities. The law of burial also requires more extended consideration, for the evidence is entirely conclusive that the rights of the person are frequently disregarded by wrongful methods in the disposal of the dead.

Finally, the sanitary aspects of the subject urgently demand reconsideration in view of the ever-increasing population of large cities and the diminishing area available for burial purposes by present-day methods. It would make a most useful contribution to social and sanitary science if some

one qualified to do so were to prepare a report based upon extended inquiry, similar to the work of Edwin Chadwick on "The Practice of Interment in Towns," issued in 1843 as a supplement to the report on the sanitary condition of the laboring population of Great Britain. The results of the present investigation, based upon more than thirty years of observation and inquiry with special reference to the needs of the poorest poor, are summarized or restated as follows:

1. A clear distinction requires to be drawn between burials and funerals. The former merely concern the interment of the dead, while the latter have reference to the ceremonial observances in connection therewith.
2. Funeral observances are among the most ancient of social institutions, as best illustrated by the archeological remains of ancient Egypt and Assyria.
3. Every race and people, from the most savage to the most civilized, has evolved its own burial or funeral observances, as best emphasized, perhaps, in the mortuary customs of our primitive Indian population.
4. What at first is common usage becomes in time a custom, and "custom is a law established by long usage."
5. What is law, or customary, applies to all the people, whether rich or poor, well or ill, living or dead. The desire for "a decent funeral," therefore knows no lines of discrimination, least of all because of the poverty of the deceased.
6. With the growth of population and the urbanization of the people the problem of proper interment and ceremonial funeral observances has become largely economic, or a question of cost.
7. To provide for burial and funeral expenses it was early recognized that the principle of insurance in its application to social needs offered a proper and in many cases the only practical solution. Burial societies, therefore, came into existence, and there is record of one as early as 212 A. D. at Lanuvium, near Rome, the rules and regulations of which have fortunately been preserved (see Appendix A). Modern burial societies are, however, more directly derived from the pre-existing guilds of the Anglo-Saxons and early English, which subsequently developed into modern friendly societies and industrial insurance companies.*
8. Indifference to actuarial considerations or ignorance thereof brought many of the early friendly societies to financial ruin, to the widespread disappointment of those who had contributed their meager savings to provide for a contingency certain to arise in course of time. Industrial insurance, therefore, came into existence partly at least in consequence of the report of a parliamentary investigation of "Assurance Associations," issued in 1853.
9. The first company to successfully undertake industrial insurance on the basis of legal reserve principles, modified to meet the needs of wage-earners, with premiums payable weekly and collected from the houses of the insured, was the Prudential Assurance Company of London (1854). On the basis of nearly twenty years of English experience, The Prudential Insurance Company of America was estab-

*The literature of guilds is quite extensive but rather difficult of access. Among the more important works are the following: "On the History and Development of Guilds and the Origin of Trades Unions," by David Brentano, London, 1870; "The Original Ordinances of More than One Hundred Early English Guilds," edited by Tuolwin Smith, Early English Text Society, London; "Two Thousand Years of God Life," by J. Malet Lambert, Hull, 1891; "History of the Anglo-Saxon," Sharon Turner, Philadelphia, 1841 (particularly chapter 10, on Guilds, and chapter 14, on Funerals); "A Dissertation on the Government, Law, Custom, etc., of Anglo-Saxons," M. DeRarin Thogras, London, 1730; "The History of Crime," by L. Owen Pike, London, 1878 (includes an extended discussion on Roman Collegia, Anglo-Saxon Guilds, etc.); and still others mentioned elsewhere.

lished in 1875, by the late Senator John F. Dryden. The company commenced business in Newark, N. J., largely because of the excessive pauper-burial rate then prevailing and the common occurrence of subscriptions being solicited among employees of manufacturing concerns to pay for the burial of the dead.

10. Previous to the establishment of industrial insurance, which has for its chief purpose a provision for a sum sufficient to meet the reasonable expenses of "a decent funeral," the pauper-burial rate of certain large American cities was as high as 300 per 100,000 population. During 1880-84, when industrial insurance had made but a very limited progress, the rate was 171, the reduction being in a measure the result of improved economic conditions. Subsequent to this period the rate steadily declined, reaching a minimum of 78 per 100,000 population during 1915-18.
11. What was once the exception is now the rule. The overwhelming majority of American wage-earners and their dependents are insured today on the industrial plan and successfully protected against the risk of a pauper burial.*
12. On the basis of a conservative estimate it may safely be asserted that annually at least 50,000 persons now have the benefit of "a decent funeral" instead of suffering the disgrace of interment in potter's field. This, in other words, is the difference in the number of persons who would be buried at public expense if the earlier pauper burial rate prevailed at the present time. This far-reaching change for the better is chiefly attributable to industrial insurance.
13. The common horror of a pauper burial finds its justification in the disgraceful manner of pauper interment met with even in otherwise highly civilized communities today. The frightful disclosures of a recent investigation in Indianapolis (see Appendix G) prove that the strong public aversion to a burial in potter's field rests upon a substantial basis of fact and bitter experience.
14. Regardless of their poverty, the poor frequently live lives reflecting the finest traits of character, love, sentiment, and family attachment. They will make incredible sacrifices to provide "a decent funeral" for their dead, who to them represent fathers, mothers, sisters, or children, the more beloved, perhaps, because of their poverty and the denial of the material comforts which seemingly make life more worth living among the well-to-do.
15. Financial extravagance and reckless waste in ceremonial observances is not limited to the poor, but is a trait common to all mankind. It is of the essence of cruelty to demand a more rigid economy in funeral expense from the poor, who are without training and experience in such matters, rather than to insist emphatically upon rational funeral observances on the part of the well-to-do and the rich.
16. Since the well-to-do persist in funeral extravagance, the outlook is not encouraging that the poor of their own account will initiate far-reaching burial reforms. The limited progress of cremation, partly because of sentimental considerations, has practically failed to reach the poor, or those who would benefit most by more economical methods in the disposal of the dead.
17. Well-considered methods of funeral reforms, particularly in the direction of economy in needless but costly observances, would signify a real measure of social progress and the realization of ideals not attained at the present time by any country in the world.
18. Attempts at funeral reform in foreign cities prove conclusively that

*On December 31, 1918, the number of industrial policies in force with twenty-three companies transacting this business in the United States was 40,453,438.

there is no relation of insurance to funeral extravagance. Previous to the war a most senseless and reckless waste in connection with funeral observances was a common experience in the life of even the poorest poor of Vienna and Paris, in which industrial insurance is either almost unknown or developed to only a very limited extent.

19. The most sensible and thoroughly democratic methods of burial are those initiated by certain Swiss cities and cantons and adopted in practically their entirety a few years ago by the city of Frankfurt a/M.*
20. Funeral expenses have considerably increased during recent years, and possibly as much as 100 per cent. or more since 1850.
21. Partly to meet the increasing cost of "a decent funeral" but largely to provide more adequately for the needs of surviving members of the family, the average amounts payable under industrial insurance have materially increased in the meantime. There has also been a very considerable development of ordinary insurance, or for amounts of \$1,000 or over, among wage-earners, in consequence of the systematic education in habits of thrift through the weekly method of premium-payments under industrial insurance.†
22. As shown by a special investigation made a few years ago in connection with an exhibit of insurance methods and results at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, San Francisco, the average funeral expense in wage-earners' families at that time was \$121.48. The average claim-payment under industrial insurance in the same families was \$197.75, so that there was a margin for family support, etc., of \$76.27, which, considering the limited resources of the insured, must be looked upon as a substantial barrier against the risk of public dependence. At ages 24-44, when the question of family support is naturally more pressing, the margin or excess of claim-payment over funeral expenses was \$127.21. The difference at the present time, on account of the larger sums insured for, is certainly not less than \$150, and possibly more.
23. The evidence is, therefore, entirely conclusive that progress is being made in the direction of more adequate family protection urgently called for by the higher cost of living and the better developed economic needs of wage-earners and their dependents at the present time. Further progress lies in the direction of a more perfect development of the thrift function and of a sense of rational economy in all family expenditures, including funeral observances. *
24. Drastic reforms are necessary for the full protection of future generations. An ever-increasing population requires the utmost conservation in land area useful for productive purposes. Probably not far from four square miles of new land is required each year for additional burial purposes. No estimate is available of the land at present utilized for graveyards and cemeteries. Cremation in part offers a solution, and progress in this direction is unquestionably desirable for sanitary and economic reasons. The potter's field is a relic of barbarism and a disgrace to modern civilization. The poorest poor have a right to a decent interment as much as the well-to-do and the rich, who are able to pay for burial space. The potter's

*For an interesting account of the early regulations for the establishment of officers for the care of the dead and for conducting funerals at Frankfurt, with plans for the houses of reception, see Edwin Chadwick's "Supplementary Report on the Practice of Interment in Towns," London, 1843, p. 205.

†On December 31, 1918, the total amount of insurance in force with twenty-three companies was \$10,032,533,185, of which \$4,402,576,732 was on the ordinary plan, largely on the lives of American wage-earners for the benefit of surviving dependents in the event of death.

field should be done away with as an essential step in permanent social reform.

25. Educational efforts in this direction should properly be developed through associated activities, and no society can render more substantial service in this respect than the National Conference of Social Work. It is, however, absolutely essential that any and all such efforts shall rest upon common principles applicable to the lives of the well-to-do and the rich as well as to the poorest poor. What is right and proper in this respect and called for by the highest consideration of public policy is as urgently demanded of the prosperous and well-to-do as of wage-earners and the poor. The former, however, because of their intelligence and freedom from the charge of sordidness and selfishness, are under a more serious obligation to initiate far-reaching reforms in economical funeral observances than the latter, who are entitled to the most sympathetic consideration on the part of all who have conscientiously tried to understand the perplexing problem of "how the other half lives."

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

The informal discussion related chiefly to methods of conducting the Baltimore survey and criticism of specific figures.

Miss Anna Rochester of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor added the following data secured in connection with a study by the bureau of infant mortality in Baltimore. The earnings figures refer to the year following the births of 1915. They were offered to indicate how important as causes of poverty were low earnings and irregular employment.

Of 11,195—only 1,258, or 11.2% earned as much as \$1,250. Even of the 6,522 employed the entire year, less than 20% earned as much as \$1,250; 52% earned less than \$850, and 15% earned less than \$550. 4,641, or 41.5% were employed less than the entire year. Of these—

Fathers died	71, or 1.5%
Fathers deserted	224, or 4.8%
Wholly due to illness	226, or 9.2%
Partly due to illness	295, or 6.4%
Work not available	3,625, or 78.1%

Among the 3,625 "work not available," the distribution in the several earnings groups was as follows:

Under \$450	989, or 27.3%
450 to 549	760, or 21.0%
550 to 649	609, or 16.8%
650 to 849	735, or 20.3%
850 to 1249	399, or 11.0%
1250 and over	66, or 1.8%
None	14, or 0.4%
W. R.	83, or 1.5%

Under \$550, 48.3%; under \$850, 85.4%.

In the informal discussion were: Irene Kavin, Chicago; Hornell Hart, Cincinnati; Viola I. Paradise, Washington; F. S. Hall, New York; Mrs. Elizabeth Moloney, Boston; M. C. Kelley, Erie, Pa.

INTERSTATE UNIFORMITY IN STATE BOARD STATISTICS

Amos W. Butler, Secretary, Board of State Charities, Indianapolis

I doubt if there are many among you who are connected with state boards who have not found difficulty in answering satisfactorily the simplest questions as to how your institutions compare with those of other states in the matter of population, cost and results accomplished. Yet such questions are to be expected from any citizen who manifests an interest in what is being done for the wards of the state, and especially from members of the legislature and committees on investigation for any proposed undertaking. If we expect to gain either public or official support for the work we know must be done, we must be ready to furnish the facts. As I see it, the state boards have no duty more important than that. Without definite knowledge, no scientific consideration of a subject is possible.

Correct and uniform statistics are at the foundation of modern charity work. They are essential to the proper efforts of every institution or organization. Without them, the results of their work cannot be known. We all know how our own work is hampered by our lack of knowledge of the past. Let us see to it that we provide a better foundation for the work of the future.

Since the original items of information to be collected are essentially the same, the task before us is to gather, preserve, compile and interpret them, and all with as much uniformity as possible.

Authority Necessary.

If we are to succeed in gathering the facts we need, we must have the co-operation of local officials who have first-hand knowledge. Some of the state boards have more power than others in this connection. The Indiana Board of State Charities law has this clause:

"The officers in charge of all . . . institutions shall furnish to the board on their request such information and statistics as they may require and to secure accuracy, uniformity and completeness in such statistics the board may prescribe such forms of report and registration as they may deem essential."

This refers to institutions under the supervision of the board. A later act on the subject of outdoor poor relief states definitely the facts to be recorded and the kind of report to the central office. Another state law provides a penalty for the failure of any public official to perform the duties of his office. While this is seldom invoked, the fact that it exists has its influence.

One of the board's first undertakings was to devise a form of report for the state and county institutions in accordance with the provisions of its organic act. It asked only for such simple facts as to population and expense as every superintendent would know. At intervals in the past thirty years it has enlarged the scope of the reports to include items of personal and family history.

Obviously, the fact that these reports had to be made necessitated permanent records in the local office, and it has been our experience in the course of years there has been a gradual change from no records at all to a fairly satisfactory system. Nothing short of eternal vigilance will keep the local officials up to the mark in the matter of making reports, but we have been fortunate in Indiana. Last year, for example, the superintendents of more than 200 local and of nineteen state institutions sent to our office all the reports asked of them and all but one of 1,016 township overseers of the poor sent quarterly reports of outdoor relief. In addition to the public institutions, a number of private maternity hospitals and boarding houses for children reported, as required by our license law.

Registration

All the information received concerning the population of the public institutions is transferred to a card registration. The cards are arranged in one registration alphabetically and in another by institutions and are readily accessible for individual study or for statistical purposes. The original reports are stored in boxes. In this way we have been able to preserve data that would doubtless have been lost under changing administrations in the counties. We now have nearly 150,000 different names in our general registration, which so far has received poor asylum, orphans' home and state institution records only. To card the thousands of persons committed to county jails or aided through township poor relief would require a larger force of employees than we now have, though it is a thing we should like very much to do. We feel better satisfied with the statistics we compile ourselves from these original records than with any for which we have to depend upon the local officials.

One point that I would like to make is that it is as easy for supervisory boards as for boards of control to secure this uniformity of original records. You will doubtless recall that Mr. Henry C. Wright, in his report on fiscal affairs in New York, Iowa and Indiana state institutions, commented favorably under the uniformity he found in Indiana, where the board is purely supervisory.

Statistics of institution expense are more intricate, yet we have had quite satisfactory results by confining them for the state institutions to five classifications for current expenses: administration, subsistence, ordinary repairs, clothing, and office, domestic and outdoor departments. These constitute what we call "maintenance," which our law defines as meaning "everything necessary to maintain an institution and to provide for its proper operation according to law." On these five classifications we base the per capita cost, using the daily average attendance of inmates as a divisor. Extraordinary expenses we group under the two headings, "new building and equipment" and "permanent improvements." The expense statistics we receive from the counties are under three to five heads.

Uniform Annual Reports

Another step in the direction of uniformity was achieved with the assistance of a law passed in 1907 which required the state institutions to print uniform annual reports. By direction of the governor, the Board of State Charities designed nine statistical forms for general use and additional forms for certain groups of institutions. The plan has worked very well. It seems to me that a state institution which does not print a report is making a mistake. It is one of the ways of preserving a permanent record of the progress made and of facts which are of real value to students and official bodies.

Interstate Forms

I may seem to have overlooked the fact that my topic is interstate rather than state uniformity in statistics. My purpose in describing our own experience has been to show that such uniformity as we now have among the several institutions has come about through the requirements of the state board. In some such way it will be necessary for a national office or organization committee to bring the state boards into line. It will not be accomplished without considerable difficulty. The older boards have worked out methods to suit their own conditions and their forms have been in use for many years. To change them would lose to the boards all that is to be gained from continuity, and that is a matter of great importance. But I believe it would be possible for some central committee to devise a few forms which all the state boards could use, just as the Indiana board did

for the institutions under its supervision; and if the boards should not want to give up their older forms, they could print the new ones in addition to those already in use. Some of you will recall that in 1906 the National Conference Committee on Statistics suggested one such form and by resolution the secretary of the conference was instructed to transmit a copy of it to every state board and every state institution in the country. It was a simple form with just twelve items. It was already in use by a number of states and it was adopted by others. Our board in Indiana included it in the group of nine forms, of which I have spoken, and it is to be found in the reports of all our state institutions.

Help of National Organizations

That was an experiment. So far as it went, it accomplished for us the desired results. Recently the American Medico-Psychological Association, in collaboration with the National Society for Mental Hygiene, adopted statistical forms for institutions for the insane. My understanding is that by the end of the current year, these will be in general use. It is an advance step of great importance and one to be commended to the national organizations of other groups, including that of the state boards. The Bureau of the Census, now a permanent office, should be consulted in all such undertakings.

Suggestion

With local officials and state institutions keeping systematic and uniform records, it should not be difficult for the state boards to achieve the uniformity in their own statistics so much to be desired. But some national organization or committee must take the lead. I would suggest that this Division on Public Agencies and Institutions re-approve the form adopted at Philadelphia in 1906 and take such steps as may lead to the use of others.

STATISTICAL FORM ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, PHILADELPHIA, 1906

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Number of inmates on a given date (date of end of fiscal year preferred).....			
Number received during last fiscal year.....			
Number discharged during same period.....			
Daily average number of officers and employes.....			

EXPENDITURES FOR GIVEN FISCAL YEAR

<i>Current Expenses—</i>			
1. Salaries and wages.....			
2. Clothing			
3. Subsistence			
4. Ordinary repairs.....			
5. Office, domestic and out-door departments (include all other ordinary expenses).....			
<i>Extraordinary Expenses—</i>			
New buildings, land, etc.....			
Permanent improvements.....			
Grand total.....			

STANDARD METHODS IN RESEARCH SURVEYS

Charles B. Davenport, Eugenics Record Office, New York, N. Y.

Why is a survey? Conditions demanding a survey are the presence of socially inadequate and socially maladjusted individuals in a community who are causes of crime, disorder, abnormality, dependency and vagrancy. It is desirable to have a complete picture of the community in this respect, as a first step toward correcting conditions. While there may be those who find no objection to the presence of such individuals in the community and, therefore, no reason for attempting to eliminate them from the community, yet insofar as the majority of the persons in the community require such elimination and inasmuch as the majority has the power, it is a natural consequence that the attempt shall be made, and the first step is the survey to determine the extent of the work to be done. The purpose of research social surveys that have been made in the past has been varied. Some such surveys have had for their aim a determination of the percentage of the feeble-minded, epileptic, insane, neurotic in the community. This percentage it has seemed desirable to secure as a first step toward measuring the size of the job to be done. The determination of the percentage of the feeble-minded, etc., in the community is, however, not altogether to the point, since what is required is to find out how many there are in the community whose behavior is opposed to the best development of the community. The feeble-minded, for example, are of two sorts, namely, those whose behavior is bad and those whose behavior is so good that they can, despite their feeble-mindedness, become useful members of the community. For example, there were in the South before the Civil War thousands of slaves who by any intelligence test would have been classified as feeble-minded, who were, nevertheless, indispensable members of society in doing the work which the community required to have done. They were faithful and reliant and sufficiently sober and industrious so that they were highly regarded in the communities in which they found themselves. The salient fact is that in a given town or county there are those whose conduct is opposed to the social ideal in that they steal, or burn, or assault, or get drunk, or are noisy, or are destructive, or maltreat their children, or neglect their family, or threaten suicide, or commit other breaches of good order in the community; or perhaps, through insufficient intelligence or over-suggestibility, they are a prey to the evil designs of others. A complete knowledge of the extent of occurrence of such people in the community is a first step toward its purification.

Various Methods of Research Surveys

To get at the required facts, different methods have been employed at different times. One is the method of making a census of the persons from the town or county who are in institutions of the town or the county or the state. This method assumes that the socially inadequate individuals of a locality are being completely cared for. In most communities, however, we realize all too keenly that this is not the case. It may be alleged that all criminals are, or have been, convicted of crime and are held under duress; that all of the insane have been so adjudged and are taken care of in institutions for the insane. Nevertheless, there are groups of persons of inferior intelligence and insufficient self-control and of neurotic and eccentric behavior who are causes of social disorder who are not sufficiently cared for by organized society. These people are not included in a survey merely of institutional cases. Moreover, it is experience that there are persons not in institutions who, by common opinion, should be there for their own good and for the protection of society.

A second method has been to establish an office in some central place in the county or town and open up correspondence with various officials or

organizations of the town to find out those who are receiving aid because of their poverty; by correspondence with school teachers to find out those children who are of inferior intelligence; to find from physicians those who are subject to epileptic attacks or who show signs of mental disorder. This method is also inadequate. The ordinary teacher does not always recognize feeble-mindedness; is apt to say that little Johnny is backward because his parents have not cared for him in his early childhood. The doctors too often decline to give information about mental defectives whom they know, and poor law officials and officers of societies for relieving poverty know, for the most part, of only those cases that have been brought by others to their particular attention.

A third method, and a still more thorough-going one, is that of sending out agents to visit the schools and give intelligence tests; and to study the records at the offices of the overseers of the poor and of the courts and thus to secure a list of the socially inadequate. This method, however, is incomplete, as it does not give a clear picture of the amount of feeble-mindedness and disorder in the community at large.

The Proposed Method

In fact, a thorough-going, scientific social survey must start from different premises and be handled by different methods. First, it has to be recognized that most of our socially inadequate are such because they belong to *strains* carrying inadequate instincts. The social problem is not that of maladjusted individuals, but of socially inadequate instincts; and these are hereditary in man as they are in dogs. Thus, we know that most of the institutional types of feeble-mindedness of the middle or higher grades come from *families* characterized by feeble-mindedness. Two feeble-minded parents produce only feeble-minded offspring. These, then, in turn, tend to marry persons of low grade intelligence and thus, in time, communities of feeble-minded are established inside of other communities. There is hardly a county in the more densely populated parts of our country that does not contain such groups of feeble-minded, living off and herded together in an out-of-the-way corner. Similarly we know that epilepsy and the different forms of functional insanity are family traits and we have then to detect the families that give rise to these traits. Second, it is desirable to learn at first hand by actual study on the spot the location of the families that are producing defectives and the location of scattered individuals who may have migrated into the community and have become the cause of social disorder.

Organization of the Survey

The consequence of these two principles is that a scientific social survey requires a body of trained persons who shall go into the field and locate individuals and families that are actual or potential causes of social disorder. Such persons should be trained in the study of family histories in order that they may be able to trace them properly. They should, also, be trained in the analysis of personality in order that they should understand the nature of the persons whom they are investigating. They should also be trained in social ideals in order to understand in how far the persons whom they meet with are behaving in accordance with social requirements. The organization of a social survey should, then, be upon the following order: There should be a central office in the charge of an administrator who should be either a scientific man, trained in biology and surveys, or else a physician of administrative ability. Connected with this central office there should be a corps of investigators of whom one or more may well be physicians, but the majority will be field workers vested with eugenical training who shall make the required survey in the field. Since the expense will generally prohibit

a house-to-house canvass, the function of the field workers is to visit schools, hospitals, prisons and see teachers, physicians, judges and also poor officials and others and learn of the names and location of the persons who have been brought to their attention. Thus, a list will be made up which will be the starting point for the research. On visiting, then, an individual on the list, an attempt will be made to find family connections and to make as complete as possible studies of the relatives of the persons on the list.

It will be desirable to make a complete census of typical parts of the whole territory. Here every house will be visited and as many as possible of the persons living therein will be seen and a first-hand notion of their social fitness obtained. The latter part of the work will make it possible to secure a statement as to the percentage incidence of the selected type of various sorts of social maladjustment. As a result, then, of these different methods, it will be possible to draw up, first of all, a list of individuals (so far as possible grouped into families) who are actual or prospective sources of social disorder. This list should be made out on cards. The cards will contain also the details of the findings of the field workers. These cards should be properly cared for and classified at the central office. A statistical study of the returns of the field investigators should answer such general questions as the general incidence of defects in the general population and should give an insight into the size of the problem of bringing about the desired condition of complete relief from cases of social disorder. Naturally, in such a study those members of the community who have already been segregated into county or state institutions will not be forgotten. They will be included in the total.

The results of such a survey, then, will give on the one hand a complete picture of the needs of the community and a measure of the size of the job required to meet the ideals of the community. It will, moreover, give a list of the families and individuals who are in special need of careful attention or watching.

Results of the Survey

The next matter to be considered is what to do with the facts thus secured. They should be made the basis of legislation and of taxation necessary to bring about the desired reforms.

After the list of socially inadequate in the community has once been drawn up it will be necessary to follow up the work to insure that new cases that come into the county either by the development of anti-social instincts in younger persons or by immigration of persons into the county shall be recorded, to the end that the list of the socially inadequate or maladjusted shall be kept up to date. This task of maintaining the list to date will be a relatively small one. Probably it could be done by the aid of one field worker to each 25,000 of the population.

In regard to the cost of such research survey, reference may be made to the survey of mental disorders in Nassau County which was made in the months of July to October, 1916. The director of the survey was Dr. A. J. Rosanoff, a physician of the state hospital on Long Island. He was assisted by two women and two men physicians and also a psychologist of note. The field force consisted of fifteen women who worked during three or four months and were assisted by certain unpaid volunteers for a part of the time. These were women who had been trained in the Eugenics Record Office, Cold Spring Harbor, N. Y. The result of this survey in a county of over 100,000 inhabitants was a list of 1,592 clearly *abnormal* cases and a large number of socially inadequate persons whose inadequacy could not be assigned to any definite group of mental abnormality. There were also 2,732 close relatives of abnormal or doubtful persons who were adjudged to be normal and 583 cases judged to be of doubtful normality. The full history of these persons

and, in addition, 4,129 others, was secured and filed on cards. The cost of this research, including the publication of the eventual report of 125 pages, was \$10,000. It should be added, however, that in a part of the work in schools co-operation was secured through the Public Health Service. It is believed that the result of such a survey has been to give a fairly complete picture of social maladjustment in a county of 100,000 inhabitants.

It may be urged that so thorough-going an investigation may give rise to opposition on the part of the population. It is found, however, that no serious difficulty occurred and that the matter of securing cordial co-operation is largely a matter of tact on the part of the field workers. Indeed, for the most part, the persons visited co-operated satisfactorily. Naturally, however, there were certain persons temperamentally so maladjusted that it could have been anticipated that they would react violently to any suggestion of investigation into their own affairs or that of their families.

It is believed, however, that such surveys as they become commoner will come to be recognized as legitimate social functions and will serve to inculcate the fundamental principle that persons do not live for themselves alone, but as members of the social order and that society has a right to inquire into the individuals and families that form its constituent elements.

THE FAMILY BUDGET AND ADEQUACY OF RELIEF*

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1. Is it possible to establish a *standard of living*? Hitherto living standards have been a matter of opinion, but many scientific approaches to the problem have recently been found. Governmental interest in the cost of living since the war began and recent important scientific studies have much more clearly defined the term. There are *two levels* at which standards of living may be set:

- (1) The minimum of subsistence.
- (2) The minimum of comfort.

We, as social workers, are chiefly concerned with the minimum of subsistence sometimes called the living wage.

2. Definition of a *standard of living*. (Frankel). "A normal standard of living is one which permits each individual of a social unit to exist as a healthy human being—morally, mentally, and physically."

3. *The essential elements* of a normal standard of living are food, clothing, rent, fuel, sundries. These must be considered:

- (1) In relation to the importance of each in the family budget (weight);
- (2) As to the cost of each item for a family of average size, i. e., father, mother, and three dependent children under 15 years of age.

4. *Cost of living*. Most authorities are agreed that the minimum amount of money upon which a family of five could live was \$800—*before the war* (July, 1914). The cost of living has increased about 65.9% between July, 1914, and November, 1918 (National Industrial Conference Board Report, February, 1919, entitled "Wartime Changes in the Cost of Living").

Cost of clothing	has increased 93%
Cost of food	has increased 83%
Cost of fuel	has increased 55%
Cost of sundries	has increased 55%
Cost of rent	has increased 20%

Properly weighted, according to their relative importance in the family budget, these costs of living average 65.9%.

*Speaking notes.

It would cost, therefore, \$1,320 for the average sized family of five to live in November, 1918, according to the same standard that he was able to maintain in July, 1914, for \$900.

Recent studies of cost of living carried on by Municipal Research Boards, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, and Wage Arbitration Boards place the minimum figure representing the cost of living for a family of five at sums ranging from \$1,200 to \$1,505 per year.

Food requirements may be measured definitely and scientifically in colonies. Prices of food are accurately kept by the U. S. Dept. of Labor Statistics and other Federal Bureaus so that it is possible to find out just what the minimum dietary requirements of an average family cost.

Food is the most important item in the family budget. From 45% to 55% of the entire income should be apportioned to food. "The life of the individual depends upon his nourishment. The shelter may be poor,—the clothing inadequate,—but food he must have. Upon it depends his capacity for doing work and doing it well." (Tyrrell).

Half the cost of living is the price of food." (Atkinson).

Minimum food allowance (\$800 a year income) equals \$400.

6. **Clothing requirements.** Clothing standards are very hard to establish definitely as they vary widely according to climate, age, occupation, and health needs of the individual members of the family.

Clothing costs increased steadily with increase of income. Prosperity is usually reflected in the clothing. People dress better as they earn more.

Minimum clothing allowance (\$800 a year income) 10% to 20% of the income or about \$100 to \$160 a year.

7. **Rent requirements.** Rents vary greatly according to the section of the country,—whether in the country or in the city, etc.—and to the standard rent requirements, decent and healthful living quarters at reasonable cost. Essentials to consider in determining the rent:

Location—nearness to work, school, church (saving of carfare), Sanitary conditions—surroundings and in the house, light and air, running water, toilet and bath.

Adapted to family use—large enough, to prevent over-crowding—standard requirements are one to one and one-half rooms per person, only two to sleep in each bed, enough so that different sexes may be segregated.

Easy to heat—(savings in fuel cost).

Need for children to play in, and for laundry to dry.

Chance for rental of extra rooms (provides an income).

Minimum rent allowance (\$800 a year income) 10% to 20% of the income or \$108 to \$168 a year (\$9 to \$14 a month).

8. **Fuel (and light) requirements.** Fuel requirements vary with size of tenement, arrangement of rooms, whether in country where wood can be had for fuel, etc. Sometimes heat is included in the rental cost, adding about 5% of rental for the heat.

Minimum fuel allowance (\$800 a year income) 5% to 10% of the income, or \$54 to \$80 a year.

9. **Sundries (or incidental expense).** Sundries are hardest of all to standardize. In general as income increases, the proportion of it spent for higher life increases. Under heading of sundries, health needs, church dues, recreation, transportation, newspapers, house furnishings, utensils, dishes, cleaning materials, etc., are included.

(In Massachusetts they have not allowed the item "sundries" in our Mothers' Aid Budget because Overseers of the Poor are expected to make due allowance for the various items included in this category upon request of the mother. For instance no regular allowance is made for doctors, medicine, but these are supplied upon request and the charges are listed on the bill sent by the Overseers. At the beginning of the school term, Over-

seers allow a lump sum to provide school children with shoes and clothing for return to school, etc. I believe the item "sundries" should be an item of the budget, but it should be clearly understood just what the term covers, and not provide a sum on the side to make up for deficiencies in the allowance for major items of the budget.

Minimum sundries allowance (\$800 a year income) 5% to 15% of the whole income or \$40 to \$120 a year. Note: Only in exceptional cases where there is little or no sickness, can the health needs of a family be cared for on so small a sum. Free medical care and dental services are available in most large cities, but in the rural districts such facilities are seldom found, and doctor's services have to be paid for per visit.

10. *Summary of budget.* The best authorities agreed *before the war* that a family of five could not exist on less than \$800 a year. The advance in cost of living since the war began in 1914 has made this figure considerably larger (\$1,200 to \$1,500).

The items of the budget, in proportion to their importance, are

FOOD—45% to 55%—average 50%.

CLOTHING—10% to 20%.

RENT—10% to 20%.

SUNDRIES—5% to 15%.

Easiest way to demonstrate the division of family income (using circles and sectors in each case):

Food 50%

Clothing 16%

Rent 16%

Fuel 9%

Sundries 9%

1. Divide whole income into halves.
Label one-half *FOOD*
2. Divide other half into three equal parts
Label one of them *CLOTHING*
Label another one *RENT*
3. Sub-divide the remaining third into halves
Label one of them *FUEL*
Label the other *SUNDRIES*

11. The \$800 budget divided:

FOOD	50% or \$400
RENT	16% or \$128
CLOTHING	16% or \$128
FUEL	9% or \$ 72
SUNDRIES	9% or \$ 72

100% or \$800

The \$18.00 a week budget divided.

FOOD	\$9.00
RENT	3.00
CLOTHING	3.00
FUEL	1.50
SUNDRIES	1.50

\$18.00

12. *The budget in use.* In explaining budgets to mothers, the simplest directions should be given. A simple diagram like the illustrations used above often will convey the idea to a non-English speaking person. Posters in schools and in public places can be used to graphically tell the story. Moving picture theatres are often willing to show slides explaining such matters in pictures to their audiences just as they have been advertising Liberty Loans and garden planting.

Cash Account. As a means to helping a mother live according to a budget, she should be taught to keep a simple cash account such as follows: Rule an ordinary blank-book with a narrow space for date, a wide space for items, and two spaces for cash, one for cash received and one for cash spent.

After a mother has kept this simple budget accurately for 3 or 4 weeks, she should be taught to rule the pages of the blank-book as follows:

Date	Items	Cash	Cash
		Rec'd.	Spent
			Food—Rent—Fuel—Clothing—Sundries

The mother should be taught to compare one week's record with another and to see whether she is spending too much of her income for some one item of the budget. This means comparison of her cash account with a diagram of her budget. Many mothers will be unable to keep budgets unless they are helped by visiting housekeepers or district nurses or friendly visitors (of their own nationality). The older children of the family may be taught to keep the budget if the mother is illiterate. School centers could help by having Household Management Clubs for mothers where demonstrations by experts could be given, followed up by home calls to see how the mothers are following directions in their own homes. (i. e. Roxbury Charitable Club). School children should be given practical lessons in budget making as a part of their arithmetic work with examples based on present and current prices found from the newspapers. The cooking and reading lessons could be used to father correlate lessons on thrift and management.

Query: Why not the Red Cross and the Special Aid and the church organizations that were organized so well during the war and during the influenza epidemic be asked to help in a community plan for spreading the gospel of household management, including budget making, especially in families of small income and in families receiving public relief?

13. "Application of the 'standard of living'" to families receiving public relief.

The standard of the average American workingman's family, i. e., the standard of minimum subsistence described above, should be the standard for families receiving public relief.

Gertrude Vaille said: "Since many of the causes of poverty are social rather than individual, it becomes the duty of organized society as a whole to bear the burden of poverty." The theory that it is the duty of government to finance those families in which the fathers of families of young children are dead or incapacitated is a sound theory. The mothers of such families should be enabled to bring up their children properly in their own homes without becoming pauperized by receiving public assistance.

Each family should be considered as an individual problem to be solved upon its particular merits (with due regard to other similar families and also with the former standards of the family in mind).

Each case calls for careful investigation by a competent woman visitor, who should consult not only the applicant for aid, but also the local relief agent in charge of the disbursement of the men and with doctors, school teachers, employers, relatives, etc. A report in good form should be kept on file and the case should be carefully reviewed with a supervisor or a relief committee and a tentative family plan be formulated with an estimate of the cost of a budget based upon the plan outlined. The sources and amounts of family income (net) should be carefully estimated. The difference between the minimum expenses of a given family and its net weekly income should be the measure of the relief needed by that family.

Family conditions change with an alarming frequency. The aid should be elastic enough to fit the needs, i. e., more aid should be given during the temporary illness of a wage-earning member of the family. Aid should be reduced gradually as the income of the family increases, and it should be withdrawn altogether as soon as the family becomes self-supporting. Careful follow-up work with frequent reviews of each case are as necessary as the first full and careful investigation is.

I have been describing *adequate aid*. The soundness of the theory of

adequate aid which can be made to change with the changing needs of the family is beyond dispute. There is no per capita rate that will fit all families and supply all the changing needs of families. Only by the case method may families be adequately aided.

14. *The Massachusetts Mothers' Aid Law* (Chapter 763, Acts of 1913). First we find the total of the net weekly income. From this we subtract the estimated weekly expenses. The difference indicates the amount of relief. We have had a "Rule of Thumb" by which we have measured the amount of food required, etc., as follows:

Rent—a reasonable amount for a tenement of suitable size in a good location, (ranging from \$8 to \$16 a month), \$2 to \$4 a week.

Fuel—Minimum \$1.40 per week all the year around (extra fuel in $\frac{1}{2}$ ton lots allowed during the winter in many cases).

Clothing—Minimum 70c per person per week.

Food—For mother, \$2.10.....\$2.10 per week or \$0.30 a day

For children over 14 years.....2.10 per week or .30 a day

For children 5 to 14.....1.75 per week or .25 a day

For children under 5.....1.40 per week or .20 a day

Note: Extra food allowance should be granted for tubercular or delicate families. Ample milk supply should be allowed for young children.

15. Some simple directions as to the way money allotted for food should be spent in order to have a well-balanced dietary (Miss Gilette). For every \$10.00 spent for food there should be from

\$2.00 to \$3.00 spent for bread, cereals, milk, etc.

2.00 to 3.00 spent for milk and cheese.

1.70 to 2.75 spent for vegetables and fruit.

1.70 to 2.20 spent for meat, fish, eggs.

1.20 to 1.50 spent for other groceries, such as fat, sugar, cocoa, tea, and coffee.

In families where there are young children, the amount spent for meat should not be more than the amount spent for milk and cheese.

THE GREATER ECONOMY OF ADEQUATE GRANTS

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Such varying interpretations have been given to the term mothers' pensions that it seems proper for us who are administering these laws to have a common understanding of their scope and purpose. It is often asserted that mothers' assistance is not intended to supply full support, no matter what the exigencies of the situation; as someone expressed it: "Enough to pay the rent will encourage the mother to hustle for the rest." According to another conception, mothers' assistance is financial aid only; one group holding this idea conceives of the state in its relation to the child much after the fashion of Carlyle's "Absentee God sitting idle since the first Sabbath," and would have the state, also, after the first investigation, sit apart from the life of the child, neither laboring, nor struggling, nor suffering with it. Such an interpretation seems to indicate a lack of imagination in seeing the problems which face the mother in the rearing of her children and the opportunities of service which are ours to fulfill. Another group, far from being indifferent or callous in their intention, regard close supervision as undemocratic. They fail to see that mothers' assistance in its very nature is a form of paternalism. The administrative machinery, the tests of eligibility, the authority of the state to determine the conditions of the grant, all bespeak the essence of paternalism, and that is why many of us who are most anxious to see these laws administered successfully still do not see in them any final measure of social justice and why we look forward to the insurance principle as offering a more democratic

solution than mothers' assistance. Meanwhile, we do believe that these mothers' pension laws, paternalistic though they are, offer the best working expedient yet put into practice for the amelioration of an intolerable evil and demand for their successful administration an enforcement of a minimum standard of child welfare, which can only be accomplished by close, constant and vigilant supervision. For my part, I cannot conceive of the state's assumption of responsibility in the passage of these laws as anything less than covering the whole well-being of the child; the money grants furnish the raw material for food, clothing and shelter which must be translated into the elements of normal home life. The touchstone, therefore, of all of our work, the ultimate and final test of our effectiveness, is the physical, mental and spiritual good of the child, and whatever ministers to this within the limitations of the law is its own justification.

First, as the foundation for all high qualities of the spirit the physical basis of life must be made certain and secure; the grant must be such that the mother can give to the children a minimum of adequate nurture, whether this means full or partial support.

Secondly, if the purpose of the grant is to create positive values in the child's life, along lines of health, education, mother-care, then coequal with the responsibility for making its grants adequate is the responsibility for guaranteeing that these values are really being created; that the child is actually receiving what the state is paying for. This can not be done on the principle of leaving it all to the mother or of semi-annual or quarterly visits for the purpose of reinvestigation.

Handicaps of Present Legislation

In our attempt, however, to make a living income possible for the families under our care, most of us are handicapped by legislation; except Massachusetts, Maine and Colorado, which set no maximum, the states allowing the highest grants are North Dakota, which allows \$15 per child per month; New York, which allows a grant as large as the cost of caring for the child in an institution, and California, which has increased the state aid to \$10 a month in addition to county aid. We find in Pennsylvania that the families taken on during the last year show a larger proportion of young children. This means that the mother often needs nearly or entirely full support. There is surely no question in America but that the resources of the country, if properly organized, are equal to maintaining a minimum standard of living for all commensurate with the highest efficiency and development; and if this is true, we can be satisfied only when our grants are adequate for maintaining a minimum standard of efficient living.

Experience of Pennsylvania

The administration in Pennsylvania is given to unpaid boards of women trustees appointed by the Governor. The appropriation for the fund is made by the legislature every two years, and is then apportioned among the counties on a population basis. The apportionment from the state must be matched by a like sum from the county. The appropriation has always been inadequate, and we are now able to assist less than fifty per cent of the eligible mothers of the state. I believe no body of men or women in Pennsylvania has ever administered a great public trust with greater economy eligible mothers of the state. The trustees were, therefore, faced with a and care than these boards of trustees. The sum allowed for administration has been so small that in twenty-three counties out of the thirty-nine now organized the trustees personally do all the work of investigation and supervision, as well as all clerical work. Many trustees have never even requisitioned their traveling expenses on behalf of the work in order, as they said, that there might "be more money for the widows."

On account of the totally inadequate appropriation, the trustees were faced with a dilemma from the start. They might help a certain proportion of mothers adequately so far as the maximum grants could be adequate, and demand of those assisted high standards of home care; or they might divide the fund among a large number, the grant not intended to make up the real deficit in the income. Local feeling was all in favor of the apparently more democratic distribution to all on equal shares. The situation in the mining counties was particularly desperate, as the Workmen's Compensation Law did not become effective until 1916. Poor boards were almost the only source of help, and their help is notoriously inadequate. Many trustees labored in anguish of spirit to find some way of alleviating the utter extremity of want, which they found and faced for the first time. It seemed cruel and unjust to assist some adequately at the expense of leaving others unhelped, yet the policy of a little to all could have led only to that which everybody was most anxious to avoid, namely, a parallel system of poor relief. A recent English report on Mothers' Pension Administration in the United States pertinently remarks that to make a grant of fifteen shillings and call it a pension does not thereby resolve it into thirty shillings. In the thirty-nine counties of Pennsylvania now granting mothers' assistance, sixteen are giving adequate assistance, or as nearly adequate as the maximum grants allowed by law will permit. Putting this in another way, inasmuch as the counties in which maximum grants are given represent the larger population centers, out of 1,816 families receiving help in December, 1918, 959, or over half, were receiving as nearly adequate assistance as the maximum grants allowed by law permitted. These maximum grants, to be sure, are far from adequate in many cases and we have introduced a bill into the present legislature to increase the legal maximum to \$20 for one child and \$10 for each additional child, including the unborn child. While we realize that even this increase will not make possible entirely adequate help in all cases, it is the best that we can hope to do at this time.

It is a very bitter spectacle to see, as our boards see daily, fifty per cent of the eligible mothers in a county turned away because our money won't reach. Yet out of our very desire to bring about a more tolerable condition of affairs for all dependent fatherless families in the state, opinion on the part of the boards of trustees in Pennsylvania has swung notably within the last years to the side of adequate relief, even when such relief means a distinct limitation of the number of families to be helped and the turning away of hundreds of eligible mothers. And these are the reasons for our faith: The results of the low grant policy work havoc, first, among the families assisted; second, in the psychological reaction of those administering the fund, and, third, in the community understanding of social case work.

Results of Inadequate Grants

The first indictment against the low grant policy is its total incompatibility with the purpose of the law; that is, the protection and nurture of the child.

I. The physical basis of life is bound to be unstable and insecure with all of the accompanying evils of physical deterioration that are the scourge of income levels which do not provide a minimum for efficient living.

II. Child labor and truancy inevitably dog the steps of the child and our educational legislation so elaborately reared tumbles about the ears of these very children for whose protection it was placed on our statute books. Last spring a school census was made of the 4,066 children between the ages of six and sixteen at that time under our care. The seventeen children under fourteen years of age who were found to be working illegally all came from five counties where the policy of low grants is in operation.

III. In order to earn the bulk of the living, the mother is compelled to overwork and often to be away from home a great part of the day. In any case, she does not have the strength and mental power to give of her best to the children, and real home-making becomes impossible, generally resulting in neglect and often resulting in delinquency.

IV. The inadequacy of the grant forces a willing acceptance on the part of the mother of intermittent and promiscuous charity from any source with which to piece out her income and self-respect and family morale easily become undermined. Nothing gnaws into the spirit and the independence of the human being more surely than the acceptance of alms unco-ordinated and unrelated to any plan for family welfare.

V. Mothers of doubtful fitness, handicapped by the double burden of earning the livelihood and nurturing the children, often never have a real opportunity to demonstrate under reasonable conditions their capacity or incapacity. Some "border-line" mothers are retained with real danger to the children, and others who might have made good under tolerable conditions are dropped from our pay-rolls though the question of their fitness could often be settled by giving them for a probationary period the best possible conditions under which to demonstrate their qualifications.

VI. In counties where the policy has been to make low grants mothers are sometimes retained on the list long after they have ceased to need. This comes as a result of a lack of system in determining the exact need, because the grant is small, there is a letting down of responsibility as to the manner of its disposal. Conversely, the granting of a fairly large sum of money not one's own forces upon the administrators a definite sense of the moral obligation of trusteeship.

VII. While the greatest disaster resulting from the low grant policy is the failure to protect the child, accompanying this is a psychological reaction on the part of persons administering the law which at worst amounts to a sterile, cynical pessimism and misanthropy,—the complex of the disillusioned almsgiver. It is so easy to miss the connection between the struggle for existence on the one hand and juvenile delinquency, neglect, truancy, incompetent housekeeping on the other. Before a catastrophe arrives, one is tempted to shrink in helpless despair from the poverty and suffering which the small grants affect in no vital way, to slip a coin into the mother's hand, ask no questions, and withdraw quietly; but after the catastrophe we assume the prerogatives of an outraged Providence. I remember the indignation of a trustee when we found a new baby with a cleft palate on our visit to a miserable shack, housing one of our families receiving a small grant, who had not been visited for six months; the oldest boy was working illegally, three children were out of school because they had no clothes, all of them suffering from under-nourishment and the whole family subsisting on corn bread and coffee. It was impossible to persuade the trustee that there might have been some connection between this baby and extreme want, want that had eaten into the spirit as well as the body, and for the alleviation of which we should have been responsible. We cannot enforce high standards of child welfare on starvation grants and a semi-annual visit, and so not only is the family left to almost certain misery, but the self-development and education which comes of seeing our task through to the end or squaring ourselves to the load are lost.

VIII. Not only is the power of service thus stultified and the developments of social effectiveness checked on the part of the individual who administers assistance on this plan, but the community often gets its first lesson in organized social service from us; the administration of this great trust must color subsequent social endeavor, particularly in the rural counties. We should be torchbearers of a better organized social consciousness on all problems touching child life, but how can we assume the role of leadership,

unless we bring to fruition the best possible conditions for the children under our care? Furthermore, if we are thinking only of dollars and cents, of securing more adequate help for all who need it through larger appropriations, the low grant policy is "penny wise and pound foolish." Experiment and demonstration have to precede the application of a principle on a large scale. If demonstration among even a small group proves the validity of the principle, then we are in a position to demand funds which will provide an extension of the application to cover the whole group to whom the law applies. But the low grant policy condemns our demonstration to failure from the start, and thereby we forfeit the right to ask greater support from the public purse for a project whose value has not been clearly and undeniably proven.

Responsibility for the Future

Thirty six states have mothers' pension laws on their statute books. No other form of public social endeavor is so popular or excites less opposition, yet probably not ten states could show an approach to good, standardized state-wide case work. There is little reason to doubt that much of the same haphazard administration exists in most states which Miss Abbott found in Illinois. Only twelve states have any provision for state supervision, and in a number of these twelve supervision is only perfunctory. Nevertheless, we may be compelled in the not distant future to enlarge the scope of our laws to include the deserted mother, the family of the incapacitated man and, indeed, every dependent family unit which has lost its legal and legitimate support. Private agencies cannot raise the money to continue to carry the great load of relief which they have assumed during the last few years. The country must be cared for. There is already agitation on behalf of including under the law these other groups.

If we are to be prepared for the leadership which the new days are bringing, the task will require all that we possess of foresight and statesmanship to make common currency the case work principles which are our heritage from the private agencies and to interpret our work in terms of popular understanding and sympathy.

Methods of Education

First of all, we must employ competent local executives to put our program across. We cannot afford to employ the retainer in need of a job. In the country, besides combining the functions of various agencies such as probation, children's aid and mothers' assistance, the worker must be an educator and leader, a social engineer able to articulate the community forces. We are devoutly thankful that the schools of philanthropy are beginning to train workers for the country with a view both to the composite quality of the work to be performed and also with a view to the need for a synthetic understanding of the community in its relation to its problems.

Our most natural means of interpreting our work lie in the daily personal contacts. The community consciousness is always extremely sensitive to so delicate a process as family work so that our action in any case must not only be the best for the family, but must be so understood and valued by the neighborhood.

In Pennsylvania we have felt that we needed a much better comprehension of our work on the part of larger groups than our case work contacts brought within our reach. I believe that county and state officials should get before the people through the newspapers carefully prepared statements showing the relation of the grant to the welfare of the child in terms of health, education and mother care.

Women's clubs, trade unions, churches should all be intelligent carriers of our message. Mothers' assistance in Pennsylvania owes a great deal to

the Federation of Women's Clubs. The clubs have brought about organization in new counties and have given trustees from their membership, splendidly equipped to serve the children of the state.

I believe, also, that we need to be in closer touch with the pulse of the social forces circulating around us. We are prone to play too much of a lonehand; it seems to me we should be organically a part of every community effort in the direction of child welfare. The gulf between the public and private social agency must be bridged.

Finally, we need to have some kind of machinery for co-operation among ourselves—a central clearing house for the gathering of data on present administration, the exchange of information, the preparation of a standard law covering such questions as unit of administration, maximum grants, state supervision, marital qualifications, and the establishment of minimum standards of investigation and supervision with provision for some kind of child welfare minimum. Part of the program for such a minimum adopted at the Child Welfare Conference in Washington last month could be incorporated and should be added to for our purposes along such lines as the mother's work inside and outside her home, budget standards, and probably in other particulars.

Thus, it seems to me, by the application of some such general program can we to whom has been delegated the preservation of hundreds of thousands of homes help to ring in the century of the child.

DESERTION AND NON-SUPPORT BY FATHERS IN MOTHERS' AID CASES

Joel DuBois Hunter, Superintendent, United Charities of Chicago

In Illinois the Funds to Parents Act, which went into effect on July 1, 1911, might have been called an enabling act. It gave the judges of the children's courts throughout the state the power to grant pensions of any size to any parents. The law was eight lines in length. It said nothing about the amounts which might be granted, nothing about methods of administration and almost nothing about qualifications for eligibility.

Judge Merritt W. Pinckney, who was then judge of the Juvenile Court of Cook County, called a citizens' advisory committee to recommend the best methods of administration. This committee was composed of the leaders in the public and private relief agencies of the city. The system of administration that was decided upon was the direct result of the conferences of this group. At the next session of the legislature, in 1913, an amended act was presented, which was prepared by Judge Pinckney with the advice of the citizens' advisory committee.

Deserted women were granted pensions under the original act, but were excluded in the amended act which was prepared as stated above. Why was it that there was practically unanimous consent that deserted women should not be included in those eligible to relief under the mothers' pension law? In answering that question, I have only my memory to trust. So far as I can find, no record has been kept of the discussions at the conference meetings. My best recollection tells me that the following are the reasons:

1. There was not a unanimous feeling that the public should grant pensions. Because that feeling existed, or rather did not exist, the committee felt that it was very much better to grant pensions to a *clearly defined and definitely limited group until there was a more unanimous agreement.*

2. There was a unanimous feeling that the group to be chosen should not be one in which the more difficult social and economic problems were likely to arise, such as the desertion group, but that until there was a decided

majority in favor of public pensions, it would be better to grant them only to cases which were in a condition of dependency certain to last for years and in which the problems of treatment would be comparatively simple.

3. There was a feeling that the main problem in desertion cases was *not a problem of relief, but rather a problem of rehabilitation, in which temporary relief was often necessary* but in which the relief should not take the form of a pension until after the lapse of a certain amount of time and the most careful and painstaking attempt to discover the whereabouts of the absent member and reunite the family.

Social workers in both public and private agencies should seek to hasten the time when the public will fully realize its responsibility for the dependent classes of the community and will equip itself to do what is necessary in every case, whether it be relief, prosecution or some other form of treatment.

The public, however, has not always done things in the most effective way possible. In most any community in the United States it can be found that the efficiency of the public social welfare agencies has varied. Some have likened this variation to a person with epileptic fits. There will be several years of honesty and efficiency and then a sudden spasm of graft and dishonesty. Naturally, many who have the interest of widows and the families of deserted men at heart hesitate about asking the public to take the responsibility of treatment in these cases. But we all agree—I think we all agree—that theoretically this responsibility belongs to the public and that it is our business to turn such responsibilities over as rapidly as possible and as soon as there is some guarantee of a permanent and high standard of efficiency. This guarantee should include a budget system of appropriation and a merit system of appointment for those who will have the responsibility of administering the law.

In other words, in our democratic state the responsibility for the care and treatment of the dependent classes belongs to the public agency rather than the private. But, because of the epileptic fits from which the public agencies have so frequently suffered in so many communities, the responsibility for the care of deserted families should not be left entirely or even partly to the public until there is a guarantee that the responsibility would be realized and the work done efficiently.

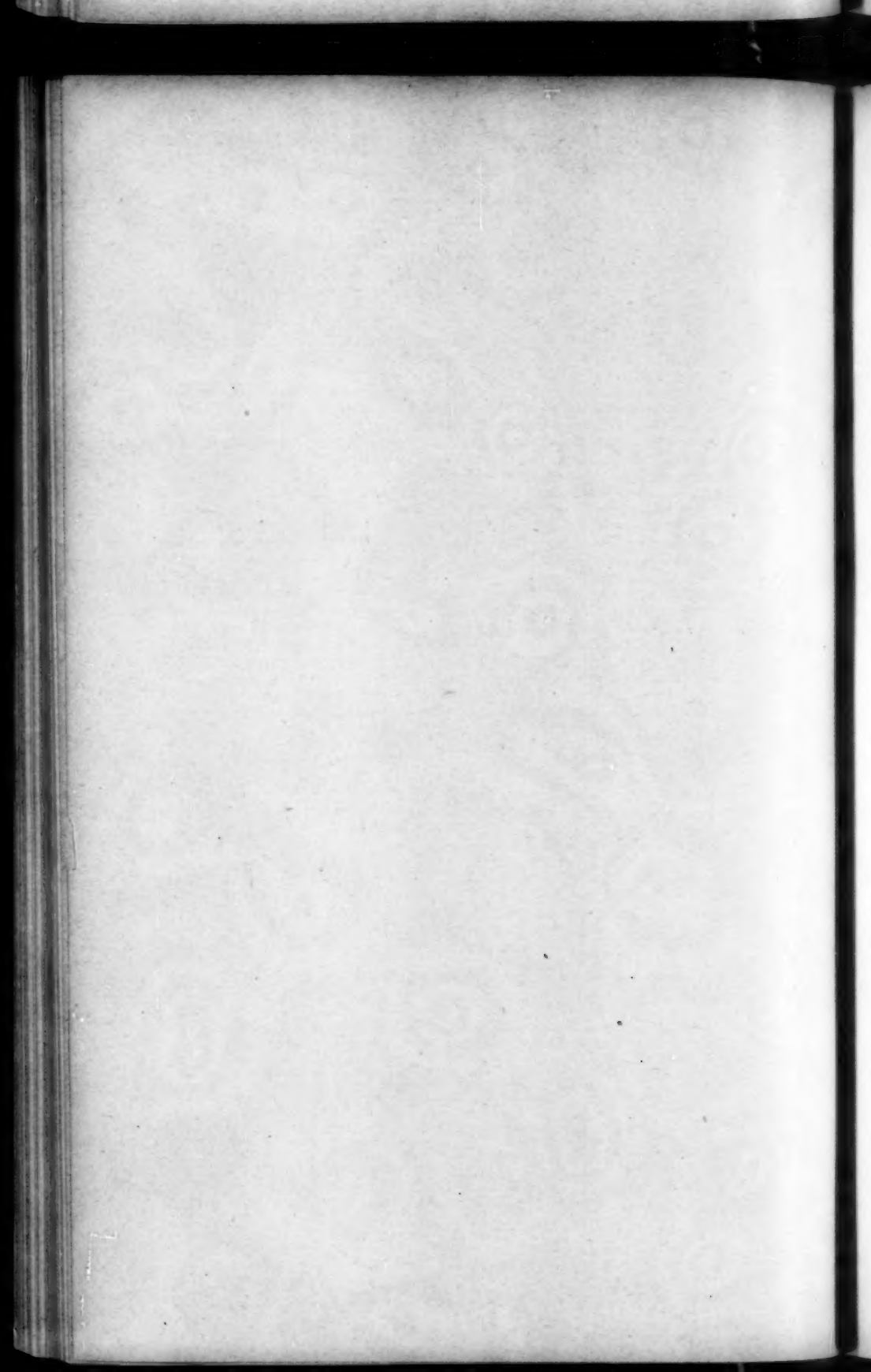
And further, no public agency should begin its work with the most difficult cases, especially when there is not a unanimous belief that it is time for the public to accept the responsibility; that is, desertion cases should not be included in mothers' aid groups until the governmental agency that is administering the law has proven its efficiency to a majority of the community. And further, those of us who are working in private family work agencies should do all in our power to hasten the time when the work which we are attempting to do will be better done by the public. We are ready to be buried, but we are quite particular about the way in which our house will be taken care of after we go.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

In the informal discussion which followed, additional information was given regarding the details of administration of mother's pensions in various states.

A motion by Miss Bogue was adopted to the effect that the chairmen of Division IV, on Public Agencies and Institutions, and Division I, on Children, should confer with representatives of the Federal Children's Bureau with a view to securing an extensive study of mother's aid in the United States and having the same reported at the National Conference of 1920.

Those who participated in the informal discussion were: Judge J. H. Ricks, Richmond; Irene Kavin, Chicago; Laura A. Thompson, Washington; Mrs. Valentine, Schenectady; Mrs. H. W. Hardy, Boston; Mrs. Livermore, Detroit; A. Percy Paget, Winnipeg, and C. P. Kellogg, Waterbury.



V.
THE FAMILY

DIVISION COMMITTEE—1918-19

Chairman, Joanna C. Colcord, Charity Organization Society, New York.

Secretary, Francis H. McLean, American Association for Organizing Charity, New York.

Mary F. Bogue.....	Harrisburg	Francis H. McLean.....	New York
Sara A. Brown.....	Lansing, Mich.	William H. Matthews.....	New York
Ida M. Cannon.....	Cambridge, Mass.	Benjamin P. Merrick.....	Grand Rapids
J. Byron Deacon.....	Washington	Frances Taussig	Chicago
Robert C. Dexter.....	Washington	Gertrude Vaile	Denver
Eugene C. Foster.....	Indianapolis	George L. Warren.....	Bridgeport, Conn.

DIVISION COMMITTEE—1919-20

(Year of expiration of term of office appears in parenthesis after each member's name.)

Chairman, Amelia Sears, United Charities, Chicago.

Secretary, Francis H. McLean, American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, New York.

Mary F. Bogue (1921).....	Harrisburg	Cheney C. Jones (1921).....	Philadelphia
Henry H. Bonnell (1922).....	Philadelphia	William H. Matthews (1920).....	New York
Joanna C. Colcord (1920).....	New York	Kate McMahon (1922).....	Boston
J. Byron Deacon (1920).....	Washington	Benjamin P. Merrick (1921).....	Grand Rapids
Robert C. Dexter (1920).....	Washington	Amelia Sears (1922).....	Chicago
Julan B. Felsenthal (1922).....	Minneapolis	Frances Taussig (1920).....	New York
Eugene C. Foster (1921).....	Indianapolis	Prof. Arthur J. Todd (1921).....	Minneapolis
Rev. Patrick J. Hayes (1922).....	New York	George L. Warren (1920).....	Bridgeport
		Prof. G. P. Wyckoff (1922).....	Grinnell, Iowa

PROGRAM

At the meeting of the National Conference at Atlantic City, June 1-8, 1919, 549 delegates registered as members of this Division. The Division Committee, as elected at the 1918 Conference at Kansas City, is shown on the opposite page. Nine meetings for discussion were held, as follows:

	Page
June 2, 8:15 P. M. What of the Immediate Future of the Family?..	315
June 2, 10:00 A. M. Aspects of Adjustments Between Case Work- ing Agencies	332
June 3, 10:00 A. M. The Handicapped Soldier	347
June 3, 3:00 P. M. Some Scientific Bases of Social Case Work.....	358
June 4, 12:30 P. M. Home Service	365
June 5, 10:00 A. M. Marriage Laws and Their Administration.....	379
June 6, 10:00 A. M. Replacements of Soldiers in Civil Life.....	383
June 7, 10:00 A. M. Case Work and Industrial Life.....	394
June 7, 3:00 P. M. Thrift	408

The meeting on June 2, morning, was a joint session with Division VIII, on Mental Hygiene; that on June 5 a joint session with the American Association for Organizing Charity, and that on June 7, morning, with Division VI, on Industrial and Economic Problems.

A group meeting of delegates interested in Social Service Exchanges was held on June 4.

TRANSACTIONS

The Family Division met June 2, at 12 o'clock, Miss J. C. Colcord presiding.

The Nominating Committee, previously informally appointed by the Chairman, was upon motion of Mr. A. W. MacDougall, of Newark, N. J., created. The Chairman, therefore, formally appointed the Committee as follows: Frank J. Bruno, Chairman; Frances Taussig, Mary P. Wheeler, Margaret F. Byington, Stockton Raymond, Francis H. McLean.

Later the Committee reported through its Chairman, Mr. Bruno, stating that it recommended increase of the committee to 18. Moved by Miss Harriet E. Thomas of Newport and seconded by Mr. W. W. Whitson of Chicago, and carried, that the committee be so increased. Thereupon the Committee made the following nominations:

Chairman, Miss Amelia Sears, Chicago; additional member of Class of 1920, Miss J. C. Colcord, New York; additional members of Class of 1921, Prof. A. J. Todd, Minneapolis; Mr. Cheney Jones, Philadelphia; Class of 1922, Miss Julia B. Felsenthal, Minneapolis; Archbishop Hayes, New York; Miss Amelia Sears, Chicago; Miss Katherine McMahon, Boston; Mr. Henry H. Bonnell, Philadelphia; Mr. Garrett P. Wyckoff, New Orleans.

Moved by Mr. Fred R. Johnson of Detroit, seconded by Mr. Lawson Purdy of New York, and carried, that the Secretary cast one ballot for all of the nominees. This was done and they were elected.

The Chairman of the Nominating Committee also reported favorably the following resolution: "Resolved, that the newly elected chairman of this Division be and is hereby instructed to appoint a committee of five to consider the question of a proper method for proceeding to nominations to chairmanship and to membership on the Executive Committee, with power experimentally to proceed in carrying out any plans evolved, subject to final approval by the first business meeting of the Division in 1920.

Resolved, that it be urged, if possible, that such a committee so appointed should hold a first meeting before the close of this conference."

The same was adopted by unanimous vote.

There being no further business, the Division adjourned.

(Signed) FRANCIS H. McLEAN, Secretary.

WHAT IS THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE OF THE FAMILY?

CHAIRMAN'S REPORT

Joanna C. Colcord, Superintendent, Charity Organization Society, New York

In Hokusai's series of thirty-six views of Fuji, there is a wonderful print which shows in the foreground three men trying to measure the bole of a gigantic pine-tree by the reach of their outspread arms. Stretch and strain as they may, they cannot girdle the trunk; the pine stands seemingly as permanent and changeless as the majestic mountain in the background. Year after year those men might return to Mishima and find the tree still flourishing there; but by their rude scale it would be difficult to tell whether it had grown or no.

I suspect that in time past, people who were called to report on the progress of social work over a single year would have been similarly hard put to find a significant measure. Growth and change might be assumed to be going steadily on, and were, in fact, apparent over a considerable period; but the changes from year to year must often have seemed so slight as to make extended comment difficult. This year, however, the task of such a reporter is quite a different matter. So widespread and far-reaching, for example, have been the changes and developments in the field of social case work during the twelve-month that for one who seeks to bring them all together within the compass of a brief report, the problem is one of selection rather than of inclusion.

The Home Service of the Red Cross

Within the field where it was already operating, the extension of family case work has been remarkable. The Home Service of the Red Cross has pushed out in all directions, bringing out the latent possibilities of community after community under the stress of war which the slower process of peace had not yet developed. To follow this marvelous growth has given us back the sensations of childhood, when we watched the frost crystals form and spread upon the window-pane; or of our later youth when in the biological laboratory we saw the yeast-cells budding off life and yet new life. The growth of Home Service has been, to those who watched as to those who toiled, a fairy-tale of progress.

But the extension of Home Service, in its work of helping distressed families, has meant no stretching out into new fields. It has worked upon principles long known and developed in peace-time family case work. It has dealt with the same kind of families, suffering from much the same kind of disabilities, and has treated them along the same general lines as did the family agencies which preceded it.

In another direction, however, Home Service has broken new ground which has promise of great fertility. I refer to the development called "Information Service." Through this branch of its work—(not case work at all in the strict sense) it has succeeded in "tapping," so to speak, a layer of the population not less in need of case work than the customary clients of family agencies, but usually more loath to seek the aid of such agencies. It has accustomed these people to come without question to the same place for advice and counsel that the less fortunate seek for material relief. By offering something instantly recognized as of equal value to all—that is, wise direction—it has broken down some of the artificial obstacles that have kept people in need of social counsel away from the places where it could best be obtained.

The Red Cross, then, has shown us not so much a new method or a new field in case work, as new possibilities of approach. In the response it has succeeded in getting from communities hitherto untouched by a realization of their own social needs, it has pointed the way toward *extensive* cultivation

of the family field; and in reaching persons within the community who had hitherto supposed themselves to be in no need of organized aid, the Red Cross has been able to show some of the possibilities of *intensive* cultivation.

Vocational Re-Education

Other interesting and significant advances have been made during the year in the direction of vocational re-education and of psychiatry. Both of these subjects, I may say, are going to be discussed at the later section meetings of this division of the Conference. At the Tuesday meeting on the Handicapped Soldier, we shall hear in detail of the new application which has been made of case work methods to an educational problem. Not only with our soldier cripples, but with civilian cripples as well, the need for case work as an accompaniment to compensation and to vocational training is being keenly felt and expressed.

A social worker whose job it is to find employment for cripples said to me the other day that state compensation for injury unaccompanied by an attempt to study and influence the individual cripple had in her experience a demoralizing effect. The prevailing idea among the crippled men seemed to be, she found, to live on the compensation money as long as it lasted and then to go looking for a job. They seldom reached her office while compensation was still being received, and while there was a chance of their being directed into lines of training that would give them a fair industrial future. The remedy, she thought, lay not in any compulsory legislation to require industrial cripples to take vocational training, but rather in the acceptance by state commissions of the responsibility of seeing that the crippled man who has no trade is advised and if possible influenced by trained social workers from the moment compensation begins.

Another social worker who is deeply interested in industrial matters, but more particularly along lines of legislation, expressed the need for social case work in connection with the work of state compensation from a different angle. This social worker felt that decisions were having to be made in individual cases upon what was from the social point of view wholly insufficient data; and that case workers were needed to make investigations for the state commissions as well as to give attention to important needs due to industrial accident, which cannot be met by compensation in money or goods.

There are decided grounds for hope that the case work idea may spread from the federal compensation service to that of the several states; and that in this way a wholly new field of usefulness may eventually be opened up to social case workers.

Psychiatric Social Work

In the field of Psychiatric social work there have been marked advances during the year. In the training of psychiatric social workers the need of case work training as a basis with psychiatric methods super-imposed upon it has been clearly recognized in the courses which have been so successfully arranged. Demand for trained workers in this new field has exhausted the supply, and it seems clear that increasing numbers of workers will avail themselves of these training opportunities in the attempt to fit themselves for the specialized psychiatric field. At the same time there has been a growing feeling that workers who remain in the undifferentiated field of family case work have, nevertheless, need of knowing more than they have attempted to know in the past about the treatment of mental disorders. Some information courses have been provided for social workers who do not plan to enter the psychiatric field, and more are going to be needed and doubtless supplied.

There has been an increasing recognition on the part of psychiatrists that through the use of social case workers as assistants they can greatly extend the possibilities of treatment. There seems to be apparent the beginnings of

a very healthy mutual relation between the two fields,—the technique of dealing with the abnormal contributing to the technique of dealing with the normal and vice versa.

Problems in delimitation of the field of the psychiatrist and the field of the social case worker remain to be worked out. With the zeal to be expected of people who have made a new and promising discovery, psychiatrists and psychiatric social workers are now inclined to feel that any problem which involves working with the mind of a human being is properly a problem for the psychiatric field. That the two fields are coterminous, however, social case workers are far from being prepared to admit.

I was told the other day about a young boy who had lost his leg through an industrial accident. He received the usual compensation and, being a normal and independent boy, started out again to seek work within his now limited capabilities. Every morning he would get the paper and look over the "want ads," but his artificial limb hampered him in the early morning rush hours, in a city where transportation was badly congested, and he usually arrived in answer to ads after some boy with two legs had succeeded in getting there first and securing the job. The consequence was that this lad soon became discouraged, gave up his efforts to find employment, and settled down into an increasing willingness to let his family provide for him, and an increasing disinclination to exert himself to this end. Here we have an individual perfectly normal mentally, who presents, nevertheless, to the social case worker a problem which is largely a mental one—the problem of removing insuperable obstacles, of awakening ambition, and restoring independence and strength of will power. It would clearly be unwise to treat this as a psychiatric problem, but it illustrates, I think, with equal clearness, the similarity of function between practitioners in the two fields and the necessity of the sort of borrowing of technique from one to the other which I have just been touching upon.

Samuel Butler in his strange book "Erewhon" tells of an undiscovered country where bodily health and strength are so worshipped that to be ill except from old age is counted a crime; but where moral lapses are treated similarly to the way in which we treat illness. "There exists a class of men," says the author, "trained in soul-craft whom they call straighteners, as nearly as I can translate a word which means 'one who bends back the crooked'." Not a bad definition of a case worker as of a psychiatrist, considering that in 1870 when the book was written, neither profession in its modern conceptions was in existence.

The Immediate Future

Now to borrow from the title of this evening's session, "What of the Immediate Future?" Some of this audience heard a suggestive paper in this division last year, upon "Social Case Workers and Better Industrial Conditions." As afterwards printed, this address came to the hands of a social worker and publicist who holds an extremely important position in the affairs of this nation. In commenting about it, this man wrote something as follows:

For four years we have been without immigration and for two without unemployment, other than seasonal. I hope you are planning a survey which will tell us:

1. How much charity organization work has been reduced thereby.
2. How much further reduction we may expect from the coming abolition of the liquor traffic.
3. How much additional reduction could be effected by other social and industrial reforms now under consideration.
4. What the irreducible minimum (for the near future) of charity organization work is.

If I mentioned the name signed to this letter, I feel sure this audience would agree that a man so experienced ought not to have let himself be

caught napping to the extent of talking about the "irreducible minimum" of family case work; for this is what the paper was about, and this, I take it, is what the critic meant, whether or not the work was done under the name of charity organization.

1. How much *has* family case work been reduced by lack of immigration and unemployment? Any decrease from these causes has been as a matter of fact many times offset by the increase in family case work carried by Home Service, and due to the war. Again, no considerable proportion of our clientele has ever consisted of *recent* immigrants; so that the cessation for two years if immigration has operated only indirectly as it has affected the labor supply. The industrial situation has of course operated to cut down the *number of such cases under care*; but I should like to ask any practicing case worker here tonight whether it has really "reduced work" in the sense that it has limited opportunities for service,—has it not, on the contrary, released us for the best and most fruitful forms of activity? The out of work element of our case-load in hard times has always represented a purely adventitious burden upon the case workers. Their real task has been diluted in times of industrial crises by a volume of work which the community expected them to do, and which there was no one better prepared to undertake, but which was really disaster relief work and not the careful, conscientious case work which their hearts were set on accomplishing. During the last year of intake artificially limited by reduced immigration and unemployment they have studied their problems more intensively, had time for more careful individual treatment, and scored a larger proportion of successes,—but it has not been at the cost of less effort.

2. How much further reduction may we expect from the coming abolition of the liquor traffic? In so far as our alcoholic clients are mentally normal and socially capable of substituting higher and better wants for drink, we may expect reductions. In so far as they are psychopaths, removal of alcoholic stimulus will not cure their disorders of personality, and they are likely still to remain clients of ours or of our neighbors, the psychiatric social workers.

3. How much additional reduction could be effected by other social and industrial reforms now under consideration? The more the better, for every reduction of our clientele due to the removal of unjust economic conditions only the better delimits our field and throws into clearer relief our own peculiar problems of the human personality and of its adjustments in and by its social relationships.

4. What is the irreducible minimum (for the near future) of family case work? I see no irreducible minimum in case work for families and individuals, but rather a steady increase through extension to other fields combined with more precise delimitations within the field already occupied. Social case workers are notoriously poor salesmen, but the idea of case work seems somehow to sell itself. I predict that the near future will see many extensions, rather than reductions, in the practice of case work. One of the leading industrial reforms—workmen's compensation—is proving to be unworkable without it. The same, I think, will prove true of the placement work of the public employment bureaus. The increasing volume of marital discord shown in the records of our domestic relations courts, cries aloud for case work; our rapidly advancing standards of child care are inextricably bound up with the family and with family social work. The public offices from which are granted marriage licenses and working papers to children are two of the spots which illustrate the urgent need for case work in new fields and under new auspices. There is a growing sentiment among the socially awakened, that case workers need to be stationed at all the main gateways through which people pass in this complex society of ours, to see that adjustments are wisely and humanely made from the general principle to the particular instance.

Only in some such ways as this can the degree of social flexibility be attained which (as Miss Vaile pointed out at this session last year) must accompany the new democracy.

THE FABRIC OF THE FAMILY

Porter R. Lee, Director, New York School of Social Work.

Civilization has arrived once more at that recurring stage when it subjects its institutions to critical examination. Like a man surveying last year's wardrobe to determine whether it will do for another season, society is looking over its government, its church, its form of industrial organization, its family institutions to determine whether they will do for another cycle of its organized life. Having just passed through a period in which many of our ideals have been shattered, most of our habits shaken, most of our values distorted and many of our finest achievements scrapped, we are looking about us to see where we can lodge the blame. A large part of it we seem inclined to fasten upon our social institution. A new order is coming in government, in industry, in education, in religion. Certainly if the old order was responsible for the tragedy of the last five years it ought to be changed and almost any order would be worth trying as a substitute.

The human race has been travelling for a long time. At present we seem to be interested chiefly in destinations. We talk much of democracy, of freedom and of opportunity as though those were in themselves final objectives. The more vital to one's happiness or success a destination is the more important does the route thither become. Routes may be indicated on a map but no destination was ever reached by tracing the route with a pencil. Vehicle roads, stopping places, conveniences along the way are vital in the plans of the traveler. We shall not arrive at a new social order through the processes alone of selecting our destination and charting our route map-fashion. We need to study our equipment down to the last detail and to provide ourselves with adequate information regarding the staunchness of our vehicle and the spots along the way where we can replenish exhausted supplies.

It is the faith of this section of the Conference that the blessings of any social order can be gained only through the equipment and the achievement of the individual human beings who live under it. The motive power of society is the motive power of the individual life multiplied. We may change our institutions, but still as men we live under them, we supply them with purpose, and we are responsible for their effects upon mankind. In planning a new social order then, we must think of it first in terms of what it will do for human life, and second in terms of what it is possible for human life, at its best to put into it.

Social Institutions Under Test

Amid all the varied protests and programs to which the world is listening today there is clearly discernible one recurring cry—for freedom. This cry for freedom represents a desire that all men be permitted to share in the fruits of civilization. Health, knowledge, recreation, culture and the development of one's powers should be in generous measure within the reach of all who aspire to them. They cannot be so placed except in a society in which democracy, with its privileges and its responsibilities, is steadily extended.

Democracy has been the goal of mankind; the war seems suddenly to have placed it within our reach. Any social institution which is judged by men to be worth saving will be tested by its contribution to a democratic organization of life. The family as a social institution must meet this test. In this section of the Conference social workers have accepted the family

and its problems as worthy of their best thought and effort. They have done so in part because it has been an historic feature of society and the vital concern of charity. Our faith in the family as a social institution, however, does not rest upon its antiquity. It is because we believe that any social order requires some contributions which only the family can give that we pin our faith to it. Believing this, it is imperative that we, following the prevailing fashion, subject the family to impartial scrutiny in order to determine what this contribution is. Since we wish to conceive of this contribution in terms of its fruits in efficient democracy we will do best to begin by a consideration of what it is that democracy implies.

Democracy

Democracy suggests an equality of political status. It implies that any of the interests of men may be made the subject of regulation by the whole group. It is not necessary that such regulation be undertaken; democracy does not necessarily involve governmental action in all spheres of human welfare. A truly democratic society, however, contains the privilege of such universal control whenever its members wish to exercise it.

Democracy permits all men to participate in decisions regarding their common interests. It not only permits them to do so, but it is not democracy unless they do. There are two qualifications for membership in a democratic society; trained capacity for judgment in a wide range of social problems and the gift of enriching human relationships with leadership. These qualifications must be acquired by every last man, woman and child in the nation before democracy can be fully achieved. They are not acquired as by-products of life in society. They may appear spontaneously in a few, but in most of us they must be developed through deliberate training. We have formal systems of education which are able, more or less crudely, to fit children for the responsibilities of life; we have talked for some years about a vague thing which we call "training for citizenship;" but of deliberate training for the responsibilities and privileges of democracy, based upon a clear understanding of the nature of those responsibilities and privileges, we have hardly made a beginning. The formal obligations of democracy may be discharged only at the polls, the practice of democracy must be continuous. Those who are most fit for its formal obligations are those who throughout the year are exercising their judgment in matters of daily living and practicing those qualities of leadership which promote smooth, satisfying human relationships.

Within recent years there has been a rapid extension of democratic control in matters of social concern. We have seen the steady extension of governmental action into new fields; we have seen the development of legislation which would promote freer opportunity for private activity. No one who studies the development of the last two decades can doubt that this tendency will go much further. The war has brought a surprising number of such developments: Compulsory military service; the assumption of governmental control over industry; the espionage law; Federal Employment Service; the War Risk Insurance Act; the Food Administration, were all the expression of group control in which there is no doubt that the majority of citizens of this country acquiesced.

Democracy and Public Opinion

The war, however, merely accentuated a tendency which had already made progress. The control of child labor, the development of recreational systems, national prohibition, are steps which were taken because the people of this country were willing that they should be taken. If we carry this analysis further we shall find that in a democratically organized society many matters which do not call for programs of positive action nevertheless do

call for group decisions to rule them out of the field of public activity. For example; religious freedom is a fact in America, we do not mix church and state. Nevertheless, the American people must frequently decide matters which have to be related to their own religious convictions. There is a decision to forbid religious instruction in the public schools; there is a decision that, although education is compulsory, public money will not be appropriated for the expenses of sectarian schools; there is a decision that a religious sect believing in its power to cure disease shall restrict its activities in this field.

It is true that most of these matters, both positive and negative, involve no conscious decision on the part of the voter at the polls. Nevertheless, remote as the connection between the individual and such decisions seems to be they are possible only when public sentiment definitely supports them. What the individual man knows, therefore, and perhaps even more important, what he thinks, in the last analysis, determines the character of our formal social life. In an autocratic form of government progress in social well-being depends upon the ideals and efficiency of the autocrat. Since all matters of social concern are within his control he can theoretically determine the soundness of his nation's development. In a democratic form of society matters of social concern are within the control of the entire people. Progress in social well-being, therefore, depends irrevocably upon the ideals and efficiency of its members.

Training for Democracy

There are those who insist that adequate training for democracy cannot be given without a change in our social institutions amounting to annihilation of some and the radical reorganization of others. They believe that the best possible agency for the bringing up of children would be a social institution of a new type. In this institution children, taken from the authority of their parents, would be reared in small groups under the instruction and influence of experts. Certainly the problems of education, of discipline, of health preservation and of character formation are intricate enough to call for expertness in those who attempt to solve them. Social agencies which deal with children taken from their own homes find it necessary to equip themselves with workers who have been scientifically trained in medicine, dietetics, pedagogy and recreation. The equipment of a children's institution of only average efficiency would from the technical point of view far outstrip anything that we find, even in the better-than-average home. Such institutions are steadily improving the quality of their work with children in preparation for future citizenship. Nor have we confined our training for citizenship alone to children in institutions. Our schools are increasing their demands upon the time of children who live at home. The appearance of the all-day school, of vacation schools, of summer camps, the increase in the use of boarding schools, are evidences that we are lifting more and more of the responsibility for the training of children from the home.

This development may be sound. If modern education requires a technique, material and facilities which can only be supplied in an organized educational system it is certainly so. Those who believe in the importance of the family as a social institution need not combat it. They ought rather to welcome any development which will lift from the family any part of its historical responsibility which can better be carried elsewhere. But, if we assume that the logical conclusion of this doctrine would be to abolish the family altogether, we have either been guilty of superficiality in analyzing the requirements of democracy or we have failed to perceive what is the vital and enduring contribution of the family to the well being of mankind.

I stated that the first qualifications for membership in a democratic society is trained capacity for judgment in a wide range of social problems.

In considering how this training can be acquired two aspects of the formal educational process are interesting. First; any kind of training can be more effectively done with individuals in small groups than with large numbers at a time. Second; that form of instruction or training is best which connects abstract principles directly with the concrete interests of the students.

The Family and Training for Democracy

If we consider these two aspects of educational procedure with reference to the family we are struck with the fact that the organization of society in families gives us at once the small group through which training is most effectively imparted. The advantage of training in small groups is that the individuality of no member is lost, there is freer interchange of ideas, greater opportunity for self expression and more opportunity for participation by each member. If society were to begin its training for democracy with a free hand in the matter of organization it would begin by dividing its members into small groups. No doubt by this program some of the tragic mistakes of the family system would be avoided; some of the quite incompatible relationships which now exist would never be started, assuming that society in dividing its members could have the benefit of all modern appliances for determining intelligence, personality and other factors which control the harmony of human relationships. With all due respect for modern psychological tests, for the skill of various kinds of experts, and with full recognition of the miserable failure of the family system in a vast number of instances, we may doubt whether any arbitrary division of human beings into small groups would yield as great a measure of solidarity and harmony as the historic institution of the family has achieved. For the family begins with a presumption in favor of harmony. In the great majority of instances it continues and it ends in harmony. Its members have achieved that sense of inter-dependence and of mutual liking which would put any group of persons in training at a tremendous advantage in deriving the maximum benefit of their common experiences. Any leader recognizes that morale is fundamental in his group if they are to derive the greatest possible benefits from their work together. Human beings associate themselves with each other for every conceivable purpose; for recreation, for study, for worship, for work, for celebration. Such associations achieve varying degrees of morale, but nowhere do we find any type of group life which shows a higher degree of morale in all its implications of conscious inter-dependence, consideration, recognition of a common purpose and willingness to abide by group decisions than does the family.

Social workers in the field of family welfare, therefore, have this first and most fundamental truth to justify their faith, that the family represents the type of social organization which is indispensable to the effective training of human beings for the responsibilities of life. If it could be annihilated over night society would have to reorganize itself on a quite similar basis, on no other basis could it begin its small group organization with the same degree of solidarity which family life, despite all its weaknesses, represents.

The value of family life as a means of connecting abstract principles directly with the concrete interests of individuals is familiar enough to require little elaboration. The issues of democratic society as they are discussed in books, periodicals, and college courses are like Johnathan Edwards' discussion of Hell—remote enough from the experience of most men to leave the latter indifferent to them. And yet these are issues which the members of a democratic society are called upon to judge. Employment conditions, industrial organization, taxation, social legislation, movements requiring public support are constantly asking the judgment of the democratic citizen expressed through his ballot, through financial contributions, through his moral

support, through his willingness to accept the benefits conferred, or to be deprived of the prerogatives withdrawn.

These issues must be vitalized for the men and women of a democracy. Every one of them is reflected sooner or later in the family budget, in the convenience or inconvenience of daily living, the opportunities of the average man for recreation or development. During the war a sugar shortage, high prices, and gasless Sundays brought home to men in terms of their every day experiences the larger issues of society. The problem of fitting men and women for continuing participation in the responsibilities of social life is the problem of making real to them the connection of large social issues with their daily affairs, and thereby fitting them for more intelligent participation.

The home offers an invaluable opportunity for accomplishing this purpose. From arithmetic to economics every lesson that is given a child in school, from street paving to the income tax every activity of government, from the public library to the church, every social institution, connects with the routine of home life. We need leaders in education, in government, in social work who can vitalize these for those whom they influence. By this process we shall gradually extend the number of parents who, as leaders in these small social groups that we call families, will be able to relate for themselves and their children, larger social issues directly with their concrete interests.

The Family and Leadership

The second qualification for participation in the privileges and responsibilities of a democracy is the gift of enriching human relationships through leadership. When men acquire the right to rule themselves they have to a large extent substituted voluntary action for compulsion in matters of common interest. This, as Professor Dewey puts it, "widens the area of shared concern." The individual becomes in a sense responsible for a measure of the well-being of his fellow men. Co-operation is essential to the progress of the whole group. There must be a conscious, deliberate dovetailing of interests. Democracy makes all men responsible for the common welfare. Common welfare can be promoted only when each man does his part. If the satisfactions of men require food, steel, parks, music, clothing, houses, automobiles, grain, bath tubs, moving pictures and books, then each man must contribute to society's store of these things whatever his powers permit him to contribute. Self preservation makes it imperative that a man produce some measure of them in order that he may have goods to barter for those necessities of life which lie beyond his own powers. Beyond the requirements of self preservation, however, democracy at its best makes an additional requirement. A man must contribute to the common store, not only because on no other basis is he entitled to draw from it, but also because without his contribution there will be less for others to draw from. The interrelationships of democracy thus imply an honor system as it were, a vital interest in the well-being of others, a consideration for others. A certain warmth of human relationships is essential in any situation having these implications. Relationships of this type imply a definite sharing of one's best. If the expression could be freed from certain unduly sentimental implications we might say that it involved the giving of one's self to his fellow men. It is impossible to conceive of success in a democracy in which no such ideal of human relationships is present. Without it we may have a collection of highly efficient members, each working selfishly at his own task, reaching decisions in matters of common interest on the basis of barter, each man intent upon getting as much as possible for himself, and conceding only when he can gain thereby.

Such a conception is abhorrent to all of our modern social thought, in which the social responsibility of the individual his responsibility for the

well-being of his fellows is dominant. Social responsibility, however, is a vague term. As it is commonly thought of it suggests legislation and large group relationships. It is remote from the details of life, remote from the every day interests of the individual. This is much too abstract a conception. We may well question whether any social philosophy which does not color hum-drum and insignificant things is really sound. Unless it makes men better and squarer companions and co-workers it is futile. Human relationships are woven throughout our entire social organization and its many ramifications. Success in human relationships is the crowning achievement of any man's life. Informed thinking and technical efficiency may result from formal schemes of education. Not so success in human relationships. This depends upon his qualities of leadership.

Leadership is usually too narrowly conceived. We save this distinction for those who through oratory or prestige have power to sway the thought and activity of men. This conception restricts to a comparatively few persons a gift which in a democracy should be widespread. Genuine leadership, as I conceive it, is the gift of influencing the thinking and the conduct and the satisfactions of other men. The person from whom I take a cue in regard to the minor details of living, upon whose loyalty and judgment I lean, is as much a leader as he whom I follow in the largest concerns of statesmanship. Any man who earns the respect of his fellows because he continuously fits himself for his responsibilities, because he holds his ideals with firm conviction, because he has reason in his thinking, and because he is human in his judgment, exerts an influence, however modest a place in organized life he may be filling, and he is thereby exercising leadership in the finest sense. Democracy needs leaders of a conspicuous type. It cannot dispense with those who can sway the thought and activity of men in groups, but for the development of a constituency which recognizes human values and applies them in mutual relationships it must depend upon leadership of another type.

Leadership of the more unassuming kind which I have described is a product of human relationships which are intimate, continuous and vital. It springs in generous measure from all wholesome human contacts, but for most of us its sources lie in those deeper personal relationships colored by the finest kind of sentiment which characterizes family life. The loyalties, the spirit of sacrifice, the understanding, the tolerance which characterize family life in spite of innumerable illustrations of the opposite traits, build a foundation for participation in democratic society which no other social institution at the present time can contribute. Social responsibility, the spirit of brotherhood, altruism, co-operation and mutual aid, which as applied to the whole of society are for most of us unreal abstractions, become the very heart of life when we see their fruits concretely in the small circle of mutually dependent persons of which we are parts. If the family did not provide society with a nursery for the cultivation of sentiment I am inclined to think that society would have to invent the family in order to accomplish this purpose.

The Family and the Individual

I realize that in this discussion I have made a most incomplete analysis of the demands which democracy makes upon its constituents and I have made many dogmatic statements regarding the value of the family in a democracy. Both the incompleteness and the dogmatism are in part due to the limitations of time. Of the many possible criticisms of the family as a social institution and as a desirable unit in social work, I wish to speak of only two. It has been urged at this Conference and elsewhere, that the individual and not the family should be made the unit of social work. In fact at the Conference last year Dr. Southard stated that he would be "inclined to abolish the family as a unit of interest in social service and to replace that unit with

the individual." To those who hold this view every family worker would cheerfully concede that the family cannot be successfully treated by any methods known to social case work without treating its individual members. Whether these critics would concede to us that the individual members of a family cannot be successfully treated without treating the family as a whole I do not know, and without waiting to find out I am ready to assert that they cannot. No individual is wholly an individual. He is himself plus every other person whose interests and his touch. The more continuous his associations with any particular group of individuals, the more intimate his relationship to them, the more interwoven are their interests, the more their daily practices coincide, the less likely is it that he can be understood without understanding them; and if he cannot be understood he cannot be scientifically or successfully treated for any of his major ills, whether they be physical or social. Even more important, however, is the fact that the family organization gives to each member of the group the right to demand certain things of other members. Treatment that considers one member alone irrespective of these demands, and the obligations which go with them, is inadequate. No more puzzling problem arises in social case work than that which is due to the conflict of interests between the family group and some one of its members. No such conflict arises in the work of a specialist who is interested only in the treatment of individuals. But neither, I submit, is there possible in the treatment of individuals as individuals alone any such success as could be gained if it were related to the conditions of the family life as a whole. Family case workers will confess readily to many mistakes due to their holding fast to the importance of family solidarity and group interests when it might have been better to sacrifice these in the interests of an individual parent or an individual child. They are the unfortunate exceptions that prove the rule. Family case workers have learned by experience that the important fact of family solidarity, of inter-dependence of interests can be capitalized to make individual treatment effective in a way impossible without.

Permanence of the Family

There are those who maintain that all of the values of a democratic organization of life which I have found in the family could be developed in another kind of institution which would not be subject to some of the family's grave weaknesses. Proposals for modification of the family as an institution vary all the way from proposals for retaining it in its present form subject to more stringent control, perhaps though more effective marriage laws, to proposals for its entire abolition. As an institution historically the family has undergone radical transformation. One by one it has been shorn of functions economic, education, religious and protective. It still enjoys religious, social and legal sanctions under which it covers the possibility of flagrant evils. For every broken home there are no doubt many which, though preserving the outward form of solidarity, have none of the high values by which family life in other homes has been sanctified. The divorce rate is increasing, we have evolved the Domestic Relations Court in order to do justice to disorganized families, the law gives an autocratic control over their children to parents, which is not tolerated in other human relationships, the law permits marriage under circumstances which make harmony and solidarity impossible from the beginning. Beyond a doubt many of our present conventions in regard to the family are anachronisms. It is not within the province of this paper to discuss how they may be safely and effectively modified. As social workers we need not assume that our faith in the family requires our allegiance to it without change. Society will not eliminate it, for just as it was born of society's need, so is it vital in society's continued life and development. We will hear much of better ways of rearing children and preparing them for citizenship than the family has

ever provided. We may have to tolerate experiments in this direction, but the family will live in spite of them.

"How," I once asked a radical student of mine who believed that the family should be abolished, "would you provide for the bringing up of children and their preparation for useful work in the world?" "Through carefully conducted institutions," he replied, "in which their training would be entrusted only to qualified experts." "What would one of these men do with himself," I asked, "when he left the institution?" "Well," he replied, "he would go to work having learned a trade through which he could support himself." "And then?" I asked. "Well," he went on, "he would gradually work into the civic life of the community where he lived and would, by virtue of his training, take an active part in it, more effective than family trained individuals are likely to now." "And then?" I asked. He came slowly to the answer which closed the discussion, "well," he said, "and then I expect he would want to marry and bring up a family of his own."

WARTIME GAINS FOR THE AMERICAN FAMILY*

James H. Tufts, Professor of Philosophy, University of Chicago.

War and the family have fought a long duel. From the earliest beginnings of history we hear voices and see pictures which typify many of the tragic features of this conflict. For war has not merely taken away son and husband and father from the home; it has sacrificed its Iphigenias to speed the fleet; it has compelled Jephthah's daughters to bewail virginity upon the mountains; it has brought home as spoil, even as Sisera's victorious hosts were expected to bring home, a damsel, two damsels to every man; with Agamemnon and his fellow Greeks, it has robbed fathers and husbands of daughters and wives whom it has taken to the tents and households of haughty victors; it has returned warriors to their Penelopes only to find themselves like Ulysses, restless until they have again set forth "roaming with a hungry heart."

In general, war and militarism have developed the power and assertiveness of the male, and tended to subordinate the woman. Denied his normal family life the warrior has often claimed great license, and has felt impatient at the standards of peace. War has tended to build up aristocracies, and as Sumner puts it, "In aristocratic society a man's family arrangements are his own prerogative." We may perhaps place to its credit some part in establishing the greater permanence and unity of the family which male dominance favored—so long as male dominance was unchallenged. But if we put this to its credit we must also charge it with thereby laying the basis for a long history of struggle against such dominance when democracy began to assert itself, and the pair-marriage ideal, fostered by the middle class and by peace, gained more and more the ascendancy.

So firmly, indeed, does our family type seem now to be fixed that it has not merely come through the great upheavals of this war less disturbed directly than the seemingly more powerful institutions of government and property; it has even received a notable tribute from radical sources. So long as Russia was overthrowing her government all Western Europe and America said Amen. When land was redistributed and private

*From the address in its present form has been omitted the author's examination of the question, "Is the War Likely to Affect the Human Stock"? The address appears in complete form in *The International Journal of Ethics*, Vol. XXX, No. 1, October, 1919, and may be secured in pamphlet form from the Russell Sage Foundation, 130 East 22nd St., New York.

property changed hands, radicals at least acclaimed the swift advance of the proletariat. But when there came a report that the Bolsheviks were proposing to replace the private family by a nationalizing of women, there was denunciation not merely by conservatives but by radicals. The proclamation in question was declared to be from the Anarchists and not from the Bolsheviks; then the Anarchists were quick to brand the decree as an invention of their enemies. It does not matter for our purpose whether any group in Russia actually attempted a revolution in the family system; the point is that no one in this country hailed such a revolution as a sign of progress. It was rather denounced as a clumsy fabrication of the enemies of radical movements. Certain other possibilities which loomed large at one time or another soon disappeared below the horizon. War babies and official polygamy no longer threaten. It may well seem that the family has emerged from this war safe from violent overthrow or from organized attack.

In this country, moreover, we have no such directly destructive influence as the war has exerted in those countries which have borne the burden of the struggle. "How young your soldiers are!" was the exclamation in France as our boys passed to the front. The French armies were no longer young. The generation just coming upon the stage of action in 1914, as well as those who had just begun their family life, had almost to a man gone on, or else had returned as cripples and invalids to undertake as best they could a broken and patched existence. "In England," Mrs. Mary McArthur Anderson is reported as saying, "there are no marriages now. Our young men are dead." In this country, despite the gold star which is found here and there upon the service flag, our homes as a mass are not directly destroyed. There is little change in the balance between the sexes.

Further, the direct effect of war upon the families of soldiers in this country is bound to be less than in Europe. Mr. Galsworthy, in a recent lecture upon the new factors in the society of the future, named as the first the difference in attitude between men who have been in the war and those who have not. Something as yet undefined, a certain disturbance of all values, a certain shaking loose from older foundations and an uncertainty as to things once settled, which as yet cannot be precisely described or estimated, marks the men who for four years have lived away from home and native land and have been led to measure many things with a different standard. Our boys have many of them been in the army for two years, but most of them have been out of the country but a short year; during much of this time they have been thinking more of home than of the world events; they are still in essence much as they were. Most of them have but one thought when discharged, which is to get off their uniform and get into civilian clothes where the sergeants cease from troubling, and saluting is no more.

But it would be hasty to assume that because war and revolution do not assail the family structure directly such an upheaval in civilization can pass without effect upon even the most ancient and stable institutions in the social order. Anything that affects health, disease, and housing, birth, marriage, or death, the work of women or education of children, the distribution of wealth and property, the drift from country to city, the standards of living in different social groups and classes, the political status of women and their place in industry, the stability of manners and morals, is bound to affect family life. It is the indirect effects of war that have most decisively affected the family in the past. Changes in form from polygamy to monogamy or from patriarchal dominance to democratic equality have never come as a direct result of a battle or a campaign. They come rather as the slow cumulative effect of changes in work, in power,

in wealth, in class, and in general moral attitude as men continually build and rebuild their civilization.

Let us glance now at the effect of war upon the family status, not as regards the stock* but as regards the conditions produced by economic, political, social and religious forces.

Five lines of influence stand out conspicuously: first, the establishment of new standards of public health, particularly with regard to the health of children and to venereal disease; second, the establishment of national prohibition; third, changes in standards of living, including wages, hours, and housing; fourth, the greater entrance of women into industry and responsible public service; fifth, the drive toward equality.

The movement for greater care of the health of children was a natural outcome of the terrible devastation of war and of the lowering of the birth rate in those European countries which had been longest exposed to war's effects. It is unnecessary to dwell upon this point before the Conference of Social Work. Our National Children's Bureau has properly taken the lead in setting on foot measures that will mean a higher standard of infant welfare. To measure and weigh babies is of course only a first step, but it is the most difficult and important step in every reform to get some kind of standards established toward which we can reasonably work.

Far reaching in its possibilities, not merely for good health but for the happiness and morals of the family, is the new attitude toward venereal disease, which has been forced upon the nation by military necessity. Prior to this war we have had so small an army that the effect of army standards upon the general attitude of the community has been negligible. The tradition in the army has been that sex indulgence is necessary for men who are away from ordinary associations and occupations and shut up to a life of strict discipline with no home environment. The mobilization upon the Mexican border served the valuable purpose of illustrating what this theory meant, when vice interests took advantage of it to provide opportunities for indulgence. The experience of European armies as to the reduction of fighting strength by sexual immorality reinforced the moral argument that a revolution in the program was necessary if our army was to be efficient and if the morale of American women at home was to be sustained. To send their sons into an organization which maintained the old military attitude was more than could be asked of the women of this generation, even though the appeal came from the highest and holiest of causes. The vigorous campaign waged in this country and in France by the Commission on Training Camp Activities, the National War Work Council of the Young Men's Christian Association, and other agencies, has in the opinion of military authorities had a great direct effect upon the attitude of the army. In the opinion of Dr. Exner, it has produced the cleanest army the world has ever seen, in freedom from the venereal diseases; it has all but disposed of the question of "a sexual necessity." But aside from these results of immediate bearing upon the army—results which would doubtless have been still greater had army officers not so frequently taken the attitude in speaking to their men of "Do as I say and not as I do"—more permanent and significant effects of the movement are, according to Dr. Exner:

(1) It has greatly advanced the movement for the conquest of gonorrhea and syphilis; (2) it has brought about a new and significant public attitude toward the special problems of sex, an attitude of readiness to discuss these problems frankly and to deal with them constructively; (3) it has dealt the death blow to segregated or tolerated prostitution in America; (4) it has largely broken down the prejudice against sex education; (5) it has committed our government to a policy and program and secured appro-

*See note regarding omission, page 326.

priations of adequate funds for dealing with the social problems of sex in aggressive and constructive fashion.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the possibilities in this change in general public attitude. Some have been critical of the disposition of the medical service of the government to feature prophylaxis rather than to insist upon absolute continence. But when I think of the enormous saving in the health of innocent wives and children which would be brought about by conquest of these diseases, I am disposed rather to let the medical people work in every conceivable way for the prevention and cure of disease and to rely upon other agencies for the very different task of moral education. I believe that we have in the past made entirely too much use of venereal disease as a moral agent. It has too often played the part which hell played in the religion and morality of the past generations. Probably few are now deterred from wrong-doing by the fear of hell; yet on the whole I do not discover that the morality of the community is noticeably lower by this change in belief. Other motives have come in to take the place of fear. Is it not likely also that the actual deterrent effect of fear of disease has been much exaggerated? If this were operative anywhere it might be assumed to operate in the case of women leading a life of prostitution. But a woman who had talked with hundreds of prostitutes in an effort to understand their psychology and find out as much as possible about their attitude, told me that so far as she could discover the fear of disease played almost no rôle whatever with them. They supposed that others did occasionally contract disease if they were not careful, but they feared nothing for themselves—and this despite the fact that many of them were shown by medical tests to be infected. If we can by any means diminish disease, let us do it, and at the same time let us take advantage of the new public attitude and see what can be done by education, by wholesome recreation, by removal of public temptation, by encouraging early marriage, and by a better and more sympathetic study of the actual motives in human conduct. The old methods of suppression, repression, silence, and fear, have worked very ill. We can at least give the new policy a fair trial.

Closely related to this matter of public health is the new national policy of prohibition of the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages. In a recent suggestive article by Floyd Dell in the "Liberator," the writer holds that the most important aspect of the changes to be expected is sexual. "Women hate alcohol," he says, "not so much because their husbands sometimes come home drunk as because it keeps them away from home so successfully." "Alcohol is truly the enemy of womankind; it competes with them all too successfully for what they know belongs to them, man's leisure hours, which should be their mutual play time." And for yet another reason why alcohol is an enemy of women, Mr. Dell says "the uglinesses of prostitution are so gross that the young and unspoiled part of each male generation is only able to view them through an alcoholic haze. The hucksters of the underworld do well to mourn the passing of alcohol; for without that pink mosquito netting of illusion to spread over its rotten fruit, who will buy?" Mr. Dell points out, however, that if men and women spend their play time together, this will not necessarily ensure a happy home. "For if a man has been able to put up with a home only on the absentee plan, he will hardly bear its unmitigated wretchedness; and so with women."

In the case of prohibition, as in that of sex morality, it goes without saying that negative and repressive action will not get far alone. To open up new ways of enjoyment in which the whole family can share is a pressing problem. The moving picture theatres have probably been the greatest single agency in this direction. When I occasionally visit one of these to see what millions of my fellow citizens are doing every evening, I see a great many families going together. The saloon in this country has never been what

similar institutions have been in Europe, a family gathering place. Doubtless shrewd purveyors of amusement will devise still other means of entertainment, but social workers and public agencies should press vigorously the campaign for parks and playgrounds and all sorts of outdoor and indoor instruction and entertainment. In my own city an Art Institute and a Museum attract not merely "high-brows" but a great stream of all sort and conditions. Some take away much, others probably a little, but it is an inspiration to see how many respond to what might seem a rather limited appeal.

The third point at which the war will touch family life will be through its influence upon the standard of living and the cost of maintaining the family in health and vigor and with some regard at least to the decencies and conveniences which mean so much for the smooth conduct of living together. No one can know precisely what is to come. The enormous amounts of capital goods which have been destroyed during the war will lay a heavy burden upon industry for their replacement. Great wars in the past have usually been followed sooner or later by periods of distress. For many years after the great Napoleonic wars the condition of the laboring classes in Great Britain was bad, despite the great increase in production which the power of steam and the new machinery made possible.

Two problems now confront the world. Can our total production be so increased by greater economy and efficiency as to reduce the burden, and in the second place, who is to carry what must be carried? Although the first of these is probably the more important, the second is more fruitful in unrest and a sense of injustice. The burdens of this war have thus far been laid to a higher degree than usual upon the well-to-do. The graduated income tax, the larger income tax for larger incomes, ought to stay. Taxes upon luxuries ought to say. A headline in the morning paper a few days since read, "Rush bills to lift tax burdens." This looked well, but the next line read, "Plan speedy repeal of the levies on luxuries." I believe in keeping the taxes upon luxuries instead of shifting the burden to necessities. It is unthinkable that we should go back in principle to the older methods of taxing the consumer for the principal part of national burdens. An important factor is, no doubt, the resolute attitude taken by organized labor that wages shall not be reduced. Employers are disposed to acquiesce in this policy and to pass on to the consumer the charges necessary to maintain high wages. Those labor groups which have a strategic position have undoubtedly benefited at the expense of other groups. Nevertheless the very fact that many families have gained a glimpse of larger incomes, of a higher standard of family life, is bound to help in preventing the laborer from carrying so much for his share as he has had to carry after wars in the past.

Yet we cannot improve the condition of all laborers to anything like a desirable standard if we give to labor all the profits now going to capital and the salaries now going to management. We cannot (as a mechanic recently maintained in conversation) "give five thousand dollar salaries to every one" so long as the country is only producing about one thousand dollars; but if labor and capital share hardships there will be more energetic efforts put forward to increase production and improve the condition of all. An engineering friend tells me that high wages are a great stimulus to the invention of labor saving machinery. How far can the nation move forward to a new plane of greater production? One of my economic colleagues is inclined to doubt whether our national production at present is more than 5 per cent efficient. Our wastes in agriculture by bad soil, poor methods, by pests of various sorts; our wastes in coal mining and coal burning; our labor turnover, our strikes, our absurdly expensive distribution of milk and groceries, would go far to substantiate such an estimate. Yet this same colleague believes that we have gained a conviction that production is a national enterprise and not a matter for private profit. If both employers and wage workers can get this point

of view, and if the wage worker can be protected so as to receive his share of increased production, a most important step toward family comfort in large will be taken.

The fourth line of effect of the war upon the family which I shall mention is that which relates to the greater employment of women in industry and other out-of-the-home occupations.

As has frequently been noted, the interests of the middle-class woman and of the factory worker or those who come from the less well-to-do families, are not the same. The middle-class woman on the whole probably needs more outlet for her activity and would be better off with more definite work. The opening of new occupations is distinctly welcome to her. At the time of our Civil War, we are told by Mr. Arthur Calhoun in his recent work on the *Social History of the Family in America*, there was a great entrance upon many new occupations on the part of women. And on the whole they have remained in possession of many of the fields which they occupied at that time. It is likely that as a result of our present war women will continue to fill many of the places which they have been found so capable of filling. Is this to be loss or gain for the family? If it means that more women are to be childless, or if it means that no distinction is made between mothers or prospective mothers and those who are not in either class, the result is bound to be bad. Instead of talking about the employment of women as a class, is it not the more hopeful line to concentrate public attention upon the problem of the mother and prospective mother? Is it not one of the next lines of attack to make sure that every woman shall have that free period and suitable care for the birth of her child, and that attention after, which has already been secured in other countries? And then further that the mother with young children shall be given the opportunity to be at home and to care for them?

I cannot feel that the present indiscriminate raid of industry upon women regardless of family ties can be justified. I am not sure but that the statisticians would find it more destructive than war to the life and health of children and to the morale of family life.

The influence which in the long run may well prove greatest of all is the great drive of the war toward equality between men and women—equality in work, in wages, in political rights, in social responsibilities, in authority in the home. Not that the war initiated these things, but it speeded up the movement already started in this direction. To have more occupations open to women means power; to enter into organized industry and get training through labor unions in leadership and co-operation means power; to manage war campaigns of all sorts means power. What will be the effect of this new power and this new education of woman upon the family? Will it tend toward any wiser mating? Will it tend to increase still further the divorce rate which for many years has been mounting steadily? Probably the effects will be mixed. Education in all these various lines, and the greater freedom and power of woman will probably make on the whole for more careful choosing of a mate. But it is not likely for a time at least to lessen the frequency of divorce. For since three-fourths of the divorces are sought by women, divorce seems to be largely a matter of what a woman will put up with. If she has more power, she is likely to be less tolerant. For it is true in domestic life as in industry that democracy is far more delicate and difficult to manage than is autocracy. This is not to say that it is hopeless. The rate of divorce in the country as a whole is now about one divorce for nine marriages. In the group that I know best it is about one for a hundred. I do not think this is because the college professor is less exasperating, or the college professor's wife less of an equal. I incline to think it is because she is somewhat more cautious in her original selection and more philosophical afterwards—that is, she views large and small with better perspective, for the

courts tell us that it is more often the small than the large that wrecks marriage.

But whether divorces increase or decrease, the movement toward equality can no more be blocked than the tide. And it ought not to be if it could. If the family were committed to the older type, it would remain only at the cost of a perpetual conflict between impulse on the one hand and certain well-considered goods on the other, between social duty on the one hand and self-respecting life on the other, between parental affection and other almost equally imperious demands. It is because the family not only satisfies passion, but sublimates it; because it not only involves sacrifice, but on the other hand opens up new fields of thought and emotion, action and living, that it will keep its place in genuine democratic development. For democracy means co-operation, and the family is not only the oldest, but in many ways by far the finest type of co-operation.

Yet none of these gains for the family is greatest. The greatest is the hope and the deep resolve that war itself shall cease.

The Greek story of Agamemnon which told of the warrior disregarding family ties for military necessity, disregarding family morals under military thrill of power, and finally after his victories falling himself a victim to the passions of maternal love and conjugal jealousy, suggests in its outcome the issue of the duel between war and the family. War has disregarded the family under plea of higher necessity; it has habitually trampled upon many of the family sanctities; it has lowered birth rates and loosened marriage ties; it has often quenched in death the family life so happily begun. But now, what lies behind the insistent and compelling demand in all countries that this war shall be the last? What gives its deepest urge to that demand for a league of nations and for international co-operation and justice, which the peoples of the world have so deeply felt? Not, I take it, so much that war is expensive, or irrational, or risky. Is it not chiefly just this: That the family at last rises to avenge itself upon its ancient enemy and destroy it? This time, the first possibly in history, there is the chance that the family, like Wordsworth's Happy Warrior, may turn its "necessity to glorious gain."

THE PHILADELPHIA EXPERIMENT

Betsey Libbey, Director of Case Work, Society for Organizing Charity, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

During the last ten years 38 hospital social service departments have been organized in Philadelphia. The Domestic Relations, the Juvenile, the Criminal, and the Misdemeanments divisions of the Municipal Court have been created with 160 probation officers. The Division of Child Hygiene with 50 nurses has been organized as a city department. Vocational guidance in connection with the public schools has been undertaken by a private agency, and many other specialized agencies have been established. This rapid development of social work in Philadelphia is only typical of what has been happening throughout the country in the last decade.

We have all been so busy creating new organizations that we have taken but little time to consider how the new ones were going to fit in with the old and with each other. The older organizations were general in their work, each one trying to do all that was needed in the families it was working with. Most of the new agencies are specialists organized to deal with some one particular problem such as health and vocational guidance. In any field when specialization begins there is always the problem of adjustment of the general to the special, and social work is no exception.

Two years ago when one of the older societies in Philadelphia wanted to redefine its field in relation to the newer developments in social work it soon realized that no one agency by itself could attempt to define and limit its functions, so complex are the interrelations in social work. Simultaneously a few social workers were discussing the problem informally, and as a result the Bureau of Social Research of the Seybert Institution was asked to make a study of the previous year's records of some of the case working agencies. Only records that had been referred or transferred by one social agency to another were selected, for the study was concerned mainly with the relationships of agencies, and this could best be discovered in the cases they were passing on and receiving from each other.* It was, of course, impossible to read all the records of all the case work organizations. Fifteen agencies were selected, including eight hospitals, as typical of the others. Approximately 400 records were selected on a percentage basis of cases received from other agencies during the year. Not only was the record from the agency being studied, read, but also that of the referring or transferring agency along with those of any other agencies having records. In some instances there were as many as six or seven for one case. A careful schedule was prepared, one for referred cases and another for transferred, and a schedule was made for each case.

As the study was to be made for the benefit of the social agencies an advisory committee to direct it was organized representing six societies—a children's agency, a society working with girls, a visiting nurse society, two hospital social service departments, and the charity organization society. It was hardly under way when so many interesting problems of relationships between agencies were discovered that the advisory committee became a study group, meeting two hours every week or every other week to discuss these problems. Because some of the first questions considered were those relating to the intake of the different agencies the group was called the "Intake Committee." This marks the beginning of the Philadelphia experiment which has been an attempt to work out jointly the adjustments between case working agencies in the light of present day facts.

The basis of discussion has always been a concrete case which presented a problem of relationships between agencies. During the first six months, cases were selected from those included in the study of the Bureau of Social Research. As the records for the study were those worked with in the previous year most of them were inactive when they were discussed. So far as the individual case was concerned, it was a theoretical discussion requiring no action by any of the agencies as the result of the decision. It was easier, perhaps, on this account to be impersonal and to think about the problems unhampered by traditional relations. It was an impartial and impersonal reviewing of past work case by case to determine how the agencies might have worked together more effectively for the welfare of the individual or family, and an attempt at the same time inductively to formulate functions for the different agencies in terms of present day organization. Discussion has always been free and informal and no one has considered it a vice to change his mind whenever he liked. It has been the custom of the committee to take expressions of opinion, one on the individual case, and one on a working principle. Formal votes have not been taken, but each member of the committee has expressed an opinion which has been made a part of the minutes. It was only natural that shortly someone should want to discuss a current case in order to carry out experimentally the tentative decisions reached by the committee, thus making theories sounder in the light of prac-

*For the purposes of this study a referred case is one in which an agency calls in another agency, the first one not relinquishing its interest, or only partly relinquishing it. A transferred case is a case turned over by an agency to another, the first agency dropping out.

tice. The group had been meeting six months when the first active case was presented. Ever since then the discussions have been chiefly of current problems. The committee has added to its membership gradually until there are now 27 members. Whenever an agency wants to bring up a case all of the other agencies having records on the case are invited to the meeting regardless of whether they are members of the committee. Although cases have always been the basis of discussion the intake group has not been a case committee. It has been concerned with the functions of social agencies and their working relations rather than with case work. At times it has not been possible to avoid some discussion of treatment because the decision as to what agency should handle a problem has depended upon the question of treatment, but in general case work has not been discussed.

One case will illustrate some of the problems the committee has discussed.

The Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children, the Society for Organizing Charity, the Children's Bureau, a Hospital Social Service Department, have records of the Boyle* family dating from 1913. The Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children knew the Boyles first in September, 1913, when Mrs. Boyle was committed to the House of Correction for immorality and neglect of her children, on slight evidence and the word of her husband. The children at that time were committed to them for care. Further investigation and a more complete knowledge of the case convinced the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children that the commitment had been unjust and that the man's testimony against his wife was largely due to his mental condition. The children were returned to the home and long and careful supervision on the part of the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children never brought forth any evidence against the mother, and the children finally were formally discharged to the parents. Mr. Boyle worked steadily, his earning capacity at all times being low, and his mental condition constantly showing itself in his suspicion about his wife and others. The Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children's interest in the family included not only supervision but occasional assistance in the form of coal and clothing and summer outings, including board. In May, 1916, Mr. Boyle was not working steadily and the family was referred to the S. O. C. by a settlement. They visited and gave relief for about a month, but dropped out as the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children was still interested and supervising, and it was simply a case of temporary relief. During all this period a hospital social service department had been interested in the physical condition of the family; in the oldest boy, particularly, as he had a bad heart condition. In June, 1916, Mrs. Boyle developed tuberculosis and the hospital arranged to have her go away for sanatorium care. At the same time they arranged seashore care for the two younger children, further care for the older boy having been arranged by the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children. Without consulting the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children the Hospital then referred the case to the S. O. C. for care for the children to the seashore, and a week later for clothing and carfare for Mrs. Boyle. At the same time they referred it to the Children's Bureau to place the children during the mother's absence. The Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children continued their interest while Mrs. Boyle was in the sanatorium. In November, 1919 (nearly a year and a half later), Mrs. Boyle was ready to be discharged. The Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children then referred it to the S. O. C. to re-establish the home as they were no longer able to pay the board for the children and Mr. Boyle, whose right arm had been very seriously injured in an accident, had no income except the compensation which he was receiving, amounting to one-half of his normal wage. Mr. Boyle at this time was under treatment at the Hospital. The three agencies continued their interest, the S. O. C. giving regular relief, which was supplemented by the Hospital and the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children. Because of the long and successful contact with the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children the family naturally turned to them for advice on all occasions.

*The name of the family has been changed.

This was the situation when the case was presented in the Intake Committee in July, 1918. These are some of the questions that were discussed.

From the beginning, was this the kind of family problem to be dealt with by the S. P. C. C. or should it have been a S. O. C. case?

In May, 1916, when it was referred to the S. O. C. by the Settlement while the S. P. C. C. was actively interested and doing the family case work, should the S. O. C. have taken up the case or left it with the S. P. C. C. when it was only a matter of temporary relief?

In the following June, should the Hospital S. S. D. have referred the case to the S. O. C. for carfare for the children and carfare and clothing for Mrs. Boyle when the S. P. C. C. was doing the family work on the case? Should the Hospital S. S. D. have referred the children to a children's agency or should the S. P. C. C. have been the one to refer it as the agency taking the responsibility for the family work?

In November, 1917, when Mrs. Boyle returned from the sanatorium should the S. P. C. C. have referred it to the S. O. C.?

At the time it was discussed by the committee (July, 1918) should the three agencies have continued work with the family and what should have been the function of each? There was a predominating health problem: Mr. Boyle's injured arm which did not heal and his mental condition; Mrs. Boyle's previous history of tuberculosis and the boy's heart trouble. There was also a relief problem which would probably continue for a long period. There seemed to be no question of wilful neglect.

The Committee decided that had there been fuller information in 1913, when the family was first known it probably never would have been an S. P. C. C. case; that it was, however, a problem for a family agency and, therefore, would have been an S. O. C. case.

That when it was first referred to the S. O. C. by the Settlement in May, 1916, when Mr. Boyle was out of work it should not have been accepted as it was only a temporary relief problem and the S. P. C. C. was actively supervising.

That the Hospital S. S. D. should not have referred it in June to the S. O. C. (another family agency) for carfare and clothing as the S. P. C. C. was doing the family work, but should have left the temporary relief problem with the S. P. C. C. That the Hospital S. S. D. should not have referred the case to the Children's Bureau for placement of the children as it was part of the family work to arrange for the care of children and in this case the S. P. C. C. was assuming the responsibility of the family work.

That in 1917, when Mrs. Boyle returned from the sanatorium the S. P. C. C. should have assumed the whole responsibility for the family work or they should have transferred it to the S. O. C. (which would mean the S. P. C. C. dropping out of the case). In either instance, the Hospital S. S. D. should have functioned as medical social advisers leaving the family work to the S. P. C. C. or the S. O. C.

That for current action the S. P. C. C. should transfer the case to the S. O. C., with the Hospital S. S. D. functioning as above, and that the best method for an effective transfer would be for the S. O. C. and the S. P. C. C. visitors to call together to explain the plan to the family.

General questions such as the following in regard to the functions and relationships of agencies were also raised by the Boyle case. Should two family agencies work on the same case? Is relief in itself a function or merely a part of treatment? When there is a predominating health problem and a family problem what agency should handle the case; or should both a family agency and a medical agency work on the case? If so, what should the division of responsibility be? Should a Hospital S. S. D. give relief? If so, only medical relief or temporary relief or regular allowance for a long period? Many other problems of the relationships between family agencies and specialized agencies and between the different kinds of specialized agencies have also been discussed; and other questions, such as better methods of transferring and referring cases and the more effective use of each other's records. In so short a paper it is impossible to discuss them. However, in the near future the Bureau of Social Research will publish a report of the study of cases and the work of the committee, which will include a discussion of these problems.

Out of the many contributions the committee has made the most conspicuous perhaps have been that:

Agencies now stop to think before passing a family on from one to another. Such thoughtful transferring and referring of families is the basis of intelligent working together.

This better method of transferring and referring cases involves four steps:

1. The agency accepting the case reads the record of the agency transferring the case, followed by
2. Consultation by the visitors of the receiving and transferring agencies.
3. Summary of the record.
4. The case workers of the two societies then visit the family together so that the visitor who has been the friend of the family may personally introduce the new visitor and thus make the contact a more personal one.

The Intake Committee is no longer an experiment, for the value of social agencies working out together their day to day relations has been established. The Committee will continue as a study group trying out experiments, and as a place for discussing new problems as they arise.

CASE CONFERENCE; NEED AND PLAN

Wilfred S. Reynolds, President Chicago Council of Social Agencies

It seems clear that the degree of responsibility to be assumed by an organization in case conference work depends directly upon the type of work it does and upon the relative position it occupies in the community's scheme of philanthropy. There are two extremes in our more or less incoherent scheme of social service occupied by certain agencies, and between these extreme positions are other agencies that fill the needs not met. In general we may say that all institutions whose purposes may be to care for cases within their walls, for a definite period and for a definite treatment, stand at one extreme, while the agency or agencies finding the cases in their original state in the community, stand at the other extreme. It follows that the agencies occupying the latter position furnish temporary care and are the diagnosticians of the cases, finally determining that treatment needed, which may be the special institution. Case conferences are highly essential among the agencies acting upon the case before the final institutional disposition is reached; and the responsibility for these case conferences weighs heaviest upon this type of organization.

There are in the Chicago community a large number of agencies, touching cases in their original state; a large number of agencies touching cases only temporarily, during the period when some permanent care or treatment is being sought; and a large number of agencies ready to assume some definite treatment after all the returns are in, after all conferences have been held, and a decision made as to the plan of care.

In working out a plan for case conferences it is important first to determine the position each of our respective organizations occupies. Our social service plan should be so well balanced as to minister medically, for example, in the home of the stricken family through nursing service, thus touching the case probably at the beginning; or it may be to take legal action against some delinquent member of a family, thus touching the case probably in the midst of its experience with social agencies; or to offer specific institutional treatment, thus touching the case after a long or shorter period of consideration.

Second, it is important to determine at what juncture in the social service scheme we have touched the given case. Does the specific case come

to us stripped of any experience with social agencies; or does it come to us in the midst of some plan already formulated; or does it come to us at the end of a period during which a vast amount of energy has been spent in an endeavor to determine what is needed?

Third, it is important to determine in every case coming to us what is our responsibility, and intelligently to discharge it. If we find by consulting confidential registration, or otherwise, that other persons or agencies are in touch with the case, then we should be charged with the duty of calling that case conference. Then again, if we are called upon to enter the case conference on cases in which we are, or may have been interested, we should respond with promptness and utmost willingness.

Fourth, it is hardly fair to assume to decide that some other agency should accept the care of the case without a consultation with that agency, or at least placing at its disposal all facts in our possession. This means, in a large number of instances, the calling of a case conference to include the agency to which the case may finally go.

A clear and comprehensive vision of the Chicago situation, as in many other communities, will reveal a great community whose agencies for investigation, consultation, relief and care for its unfortunates, are growing in numbers and extending in efforts; a community in which the points of contact between its philanthropic agencies, public and private, are to become more frequent and more acute; a community whose men and women will more and more demand that higher standards of efficiency be applied to the organization for the betterment of its people, and it is right that this be so.

In stimulating better service in case work by and among case working agencies, the Chicago Council of Social Agencies has sensed its obligation. The Council being a federation of social service agencies having in its membership the principal case working organizations of the community, has made effort to promote these conferences. To this end the Council planned open meetings to which the workers of its member organizations were invited to observe these conferences held on cases. The cases for conference were selected from among those handled by the various agencies and in whose solution or treatment several agencies were involved. Each case selected was chosen for the particular problem it presented. A committee was responsible for selecting the cases, arranging for and directing the conferences—the personal identification of each case being carefully obscured. Following these "model" case conferences the Council prepared the following brief suggestions and distributed copies among the case working agencies:

Suggestions Concerning Case Conferences

When Necessary:

1. In general, whenever a social agency or group of agencies think a conference would be helpful in forming a co-ordinated plan regarding cases involving complicated problems.
 - (a) Prior to calling the conference, steps should be taken to secure such data as the interested agencies may call for.
 - (b) Each social agency should designate some person to analyze its new cases in the light of all information from registering agencies and other sources, with a view to determining at the outset whether or not a case conference should be called.
2. Whenever some new and important situation develops that ought to be known to all agencies interested.
3. Whenever discovery is made that plans previously formed are not succeeding.
4. Whenever new social agencies enter the field, or existing agencies

change their policies, thereby affecting the treatment of specific cases in which your society is interested.

Who Should Call Case Conferences:

1. Any single agency, or agencies, which may be mutually agreed upon by several of the interested agencies.

Method of Recording Case Conferences:

1. A summarized report of the conference, including the decision reached, should be made and filed in the records of the agency agreed upon as chiefly responsible for handling the case; and whenever practicable, a carbon copy of such report should be furnished to all agencies engaging in the conference.
2. The agency chiefly responsible for handling the case should make a registration of such case conference with the Social Service Registration Bureau.

THE DIVISION OF FAMILY CASE WORK BETWEEN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCIES

Fred R. Johnson, Associate Secretary, Detroit Community Union

It is not my object in this discussion to consider the old arguments for or against public outdoor relief. Such an approach at this time would be almost academic. Private and public outdoor relief are both present in one form or another in a large proportion of our cities. The present need is to arrive at a basis of cooperation. Our purpose is to bring forward some suggestions with respect to a division of case work between the two.

Neither will time permit a detailed discussion of the different kinds of organization for public welfare purposes. Let us grant at the outset that the variation from state to state in laws governing public relief, the scope of municipal action as defined by charter or by ordinance, the personnel of public boards and departments, and the status of development of private societies engaged in family work, all must materially influence the division of case work which should obtain in any given community.

Our object consequently is to examine the division which might obtain in the field of family work between an efficient private society and a socialized department of public relief. Let me define what the latter term should mean. In the first place, the superintendent or secretary should be chosen by civil service or in some fashion which will eliminate political influence and secure a person of competent training and experience assured of some degree of permanency of tenure. His associates should be similarly chosen. If selected by civil service the examination should be given by a properly qualified board and should provide for a personal interview of candidates to make possible a proper evaluation of personality, of prime importance in social work. The speaker remembers his feeling of futility in serving as a member of a civil service commission which gave an examination to three hundred candidates for public case work in which regulations did not permit of a personal interview. A socialized public department should further not be hampered by archaic laws or regulations which prescribe hard and fast rules of procedure, such, for instance, as limiting relief to that given in kind, or such as would forbid reasonable elasticity of treatment in instances where a legal settlement has not been obtained.

With such a community organization for family work, we cannot wholly agree with Sidney Webb's extension ladder theory of relationship. You will remember that in a widely quoted article which appeared in the *Survey* for March 7, 1914, he argues against what he terms the parallel bar theory of

division between public and private agencies, and in favor of having both interested in the same families. Logical as that theory may be in other respects, it does not fit intensive case work with families. Our premise is that the governmental agency is equipped to do thorough case work, as is the representative of private initiative. It would be poor economy and it would nullify otherwise excellent efforts to have trained visitors from two agencies entering the same homes endeavoring to meet the same needs.

But, I hear someone say, with a socialized public department, why the need of a private agency? That question is most likely to be asked by those who have not had public experience, or who have not followed the ups and downs of municipal and public relief in the last decade. Let us recall the reaction in New York City following the enlightened administration of the Department of Public Charities by Mr. Kingsbury. Let us not forget the treatment accorded the Board of Public Welfare in Kansas City, that unique board guided by Mr. Halbert which has done so much to encourage the friends of efficient municipal administration of social welfare, by the present mayor of that city. Students of public progress in Massachusetts will remember the vicious political attack made on its progressive State Board of Charity in 1914. Instances could be multiplied. A private agency with a broad vision can be of first importance in helping to stabilize public development. Even with a socialized public department it can maintain higher standards as its development is frequently guided by a group who are pioneers in their field. It can initiate and experiment. As expressed by Sidney Webb, it can lavish unstinted care on a given case, difficult for a public agency which must impartially administer public funds. It permits the expression of the interest of many whose support can not be secured for what seems to them to be a political body.

With progressive public and private agencies both in the field, what should be the division of case work? We may use three tests as the basis for a rough classification—residence, the time element in treatment into which the question of long continued relief will frequently enter, and the necessity of exercising some measure of public authority and control.

The public agency should be interested in the treatment of families who are in distress immediately upon their arrival in a new community. Unfortunately some cities and states have not yet abandoned the vicious "passing on" system, and there are chronic dependents who of their own volition seek new domiciles. Private agencies should hesitate to assist families and persons of this character in establishing their residence. There may be mitigating circumstances in some instances which require a different method of approach, but it seems logical that, as a general rule, a socialized public department should provide for the so-called "unsettled poor." This should mean that while considerate care is provided, the burden of responsibility will be placed where it properly belongs.

The time element in treatment, our second basis for division, involves the question of dealing with acute as contrasted with chronic family difficulties. The annual report of a children's society in a state which is setting the standard for case work with children in the fields both of public and private effort, outlines the policy which guides the division of work as follows: "To the State or City are referred those children who represent long continued financial expenditure as well as many children for whom there are less hopeful prognoses. The private societies can do the quick experimental work much more easily than is true of the public agencies. The private organizations have tended to set standards because they could more easily limit the amount of work assigned to each visitor."

The aged, families where there is disability or chronic illness of the breadwinner as in cases of tuberculosis, and widows with young children, belong to a group where the period of treatment is long continued and where

the financial outlay is likely to be large. Families where these difficulties are present constitute with peculiar logic groups where a socialized public department should assume responsibility. Specialized provision is customarily made for mothers with dependent children, but in some states the general relief authorities have charge of the administration of mother's aid. Unquestionably if our standards of public outdoor relief had been higher than what they were at the time when the sentiment for more liberal provision for mothers with dependent children swept the country, the number of states where the administration of this part of public relief is a function of a court would be less than is the case today.

Families where there is acute illness, those with problems of family relationship not requiring the functioning of a court, and distress due to unemployment during times other than cycles of depression, should come to the private agency. With these groups one of the chief problems is the development of latent resources, and for the development of these resources a private agency is peculiarly well adapted to function. Take, for instance, the development of one resource, that of financial support from relatives in comfortable circumstances. Even in the administration of mother's aid students are finding that there is a tendency for what has been called the "invisible relief fund," of which contributions from relatives are a part, to dry up. The State Board of Charity of Massachusetts brings this testimony on this point:

Experience with this (Mothers' Aid) law shows that relatives outside the line of consanguinity, as well as private societies and agencies, have failed to continue their financial support to many families in whom they were interested prior to the passage of this act. With private philanthropy the line of demarcation between public and private obligation may seem vague and open to dispute; with relatives there can be no question that between them and the public treasury there is the moral obligation to take care of their own kin.

We have a parallel experience in another field, that of hospital administration. Pay hospitals doing general hospital work meet with better success in developing the resources of all patients able to pay than do municipal hospitals who accept pay as well as free patients.

We come now to our third basis of classification, family situations which require the exercise of public control. Most typical of this group are those where desertion or non-support are present, often combined with intemperance. The public agency may best supplement the efforts of the police, the courts, and probation officers with respect to these families, where the enforcement of family obligations is the primary need. Experience with state prohibition justifies the belief that one of the fruits of national prohibition will be a decreased burden of non-support. With the hectic days of law enforcement which lie ahead of us, there seem special reasons why public agencies should function closely together in instances where intemperance aggravates a non-support problem.

Two kinds of family situations requiring the exercise of public control obtain which it is difficult to advocate should be met exclusively by the public agency even when that agency is equipped to do thorough case work. I refer to unmarried mothers with their children, and to families where one or more of the adults is feeble-minded. Our laws generally leave a special responsibility with the state for the support of children born out of wedlock, and the tendency of the hour is in favor of making some department of government the guardian for such children. But standards of case work with unmarried mothers are still crude. There is wide diversity in thought as to what should be done, and there is need of considering progressive legislation dealing with this problem. All of these considerations favor having private agencies continue with experimentation and planning for unmarried mothers, in the hope that we may discover new methods and arrive at a better understanding as to what public measures we should unite to advocate.

The need of greatly increased institutional provision for the feeble-minded, the relation to this problem of our marriage laws and their lax enforcement, and a better understanding of these and other issues involved by our communities, make it likewise inadvisable to advocate that public departments should exclusively deal with families where this handicap obtains.

To summarize, as a rough basis of division of case work between an efficient family agency and a socialized public department, it would be feasible to leave families where acute illness, unemployment, and problems of family relationship not involving appeal to a court are present with the private agency; to leave non-residents and cases of old age, chronic illness, and handicap, widows with young children and instances of non-support, desertion and interperance with the public agency; the responsibility of dealing with unmarried mothers and their children, and with families where adults are feeble-minded, to be a joint responsibility.

We have previously spoken of setbacks in municipal administration during the last few years. Progress has nevertheless been made, and the next few years should witness progress at an accelerated pace. It seems reasonable to believe that some of the energy and enthusiasm aroused for social work during the war may be deflected into even that much neglected field, public outdoor relief. Few agencies in that field will measure up to the standards which we consider should obtain in a public department. During the period of transition, the assumption of function must be gradual. It is misdirected zeal which would swamp an agency which is progressively developing standards with a too heavy burden of case work. Public departments endeavoring to do good work should have as a minimum one field worker for every 200 families annually under care.

May I conclude by emphasizing that no satisfactory division of the family case work load can obtain without a complete understanding and sympathy between workers in the two fields. The public department needs the support of a strong private agency. The private agency can accomplish the best results in cooperation with a public group which possesses a thorough understanding of high standards of family care. The families who are in distress will best be helped to an opportunity for normal life if there is a symmetrical development of both.

NEW JERSEY EXPERIMENTS IN THE FIELD OF PUBLIC SOCIAL SERVICE*

*A. W. MacDougall, General Secretary, Bureau of Associated
Charities, Newark*

There has gradually been developed in the field of social work a concrete, sure-footed art of *social case work*. Miss Mary E. Richmond's *Social Diagnosis* has finally put into printed and teachable form the initial process of this art.

In discussing public social service, the existence of this now well recognized and accepted art has to be taken into account. Social work is divided into two classes: The one class including such agencies as serve the individual or the family. The other, those which serve the group or the mass.

Social case work grows out of the first, but must underly and modify the second. Social reform and good social case work must go hand in hand.

Before speaking of the work of the New Jersey State Board of Children's Guardians, which is distinctly an experiment in public social service, and in the family end of it—both its work of placing children in private

*An abbreviation of the original address.

homes and administering widow's allowances, I want to refer to two events of significance that have occurred in social service work in New Jersey, in the last year or two. One of these is the reorganization of the State Department of Charities and Corrections, a practically new department having been created along new lines. The other, a survey by the Russell Sage Foundation of the Poor and Alms Department of the City of Newark. This survey was undertaken for the purpose of indicating standards of family work to be adopted in the poor department of the city and to outline a plan of co-operation between the overseer's department and the private charities.

The State Department of Charities and Corrections, now the State Department of Institutions and Agencies by an act of the recent legislature, recently adjourned, was given unusual powers in the bill creating it. Some of these powers it has not yet tested out, the board very wisely proceeding with moderation in order not to create an issue. I refer both to the drastic control, which is actually given this board over the institutions and agencies financed by the state, as well as its power to inquire into and modify, if need be, the activities of private charities. An interesting point regarding the New Jersey State Board is its differentiation from the usual State Board of Control. While it has the power of a state board of control, it is yet a purely supervisory board, leaving entirely to the boards of the several institutions and agencies matters of administration. While it may dictate as to the purchasing, bookkeeping, the dietaries, the discipline of any of the state institutions, yet it does this only through the administrative board of the local agencies. It is the excellent working method of the big modern business concern which provides a maximum of initiative in its departments within defined limits.

The purpose of this super board is to study the work put up to the state and for which the state is spending increasingly, to get a line upon the causes both fundamental and contributory and to unify and adjust the work of the state agencies and institutions in the light of the information obtained to the end of controlling and modifying these causes.

In view of this splendid program for public social service, the question naturally arises—what provision has there been made for the inclusion of the social case worker and the family social work experts?

The problem of the state ward may be likened in a rough way to a chain with but three links and these links forming a circle. The first link is the family, and the neighborhood environment from which the ward comes. The second is the state institution or agency to which he is taken for care, presumably because of the defects of the home or the neighborhood. The third link is again the home or neighborhood environment to which the ward returns upon his discharge from the state institution or agency.

We have been accustomed to spend the major part of our time and attention upon the machinery of the institution, the dietary, the discipline, the architecture—in other words, simply seeing that the wheels go round properly. The State has as yet given very little attention and spent very little money upon a study of the home conditions and the neighborhood environments that have been feeding wards into the state institutions. After the institution has completed the treatment of the ward but little attention has been given to his social reinstatement, in his home or neighborhood environment. Better things are coming in the way of parole, with the new order and a big program is possible. *Is it not possible to correlate private social agencies throughout the State with the public state agencies, and to project the influence of these as they become increasingly efficient, into the home and the neighborhood?*

The charity organization group in New Jersey has urged the inclusion of the social case worker in the personnel of the department.

The following is an illustration of the contact of the Newark Bureau of Associated Charities with the state institutions and agencies:

S. Family, Bergen Street—The family consists now of a mother who is a widow, and four children, Stephen 15, August 14, Irene 5, and Isabel 4 years. The father died very recently of paresis in the State Hospital for the Insane at Morris Plains. The mother has always been delicate and is now tubercular. She has an excellent standard of living, fine ideals for her children, even to the little everyday courtesies which stamp one as a person of refinement. She is not a stern disciplinarian, but tries hard to understand her children and to apply loving methods of discipline. August, now 14, has given more or less trouble always. He could never adjust himself to the routine of the public school and was labeled a "bad boy." He grew to be troublesome outside of school, too, staying out at night and finally beginning to steal. His mother claims that he was always very kind about the house and willing to assist in any household duty, and was really kinder to her than was the older boy, who never gave any trouble in school. August was examined by psychologists and they all claimed that he was somewhat subnormal, on the border line of feeble-mindedness. One day, August came home with a bicycle, which was not his, and the mother feeling that some trouble was connected with, made it a point to see the Attendance Office, and tell him a little of the story. The Attendance Officer followed it up with the result that August had to appear in the Juvenile Court and later was sent to the State Home for Boys at Jamesburg. The mother preferred having him sent to a place for observation, for she felt that there was something unusual about the boy, and that he would not receive proper attention in a State Institution. However, he stayed some months at Jamesburg, and claims he liked it there very much and the mother was pleased with results. When he came back he naturally came under the supervision of the Parole Officer of the State Home, who seemed to have a great influence over the boy. August re-entered school and during the fall seemed to be getting along fairly well. The Parole Officer's contact became less and less intimate, however, and his mother becoming more delicate, had not the physical strength to discipline him.

During the influenza epidemic the mother was taken ill and had to go to the hospital. The two little girls were placed in private boarding homes and we agreed to the mother's plan (because she had always planned reasonably and wisely) to have the boys take their meals with a neighbor, but to sleep at their own home at night.

One can easily see that with no discipline, August became troublesome and Stephen, the older boy, joined him in his mischief. This was an entirely new thing, for Stephen had been a model child. The mother feared that more serious trouble would come and that August would again get beyond her control, and that Stephen might develop worse. She said she wished to have the parole officer come to talk to Stephen. She knew that probably would be all that was needed to bring him back. August, too, might be benefited by a talk and the two boys could start all over again. However, the parole officer, *over-burdened with work, did not have time to come*, and August again came before the Juvenile Court and again was sent back to Jamesburg, where he is now. Stephen was spared this, but a new plan had to be made for him, also. He was taken out of school, as it was thought best by all who knew him, and put to work. So far, he is doing well.

The Russell Sage Survey of the Poor and Alms Department

As a result of two years or more effort, the officials of the city of Newark, now under commission government, finally called in the Russell Sage Foundation to make a survey of the City Poor and Alms Department (including the Alms House) with a view to its reorganization and the mapping out of a program of co-operation between the City Department and the private charities. A significant point is that the Russell Sage Foundation was asked to make this survey, not the Bureau of Municipal Research, as was the original intention; also that the work of the survey was entrusted to a family social work expert, Mr. Francis H. McLean. The report is a splendid contribution to the subject and clears up points that have troubled our private societies.

Before taking up these points I want to speak of the Influenza After-

Care Committee, the existence of which has a bearing on the survey. This committee was organized to take over the relief and social service end of the epidemic. It consists of representatives of the Children's Aid Societies, Protestant and Catholic, of the Day Nurseries, of the institutions giving day and night care to children, of the Bureau of Associated Charities, United Hebrew Charities and the overseer of the poor of the city. It includes, also, the mayor and a representative of the board of health. The mayor was made chairman of the committee, and, following a suggestion made at the inception of the work, funds were secured through the mayor from the city to defray the relief cost of the work.

Two lines of care have been given temporary shelter in institutions, care being taken to keep contact with the widower, the father, so as to re-establish the home and home care, ample family budgets being provided to assure quick recovery and return to self-support.

The overseer of the poor has taken part in this committee and the inadequacy of his relief and the lack of social follow-up has become increasingly apparent to him and to the mayor. It has been the means of illustrating to the mayor the type of work that should be done for families by the City Alms Department. The survey by Mr. McLean was done at an opportune time and will be the more convincing to the mayor because of his experience with the influenza follow-up work. The gist of Mr. McLean's recommendations are co-operation of the poor department with the private charities, by the use of the Confidential Social Service Exchange of the Bureau of Associated Charities and a conscientious follow-up of the clues secured; the erection of a Bureau of Family Welfare work within the Poor and Alms Department, with a competent and well-paid personnel—a supervisor at \$2,500, three workers at \$1,500 and a stenographer at \$1,080. Mr. McLean points out that the inadequate relief budget of the department should be made adequate only after the erection of such a bureau. I quote from him: "According to the intelligence with which a family situation is diagnosed, and the plans for the family are made, is it possible to increase the relief if required at all, without fear of the old bug-a-boo of pauperization, which comes through unwise giving?" The survey recommends the creation of an advisory committee composed of representatives of different social agencies in the city, which shall meet at intervals with the mayor, and with the overseer of the poor, either at the call of the mayor or that of the head of the department, or at the request of members of the advisory committee. The purpose of this committee is to assist the department to a more modern viewpoint and to give the mayor and the department the benefit of expert and collective advice. With regard to the division of work the Bureau of Associated Charities, the Bureau of Family Welfare having been created, specific suggestions are made:

a. "Poor and Alms Department to plan (including relief planning) for all families in which tuberculosis, repeated desertion, widowhood not eligible for allowances from the Country, old age, and the chronic physical incapacity of the husband and father, are the most important disabilities.

b. The Bureau of Associated Charities, both directly and from the Department to receive all families applying for the first time in their history, unless the husband or father is dead, or permanently disabled, together with all families in which the husband or father is suffering from temporary incapacity, or incapacity which may be remedied, or from unemployment. Also families in which incomes are apparently insufficient for their needs, or in which no immediate material needs are apparent, but where difficulties between husband and wife, or between parents and children, or grown up daughters or sons, are likely to result in disaster. To the Bureau would be given the task of dealing with families above the line of actual destitution or not badly incapacitated.

c. Both the Department and the Bureau, however, should be at liberty to ask other organizations to assume responsibility and furthermore it is expected that on many cases the Bureau and the Department will work together.

A further suggestion is made for the development of a Council of Philanthropies for the city by increasing the size and field of representation of the present Influenza After-Care Committee, which by a mischance, was, on its organization, given the title of Council of Philanthropies.

I neglected to say that the Advisory Committee of the Bureau of Family Welfare is given the work of developing the proper functioning for each agency, touching families.

I may say that the suggestions of the survey seem to us exceedingly wise, the erection of a family welfare bureau, with limited work (600 cases a year), making it possible to gradually develop better standards in the alms department, the bureau eventually including the whole department. The mayor has called a meeting of the Council of Philanthropies, at which he will present for discussion the survey findings, and he has already publicly pledged himself to a reorganization of the Poor and Alms Department.

The State Board of Children's Guardians

The work of the State Board of Children's Guardians of New Jersey is a distinctly public social service work. It is also distinctly a family work. There are two departments, that of boarding in private homes children who have become public charges and that of administering the New Jersey Widow's Allowance Law, "The Act to Promote the Home Life of Children."

The first of these is the original work of the state board for which it was created. At that time large numbers of children were being cared for in the alms houses of certain municipalities and counties in the state. The act withdrew these children and provided for their placement at board in private homes. The work has been on the whole excellently done and the system is probably one of the best in the country. I only want to emphasize one feature which the board has kept in mind through the years, that of reinstatement in the natural home. The objective of the board is to restore the normal child to its home, whenever such home is reconstituted. In a number of instances where the difficulties in the home were purely economic, the state board has solved the difficulty by boarding the children in their own home. The purposes of the board are sometimes frustrated by the tendency of the overseers of the poor, through whose action only children may be received by the state board, to avoid expense by frightening off the parent. We are aware of many cases where the overseers have definitely misinformed the parents, declaring that the children would never be returned. It may be said in passing that the administrative cost of the state board is paid for from the state treasury, while the board of the children is levied upon the county or municipality from which they come.

Widows' Allowances

The very interesting experiment of Widows' "Pensions," so called, is being tried out in New Jersey. It is in New Jersey distinctly not a "pension," however, but an allowance for the promotion of the home life of the child, rather than a gratuity to the widow. The act was passed in 1913. The administrative cost of the work is covered by a yearly appropriation from the state, while the allowances themselves are paid for by appropriations in the budgets of the twenty-one counties in the state. On the whole, the experiment has been a success. It may be said that those responsible for the act realized from the beginning that the allowance, that is, the economic relief, was only a part of the benefit, and that the follow-up, the advice and supervision—the "service" given to the widows, was of equal importance. As the work has gone on they have realized this increasingly. A large corps of visitors has been built up by the board, but these are still too few to do adequate visiting. The law itself provides for a visit only every six months.

It has also been impossible as yet to district the state and to assign a visitor to a specific territory continuously. *Manifestly it is impossible for the best family social work to be done where there is no continuing personality, but where two or three visitors successively visit the same family.*

Another radical defect of the law is the inadequacy of the allowances made. The courts have power to grant the following maximum sums for children under sixteen:

\$0.00 a month for one child.

\$5.00 a month for the second child.

\$4.00 a month for each additional child.

The maximum pension as far as we know is under \$50 and the average run is \$25 to \$35. No increase has been made since the original adoption of the act in 1913. The charity organization group in New Jersey in conference with the board urged amendment of the law and a bill was drafted and introduced into the last legislature increasing the allowances. This bill failed to pass. In the meantime, the same group have decided, after full consideration, that it is unwise for a charity organization society to step in and supplement a pension, in fact, to take any part in the family planning. The only exception is those families already under the care of the C. O. S. where the society has sought the pension and where the state board accepts the planning and the follow-up work of the society. On the whole, however, the state board seems not to have realized the possibilities for family social work latent in the better private societies, or to have troubled itself to meet these societies half way. There seems to exist the conception of a stone wall between the work of a private society, paid for by voluntary contributions, and the work of a public board, paid for by taxation, but coming from the pocket of the same people who contribute to make the work of private societies possible. In the working out of the larger policies of the new State Board of Institutions and Agencies modification of the work of the State Board of Children's Guardians no doubt will find its place.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

In the informal discussion experiments with adjustments between case working agencies in Grand Rapids, Montreal and Detroit were reported by E. D. B. Lynde, J. Howard T. Falk and Harry L. Lurie.

Mrs. A. H. Burnett of Cincinnati, on request, described the operation of the Social Unit on a district plan in the treatment of social problem cases. All the social workers active within the district form a Social Workers' Council. Meetings of this council are held regularly, and cases involving the co-operation of more than one agency are discussed. A plan of treatment is agreed upon, and the agency responsible for carrying it out, is asked to report back to subsequent meetings of the council. The case is kept open as long as necessary. Diagnosis is based upon information furnished by the nurses and block workers and the basic facts concerning the family (such as names, dates of birth of the members of the family, etc.), which are on file at the organization for all residents of the district.

Others who participated in the informal discussion were: Emily Robinson, Green Bay, Wisconsin; Emil G. Steger, St. Paul, and Amelia Sears, Chicago.

THE TWILIGHT ZONE BETWEEN VOCATIONAL RE-EDUCATION AND SOCIAL SERVICE

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The application of the case worker's method in the field of vocational education is one of the most significant developments in social work during the past year. Faced with the difficult task of replacing in productive employment at least 20,000 men handicapped by the various physical, mental and moral disabilities incident to military life, the government through its various agencies, particularly the Federal Board for Vocational Education, has deliberately chosen to adopt a new method of attacking an educational problem. It is taking as its starting point the man and his needs and not the planning of the curriculum. The novelty of this viewpoint is perhaps best illustrated by the general impression still prevailing among many that the Federal Board is itself a vocational school. To the American mind, organization for education implies the development of courses of study and the employment of teachers to instruct students, who select more or less freely the courses best suited to their needs. Nearly all the energy is put into the organization of subject matter and pedagogical procedure according to preconceived notions based on the estimated needs of typical groups, and nearly all the money is spent in administering and applying such courses thus established. At best, this estimate of needs is based on careful impersonal studies. Only too often, however, it is merely the unconscious reflection of the personal interests and professional preparedness of the instructors. At its worst it represents aimless drifting among the traditions of the past and the fads of the moment.

This systematic mass attack on ignorance and inefficiency is by no means unaccompanied by efforts to adapt general programs to individual needs. Every true educator, both in administration and in advice and instruction, struggles with the system under which he works and seeks at every point to minimize the leveling influence of standardization. Happily, in many fields this is approximately successful. Certainly for many of our educational groups it will be financially a necessity for some time to come. It should be remarked, however, that practically every graduating class from our technical schools, colleges, trade schools, and high schools contains victims of this system of unorganized vocational guidance, and that for every successful graduate there are many who never reach the goal, either because through native intelligence they seek to make individual adjustments unaided or through sheer inertia they drop out and abandon the effort to definitely fit themselves for suitable vocations.

Great Social Waste

If we add to these the well recognized group of men and women whose training has prepared them for mediocre service, when with intelligent advice and planning, at least at critical points, they might have fitted themselves successfully for truly high grade service in vocations better suited to their capacities, we can then form some picture of the social waste due to the emphasis of educational system at the expense of personality.

It is therefore indeed refreshing to see an educational board faced with a problem so highly individualistic as that of the so-called re-education of disabled men as to compel it to throw tradition to the winds and embark on an almost uncharted course full of rocks and shoals, and, shall it be said, pirates—but keeping as its guiding star, the individual adaptation of courses, procedure instruction and instructors to the educational needs of the instructed.

The Federal Board for Vocational Education is definitely, consistently and continuously seeking to adjust our educational resources, particularly in industry and in technical institutions, to meet the needs of the men and is not trying the impossible task of arbitrarily fitting men into established institutions. It is carrying on a truly national experiment in adapting the system to the pupil rather than the pupil to the system. Instead of expending practically all of its funds on the maintenance and operation of educational institutions and a negligible amount on individual vocational advisement and planning, it is devoting a very large share of its expenditures to the latter and a small minimum to the former. In so doing it is making a unique contribution to general education and social advancement on a scale large enough to attract attention and under auspices that compel respect.

An Old Story

This method of procedure is familiar ground for the social case worker. When the vocational adviser sits down with the disabled soldier about to be discharged, or afterwards in his own home, and discusses with the man his future prospects for earning his living in the light of his physical and mental handicaps, he is attempting the familiar "first interview." All the well recognized principles of approach and method have their application, and current experience is demonstrating daily the importance of a good "first interview." It is an interesting sign of professional development among the advisers that the need for readvising is being discovered in so many cases. While there are certain conditions in hospitals and camps over which the first interviewer has no control, such as the dominant desire for discharge, lack of privacy, pressure of work, etc., it remains true that lack of training and inexperience in the art of interviewing is a disturbing factor.

Another sign of progress is the recognition on the part of advisers that the interview in the home of the man, with the family setting in full view is preferable to the one-sided, distorted interview in the hospital. There are many advantages in securing an early interview from the soldier before his discharge, but the consequent minimizing of the family aspects is quite apparent, however unavoidable. The Federal Board's forms, 502-3 reflect this personal view for they call for little or no information regarding the family status. Doubtless later modifications of this blank for use in interviewing the handicapped civilian will appear in due time as states undertake the work.

Resembles Orthodox "Plan"

The arrangement for suitable training to put into effect the recommendations of the adviser resembles closely the social worker's orthodox "plan," both in its definiteness, in its emphasis on the specific elements appropriate to the individual case and in its enlistment of the cooperation of various professional services. The advice of the medical case officer is secured, an employer's viewpoint is sought and a fellow-worker is brought in to consider the case. The addition of the social worker to this group under the guise of a personal service officer is a recent development in Federal Board procedure—interviewing as an indication of the recognition of other factors in the educational process, such as recreation, comfortable lodgings and freedom from economic pressure, and significant as a point of contact for cooperating agencies.

The Federal Board is therefore not only working out a new technique in its fundamental processes of advisement, training placement and follow-up, but it is also distributing the educational load in such a way as to relieve the institution and the teacher giving the technical instruction of much of the burden they are illy prepared to assume unaided. The teacher is thus put in a position where his efforts should be more effective. He has placed at his

disposal, if he knows enough to use them, valuable allies. And best of all, attention is focused on the man himself.

Each Case Has Social Aspect

There has been from the beginning an appreciation on the part of the Federal Board that each individual case had its social aspects. This has been accompanied by a definite policy of cooperation with every agency, public and private that was equipped to supplement its activities. No government body has been so sincerely aggressive and intelligent in bringing to its aid the organized support of interested groups and in making the combined efforts effective. It has worked out with conspicuous success, in the face of discouraging but inevitable obstacles, the very intricate relations with the Bureau of War Risk Insurance, the Surgeon-General's offices of the army and navy and the United States Employment Service. It has enlisted the enthusiastic support of fraternal bodies, notably the Elks' War Relief Commission, and has made definite contact with the organized commercial bodies through the United States Chamber of Commerce and its affiliated members. Early in the brief period of the rehabilitation movement, recognized social leaders had a prominent and influential share in the formation of policies and the shaping and promotion of legislation. Formal agreement of cooperation with the American Red Cross was early entered into and a continuous and effective partnership has been the result.

To the Home Service Sections was committed the "care and oversight of families of men who are entitled to the services of the Federal Board for Vocational Education under the Vocational Rehabilitation Act and for the care of socially dependent soldiers and sailors discharged from the Army or Navy by way of the rehabilitation or cantonment hospitals, or the ports of entry, for whom the Bureau of War Risk Insurance has made no provision." (Memorandum of Agreement between the Federal Board for Vocational Education and the American Red Cross).

Wisdom of Alliance Shown

The history of the past year and the problems now presenting themselves demonstrate the wisdom of this alliance between the educational and social service professions. At every step of the re-education process, social problems have presented themselves and in a very large majority of cases the services of one trained in social case work have been needed, though not always available.

Reference has already been made to the necessary inability of the vocational adviser in the hospital to secure an adequate picture of the family situation. In the case of a man interviewed at his home it has been possible to bring the social case worker into play. In some of the divisions it has been the practice for the Home Service worker to assist the man in filling out his preliminary blanks. In others the attempt has been made, more or less successfully, to make the first interview in place of the adviser. A number of division officers have given valuable assistance by sending advance notice of the prospective visit of a vocational adviser in a certain locality, thereby enlisting cooperation by the local Home Service sections in assembling the men and contributing in other ways to successful interviews. All divisions are notifying district vocational offices of men entitled to vocational training who would otherwise be missed.

The social problems of men in training, particularly in the large centers and at receiving stations, are beginning to claim the attention they deserve. Supervisors of training are struggling with the problem of securing the recreation needed by men making the always difficult transition from military

to civil life under the additional handicap of physical disability. Everywhere are men to be assisted in getting medical attention, men needing financial assistance and men with personal and family problems whose successful progress in the vocational training planned can only be secured through intelligent social case work. The appointment of personal service officers in district vocational offices referred to above is a recognition of these needs, but unless this is supplemented by assistance from outside agencies much of the work will go undone.

Divisions Recognize Opportunity

At this point Red Cross division offices are recognizing their opportunity and are placing at the service of the district vocational offices men qualified for individual case work and fitted by temperament and training for the varied tasks referred to them. Another fruitful source for service attempted by Red Cross division offices is the stimulation of a sympathetic attitude on the part of the family while the man in training is away from home. It takes courage to carry on under such circumstances and if the family can be informed of the plan of training and the attendant successes and discouragements, the proper home support for the program is far more certain.

Little experience is yet available on the forms cooperation may take in supplementing the work of the placement officers in the final steps of the re-education process. It takes but little imagination, however, to anticipate the certainty that such social service will be as imperative as it will be difficult. The final problem will include the rallying of family support in difficult cases, the encouraging of men in unfamiliar and unsympathetic surroundings, and always and everywhere the education of the public toward a sane but sympathetic attitude for the handicapped man.

This reaching out by the educational profession to secure the assistance of men and women skilled in the related fields of social adjustment, and trained in the very method adopted and coupled with the traditionally aggressive ambition of social service leaders to coordinate the efforts of all interested in human welfare and so to fulfill their mission as "social engineers" has resulted in the creation of a common ground for effort—a sort of twilight zone between vocational education and social service, an area none too clearly lighted by the lamp of experience and only too often clouded by the shadows of mutual misunderstanding, ill-advised planning and inexperienced action. But, the field is there, the experience is being acquired and the service, however imperfect, is being attempted. This should serve as a challenge to every social worker. Here is a new field to explore, a new group of leaders to know, a new set of contacts to be established and worked out.

Case Workers Should Be Ambitious

Every family case worker should have an ambition to be increasingly intelligent about the viewpoint and methods of the vocational adviser, the training supervisor and the placement officer. How many of us realize that the physical handicap should be the last thing to be considered by the advisor and not the first. The fact that the man has but one arm is an important consideration but not the first one. The best advisors consider first a man's basic education, his occupational experience, the man himself, his personality, character and capacity, his age, his responsibilities to others, his economic status and the kind and range of associations with others. His disability should be made simply a final limiting consideration. "The whole series of factors should be first given careful consideration and if possible several lines of work suggested which may be followed, using these factors as a guide. The disability should then be considered and those occupations eliminated which cannot be followed, on account of the disability." (Instructions by a Supervisor of Advisement).

Every case worker should be familiar in a general way with the flood of vocational survey material now being published, such as the studies made by the Federal Board and the Red Cross Institute for Crippled Men. He should understand why the attitude of the best training supervisors toward established schools, courses and degrees is one of discriminating and good natured disregard. He should know placement officers' arguments for appealing to employers on a business as well as a social or patriotic basis.

New Kind of Education Developed

This re-education movement is developing a new sort of an educator, a type recruited from schools, shops and business offices with a new attitude toward orthodox educational organization and procedure. Unless the case worker knows this and judges efforts in the light of ideals and not as most people do when estimating the value of an educational reform—through the dim memories of their own personal pedagogical contacts of childhood—he will find himself unable to fulfill his real function as a "social engineer." He will only find himself dealing with people he doesn't understand and for whose ideas he has no intelligent sympathy, which is, of course, fatal to good case work. Neither will his attempt at cooperation be effective if he fails to acquaint himself sufficiently with the procedure of a vocational office to be able to determine the precise points where his service begins. He should know how a vocational office is organized, what records are available, what questions to ask and to whom to address them. Not all this information is now available to the civilian case working agency, but the day seems near at hand when all this experience gained in the nation's efforts to repay a small portion of its debt to its defenders will be extended in the interest of all soldiers of democracy—those disabled by industrial accident and disease or otherwise, many of them veritable heroes in life's battles. There is now pending in Congress, with every likelihood of early passage, bills authorizing the Federal Board to extend financial and professional aid to those states whose legislatures provide for at least equivalent efforts. Already several states have created vocational boards and made appropriations for the re-education of the civilian disabled. The progress of this movement will put squarely up to every family case worker, the responsibilities I have described. And when we think of the possibilities of still further developing this educational experience in the interest of those so differentiated in youth by mental limitations of growth, natural aptitudes or physical capacity as to be truly handicapped in finding and fulfilling useful positions in life—the call is imperative to all interested in the profession of social service.

SOME SPECIAL MEDICAL PROBLEMS IN THE AFTER-CARE OF DISABLED SOLDIERS

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The Federal Government, through the surgeon general's office, has endeavored to make adequate provision for men who have incurred disability or disease while in the performance of their duty. However, a department charged with the responsibility of caring for the physical well being of millions of men, organized under the pressure of a great emergency, and working at top speed, cannot insure careful consideration of the needs of each individual case. The Red Cross, in its work of after-care, acts as intermediary between the surgeon general's office and the community for the purpose of assuring adequate medical care to all men applying for assistance.

In the after-care of discharged soldiers the worker is impressed with ever-increasing force by the serious medical problems presented for solu-

tion. In about fifty per cent of the cases handled during the past year through the after-care department of the Home Service Section, Boston Metropolitan Chapter, American Red Cross, the medical situation was the dominant factor. The readjustment of these men physically, industrially and socially requires the utmost care in treatment, supervision and placement.

Some of our men, returned from service, who have been considered non-compensable by the War Risk Insurance Bureau, and therefore not entitled to vocational training on account of the fact that their condition existed prior, and was not incident, to military service, after months of treatment and supervision, eventually have to be committed to some institution, if a suitable institution exists; because, owing to the particular medical problem involved, they are not fit to remain in the community. Also, men who are incapable of functioning successfully as responsible members of the community, and who are therefore committable, are without supervision and the custodial care which they require, because our social organization at this time is inadequate to cope with the types of problems they present.

In order to illustrate the difficulties presented by this latter group, it is my purpose to outline the case history of a soldier, discharged by reason of mental disability, since it illustrates the problem with which we are confronted, and, to quote briefly the cases of several men for whom we have been unable to do anything in the way of constructive work, owing to the inadequacy of our institutions and present legislation for the care and committal of the mentally deficient.

Sergeant D—, alias W—, alias C—, alias S—, came to our attention in November, 1918. On his initial appearance, he gave the following story. He was fifty-two years of age, had seen twenty-nine years of military service, had participated in the Spanish-American War and the Boxer Insurrection, had gone to the Mexican Border, and had been overseas for a year and a half. He recounted his experiences in France, saying he had been gassed, wounded, and shell-shocked, adding that he had been returned to the United States, and was subsequently discharged from U. S. General Hospital No. 4. This hospital is for the care of the insane. He also stated that for several years before entering the army he had lived on a ranch in Texas, and at one time had been employed in a responsible position by a large business concern.

Subsequent investigation revealed a very different series of facts. The man is thirty-eight years of age, not fifty-two. He has always been known as "Crazy D—," and at the age of eighteen he was actually committed to a state hospital for the insane where he remained a year. There he was diagnosed as an imbecile, and was discharged into the care of the Overseer of the Poor in the city where he lived. By consulting records in the City Hall, Municipal Court, and state institutions, it was found that he had been arrested twenty times, sixteen for drunkenness, twice for arson, twice for larceny, and that he had spent considerable time in our penal and correctional institutions. In January, 1918, he enlisted in the United States Army and was discharged from a government hospital for the insane the following November.

While in Boston he caused so much difficulty that efforts were made to have him examined by two alienists with a view to committing him to our Psychopathic Hospital for observation. These efforts failed completely, for he succeeded in deceiving even the alienists, behaving in an exceedingly plausible manner, under their examination, and living up to his old reputation as "a magnificent liar."

For several weeks our attention was constantly being called to the case of a shell-shocked soldier who was soliciting funds on the streets. It finally became necessary to have a general order issued through the police headquarters directing his arrest if found publicly soliciting funds, and his transference to the Psychopathic Hospital. At this point he disappeared.

A week later he was heard from in Waterville, Maine, where attempts at his commitment proved fruitless. Later, he turned up in Woonsocket and Providence and in New York. The New York Home Service Section endeavored to care for him, but again he disappeared. Word was next received from Kansas City that the man had applied to the Red Cross for transportation to Boston, having, in the meantime, been in various sections of Oklahoma and Texas. A day later a telegram was received from St. Louis duplicating the one received from Kansas City. The Red Cross at St. Louis succeeded in having him apprehended and transferred to the City Hospital for observation. He was subsequently sent to the U. S. Public Health Hospital in St. Louis, but escaped from that institution within an hour after his admission. The man later reappeared in New York City. Before arrangements could be made for his transfer to a Public Health Hospital, he disappeared once more and went to New Jersey.

His next appearance was in New Rochelle where he was apprehended, transferred to the U. S. Public Health Hospital at Stapleton, Long Island, and later to the U. S. Public Health Hospital at Chelsea, Mass., and finally, to Boston Psychopathic Hospital for observation. After ten days observation his case was diagnosed as Psychopathic Personality. He was then sent to the U. S. Public Health Hospital at Danville, New York, and absconded a few days later. The man next appeared in Lynn, Mass., where he requested transportation to New York.

The U. S. public health officials have no authority to detain this man forcibly as a patient. Our state legislation will not permit his commitment to a state hospital for the insane. The doctors who have observed him feel that he is a type of patient who will continue in his wanderings and that little can be done with him except with the interference of the police. There is small hope in this direction, because public sentiment at this time is so indiscriminatingly in favor of the discharged soldier that the police are reluctant to act in such matters.

What is society prepared to do for this man? Is he to continue his life of vagrancy? Is he to be permitted to go about preying upon the sympathies of an unintelligent, and frequently gullable, public? He has traveled the breadth of the United States on money solicited from people, who, no doubt, thought they were doing him an act of kindness, when in reality they were only assisting him to continue living as a social parasite.

*A is an American discharged from the Canadian Expeditionary Forces. He was referred to a hospital where a diagnosis of insane epileptic was given. Then, since the hospital authorities felt that they had an insufficient basis for commitment, the patient not having proved himself a menace while under observation, discharged him. In spite of this, the doctors who observed him felt that he will undoubtedly get into serious difficulties, but they were of the opinion that he could not be committed until he had been guilty of some crime.

B is a British sailor discharged in England, August, 1917. He applied to the Boston Red Cross in July, 1918. He was referred for observation and a diagnosis of moron was made. Because he had been in the United States only three months, an attempt was made through the Immigration Department to have him deported; but on account of the difficulties of deportation, the immigration officials were unable to act at that time. Several months later, on account of suspicious behavior, efforts were made to have him committed to the care of some institution pending the action of the immigration officials. At the moment when the judge was about to render a decision, two women interested in discharged soldiers stepped forward and promised to be responsible for his care, and the judge acquiesced in their proposal. We have since learned that the women were entirely unable to live up to the responsibility that they had assumed, and that the man is going about in various communities preying upon the sympathies of other unenlightened women.

From these illustrations, and from the fact that twenty-five per cent of all applicants have shown a diagnosis of mental disability, it is apparent that the mentally disabled soldier presents a very difficult problem. Furthermore, it is evident that our present social organization is inadequate; that we must have better coördination of our state and national resources, including those of immigration, in order to facilitate the deportation of mentally defective aliens; that we must have more adequate legislation for the care of the insane and feeble-minded, as well as a broader and more intelligent interpretation of present legislation; that proper institutions for the care of such cases are much needed; that we must inaugurate a comprehensive program for the protection of the community from these men, and the men from the community; all of which presupposes an enlightened attitude toward these men and their needs.

The next largest group of disabled men, also representing approximately twenty-five per cent of all applicants, is composed of those suffering from tuberculosis. Army doctors detected the disease in many instances, and the men were either subsequently discharged by reason of physical disa-

*Editor's Note: Mr. Sullivan went on to recount briefly the histories of several other men discharged from military service by reason of mental disability, such as the two illustrations here selected.

bility or sent to one of the government hospitals for treatment. They are entitled to compensation and to vocational training under the Federal Board for Vocational Education if their condition was attributable to service, or, if in the opinion of the War Risk Insurance Bureau, a condition existing prior to enlistment was in any way accelerated or aggravated by service. However, we have found innumerable cases where men have been discharged by reason of demobilization and their discharge papers have stated that their physical condition on the date of discharge was good. In our interviews with these men we have gathered information that led us to believe that they were in need of the services of a lung specialist; and in this way, we have been able to detect the presence of active disease and provide proper sanatorium care for them. It is of the utmost importance that workers coming in contact with all discharged men should make it a point to dwell very largely on the man's medical history while in service and his subsequent medical history, for it is only by this means that we are able to cope with this grave problem.

*A is a soldier, discharged by reason of tuberculosis. He was examined by a physician who stated that his condition at the time was quiescent, and that it was possible for him to enter upon a course of training under the Federal Board for Vocational Education. After our interview, we felt it advisable to have him examined by a lung specialist. The examination showed that he had an active process, and that the course of training outlined for him was wholly inadvisable. Sanatorium treatment was recommended, and he is now in one of the hospitals for the care of tubercular patients.

We realize that many men acquired tuberculosis while in service, and were so anxious to receive their discharge that they deceived the army physicians in order to return home, instead of being sent to a government hospital. The securing of complete medical data may be of the greatest importance, not only in providing adequate treatment, but also that, in cases where the condition is not active, or where the man is predisposed to tuberculosis, we may insure his placement in a position which will in no way jeopardize his physical welfare. This is a service which we owe to the community, as well as to the man, for by doing all in our power to detect the presence of this disease, to that extent we are safeguarding the public health.

A solution of these problems in a state with adequate sanatoria is comparatively easy, but I am informed by workers in various sections of the country that it is almost impossible to get a correct diagnosis in their tubercular cases, and that, when a diagnosis is made there are no provisions for the care and treatment of the patient. This latter difficulty is partially remedied by the present co-operation between the War Risk Insurance Bureau and the Red Cross, for it is now possible to have a discharged soldier, or sailor, in need of sanatorium treatment, sent to one of the government hospitals especially designated for such cases. However, there are thousands of such patients, and in order to insure adequate treatment for all, it is necessary that this service on the part of the War Risk Insurance Bureau be greatly extended.

From our experience during the past year we have found it advisable in every case where a man has seen service overseas to ask him whether he has ever been gassed. Men have come to our attention who have been demobilized, their physical condition at the time of discharge considered good, and yet, we have found in our interviews that they had at one time been gassed, though they were supposed to have recovered, and that there have been after-effects which warrant a very thorough physical examination. It is understood by those who handle such cases that a man might

**Editor's Note:* Mr. Sullivan went on to recount briefly the histories of several other men discharged from military service because of tuberculosis, such as this illustration.

apparently fully recover from the effects of gas poisoning, but after a time there would be a recurrence of many of the symptoms, making it necessary to follow up and supervise all cases of gassing very closely.

We have learned that the most obvious manifestations of gas poisoning are those that affect the eyes, bringing about a condition of conjunctivitis, and those which affect the bronchial tubes, lungs, heart and stomach. We know, furthermore, that a man who was severely gassed often had the added complication of bronchial pneumonia. So we have endeavored to provide a thorough physical examination for all these men, although their discharge papers signified that they were in sound physical condition.

We have observed that men who have been gassed often manifest symptoms similar to those shown by a true epileptic when having a seizure, but the observation of numerous cases of this kind has led us to believe that this symptom of asthenia, amnesia, clonic convulsions and tremors; particularly of the lower extremities, is due to gas poisoning rather than to epilepsy.

In handling these patients, we have sometimes been misled into thinking that the man, owing to his symptoms, was mentally deficient, but often his condition improves with treatment and it is found that he had merely been suffering from the effects of gas poisoning on the central nervous system. It is considered that a patient who has suffered from the action of phosgene gas usually manifests nervous symptoms, due to the want of oxygen and to the presence of carbon monoxide in his system. Major Frederick W. Mott, Fourth London General Hospital, believes that persons of a nervous predisposition are more susceptible to the effects of the carbon monoxide poisoning on the system, to amnesia, disturbances of speech and tremors and show other mental symptoms. "These symptoms so accord with those functional disorders of the central nervous system which have so frequently been found to occur in shell shock with burial that one naturally thinks it possible that while lying unconscious at the bottom of a trench, or dugout, sufficient carbon monoxide is inspired to cause these severe effects on the mind which some of these cases exhibit." From other sources we learn from the frequency and character of the nervous symptoms that the nervous system is severely affected. In mild cases there may be merely a feeling of depression and exhaustion, while in cases of more severe gassing, paresis, paralysis, spasms, coma and delirium may be present.

From the foregoing it is apparent that the greatest care must be exercised in handling these men. If discharged by reason of demobilization—physical condition good—and later found to have some slight after-effects of gas poisoning, they should be given the advantage of specialized industrial placement in order that their condition may not be aggravated or accelerated, and they should be given the benefit of the finest medical skill available to guard against a recurrence of their symptoms.

During the past years our Government has issued many publications on the necessity of conserving our natural resources, but how little we have ever heard about the conservation of our human resources—how little thought we have given to the great waste of human energy which has gone on in our industrial organizations. Men have been prematurely thrown on the industrial scrap heap and have become in many instances dependent upon the community owing to conditions for which they were in no way responsible. Men suffering from disabilities of one sort or another have been maladjusted industrially, and after a few years, owing to the acceleration or aggravation of their disability, have become unfitted for further work. How long are these conditions to endure? Are we going to take advantage of the information which was so forceably brought home to us when the young manhood of our country was summoned for service and when a very large proportion of it was found unfit? If the men were physically unfit

for military service, are we not going to see that they are fitted back into our industrial scheme in positions that will not dissipate their energies? When we stop to think, when we realize, that in the first draft over two million and a half (2,510,706) men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one were examined by the local draft boards and that over 730,000, or 29.11%, were rejected, and that, in addition to these 5.8% of those accepted by the draft boards were subsequently rejected by the examining physicians at the cantonments, then we begin to appreciate how great is the need for a thorough physical examination of all men in industry to prevent their maladjustment, to prevent this dissipation of energy, to prevent this premature ending of the industrial life of so many of our great army of workers.

One must bear in mind that these men rejected by the examining physicians at the cantonments are discharged disabled soldiers, as they had been formally inducted into service before rejection, but they are not compensable and are not entitled to vocational education because their disabilities existed prior, and were not incident, to military service. Are these men rejected by reason of eye trouble (which represented the largest group found physically unfit for service), are these men rejected for defective dentition, ear trouble, hernia, affections of the heart, for tuberculosis, genito-urinary diseases, affections of the joints, muscles and skin, nervous disorders and mental deficiency, are they to return to the community without any provisions for their care, when all necessary information is obtainable? Since they have been found to be unfit for military service, should they be permitted to return to the ranks of the industrial workers and be expected to function efficiently as industrial units without being assured of adequate medical attention and specialized placement in occupations that will not accelerate their existing physical disability?

Many of our large industrial plants are equipped with a medical staff for the purpose of examining all applicants for positions with a view to determining their physical and mental qualifications and assuring that they are properly fitted into that particular industry. Should we not apply these same methods on a national scale? Could not the Government make surveys of all our industries, classifying the occupations according to the amount and type of physical strength needed, and the degree of intelligence necessary to fill the position successfully, and then develop, preferably through a Federal Employment Service, departments for the placement of all men who are in any way incapacitated? By this means we should be fitting the square peg into the square hole; thus preventing a great social and economic loss to our nation, and assuring a maximum degree of physical and mental efficiency to the worker.

Out of this war we have learned many lessons. The men who died were, for the most part, sound and efficient units in our economic life. There is a responsibility resting upon society to profit by its lessons in reconstruction and by intelligent methods increase the efficiency of those upon whom the success of our industrial organization largely depends. During the war we did all in our power to maintain the morale of our khaki-clad army in the great battle for world democracy. Let us now do our utmost to maintain the morale of our great army of industrial workers in the battle of life, and thus conserve the greatest of all resources—human energy.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Miss Grace Harper of Boston called attention to the fact that problems of the cripple appear for the first time this year on the program of the National Conference of Social Work and that one can almost say that the cripple is for the first time being understood by the public in America. She called attention to the advantage gained for the civilian crippled through the focusing of public interest on our crippled soldiers and to the fact that bills have been passed in New Jersey and Illinois, also that one

is under consideration in Pennsylvania, whereby civilian cripples will be trained and placed in employment as the result of special measures adopted in these states. Miss Harper stated that she was of the opinion that the success of the program of the Federal Board of Education will depend greatly upon the "after-care" and follow-up work which may be done by this group. Training and placement in industry accomplish much in the rehabilitation of a crippled man, but in addition to these, he must be guided and supervised until his position in industry has become stable.

Miss Harper referred to the programs of re-education which have been adopted in countries abroad in not only the use of existing institutions, but the establishment of special schools. So far it has not been considered necessary to establish special schools in the United States. Need for reaching the crippled at the earliest possible moment was emphasized, inasmuch as a cripple not only suffers losses physically but losses in ambition and pluck and they settle down readily into an inhibitive state. That America has realized this, has been shown by the fact that sixty workers were employed in canvassing the American hospitals abroad in order to locate cripples at once. Because men who are industrial experts are not necessarily social experts, need was shown for a close co-operation between the Federal Board of Re-education and existing social agencies in order that rehabilitation of a cripple may be in accordance with social work standards. The readaptation of a man to a new kind of occupation is a long process—often takes over a year. All this time whether the man is at a job or in an institution, he should be under close supervision.

Miss Harper confirmed Mr. Sullivan's protest against the lack of suitable institutions for crippled soldiers and civilian cripples, who are not mentally normal, but whose abnormal condition is not such that they can be committed to an insane hospital. She thought it might well be the concern of this Conference to refer the matter to the Mental Hygiene Committee to investigate and make recommendations for legislation which would provide suitable institutional care for cripples who may be in need of it, not only war cripples, but civilians. The need of convalescent homes for men suffering from shell shock was another form of service which should not be neglected.

Rev. John O'Grady of the National Catholic War Council, Washington, said there are four big things to remember in dealing with the wounded men: 1—Training. 2—Proper training. 3—Need of care. 4—Replacement in industry. He called attention to the great inadequacy of the War Risk Insurance Bureau and also to the lack of co-operation between the Surgeon General's Office and the Federal Board and the confusion which results. He stated that he has established two schools in co-operation with the Federal Board—one for illiterate men, another for men whose cases are pending. He called attention to the difficulties in getting medical care because often government regulations ask a man in need of an operation to go to another city for this when he is unable to take the journey. Often the men prefer their own physician to those of the government, yet they cannot have them. In the case of tubercular cases there is now present an opportunity to make a new departure in the care of such—to establish self-supporting colonies of cases such as the Jewish workshops in New York. The National Tuberculosis Association and the Federal Board are now working on such a plan.

Mr. O. G. Finkelstein of Chicago called attention to the fact that discharges are most frequently based upon examinations of army doctors and therefore civilian doctors cannot be too much blamed for the presence in the community of men who should not be at large. He also spoke of the difficulty in cataloging employment resources and the consequent difficulties in placing cripples.

Mr. Paul L. Benjamin of Washington called attention to the fact that the Surgeon General's office has asked the Red Cross to investigate all cases where discharge is requested; that men with mental disease must be sent from army hospitals to the public health hospitals and not discharged directly into the community. He made a plea for the man who is not disabled and yet wants another chance and asks for retraining.

Others who spoke informally were: Mrs. John M. Gienn, New York; Alexander Johnson, Atlanta.

THE RELATIONS OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL CASE WORK

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We are all familiar with the controversy over the question whether the method of science, so successful in the physical field, can be applied equally well in the social field where problems are complex and perplexing. The answer that we make is to point to the modest success we have already had as sociologists and social workers in the beginnings of scientific study and control of social relations.

The Method of Science

But let us consider for the moment what science really is. Inductive science is systematized knowledge of a well-defined group of phenomena, knowledge which derives its orderly arrangement from consecutive application to the phenomena studied of three principles: First, the collection and recording of unbiased observations of facts; second, classification of these facts into series and sequences; and third, induction from these classified facts of generalizations or laws. These three principles of science are the same for all fields of study. Whoever applies them is scientific. They are not the monopoly of the chemist, the physicist, the astronomer or any of the so-called exact scientists. The core of science is method and not material. The subject-matter of science is so varied, ions, bacteria, minerals, men, planets, insects and elephants, that these striking surface contracts often obscure the central feature of method which is everywhere the same. In reality, then, in proportion as these principles have been used, social case work and sociology are as scientific as physics and chemistry. But their practical achievements are less, because the method of science has not been applied for so long a time to the study of social phenomena.

Let us take an example of the application of the scientific method. Our present knowledge of the motion of planets is a result of laborious collection of the necessary facts. The positions of a certain planet in the heavens were carefully observed on a certain day. Observations were reported at intervals on subsequent days. These observations were eventually classified in such a way as to show the successive positions occupied by a planet during its course. The final step in scientific method was the discovery of some formula which explained the consecutive positions occupied by a planet. Kepler found that, assuming each planet to move around the sun in an ellipse, the successive positions of planets could be explained. As the test of this principle is invariably satisfactory, Kepler's hypothesis is now regarded as a scientific law.

Theoretically, scientific method begins with observation, but practically, because the multitude of phenomena is so great, the scientific imagination is called in to supply a provisional hypothesis. This aids study by limiting the field of observation and facts are collected to prove or disprove the consequences deduced from the hypothesis. Thus the number of facts to be examined become manageable.

Hypotheses are frequently suggested by analogy. Analogies are proverbially dangerous. They are dangerous only when the hypotheses they lead to are not subjected to the acid test of fact. Indeed, analogies are often fruitful sources of working hypothesis. They are never dangerous or even an initial source of biased observation if frankly tested by facts. To conclude this point, then, although it sounds paradoxical to say so, theoretically we begin scientific investigation with observation, that is, with concrete thought, practically we begin scientific investigation with theoretic consideration, that is, with hypotheses.

Science in Social Case Work

What of the scientific aspects of social case work? Social case work is the differential treatment of the human personality in misfortune. Because it is a human being, and a human being in distress, that case work deals with, it is most difficult to observe without bias. As Professor Keller says, "A man can count the legs of a fly and report his findings without having his heart wrung because there are too many or too few." But it is difficult to keep our sympathies and emotions within control when dealing with human material, we repeatedly confuse subjective valuation with objective facts.

How may we get into our observations of human beings in distress a dispassionate objectivity which shall not, however, be purchased at the expense of dulling the edge of the sympathetic imagination? In general the answer is, we must use our scientific imagination to seek explanations and our sympathetic imagination to preserve understanding.

Let us examine for a moment the procedure of the physical scientist for getting objectivity into the observations of his phenomena. In astronomy, the telescope and camera are familiar instruments of observation. The telescope provides the magnifying power which makes it possible for the human eye to see clearly far distant planets. The light-gathering power of the telescope brings within the field of observation, stars which are too faint for the human pupil to see. The camera makes a record of the form and surface detail of planets, and long exposure of the photographic plate brings out objects not seen through the telescope by the human eye.

Now the fundamental principles of these scientific instruments of observation are: First, they extend the power of the senses; second, they objectify the records of observations, by permitting quantitative expression for qualitative facts. Color differences, clearly qualitative concepts, and hence susceptible of erroneous reports because of the subjective differences of observers, may be reported in quantitative terms by counting the light vibrations. For the different colors have different rates of vibration. Thus it is possible to measure qualitative differences in quantitative terms.

Case Work as Scientific Observation

How does the technique of social case work exemplify these principles of making observations in an objective way? Mr. Porter R. Lee has criticized the case record as too much a diary of how the case worker has spent her time and too little a statement of facts upon which treatment is being based. In so far as this criticism is valid, the case record in question indicates a subjective and not an objective approach to the problems. Assuming that the case worker heeds the warning and makes her record a report of facts of treatment, there is still danger that her statement may be in qualitative and not quantitative terms, and hence unsatisfactory. True scientific objectivity comes when qualitative terms are reduced to the quantitative.

The following examples of quantitative expression for qualitative differences in social case work are worth considering. The social agency which relies upon the advice of its expert dietitian, when it comes to working out the food budget of the family in calories and food values, is objectifying its methods of study and treatment by quantitative expressions of qualitative differences in food standards of living. The milk clinician who prescribes a certain constant temperature for the milk considers the bacterial count, and suggests the best formula for the baby, is also contributing quantitative modes of expression for qualitative differences in food standards.

There are other examples of the quantitative method of observing personal and social facts of a client's life which have been hardly used thus

far by social case workers. Professor Commons has developed a score-card for use in housing investigations. This score-card differs from the usual schedules for housing in that he attempts to provide a measure for such qualitative aspects of the problem as location, which he analyzes into certain elements and assigns to each element an arbitrary weight. Since the same system of weights is applied to all dwellings studied and each is graded according as it conforms to the best standards, a quantitative basis of comparison is thus worked out for qualitative differences. We may, of course, criticize the method of weighting, but the validity of comparison under these conditions is established. Mr. Perry, following the same general principle, has developed an interesting score-card for measuring qualitative differences in the manner of living among working-class families. He establishes as an arbitrary standard a certain number of chairs and other articles of equipment to be found in the kitchen, dining room, parlor and bedrooms of the immigrant family. A certain weight is attached to each article, if present. In this way, quantitative expression, although an arbitrary expression, it is true, is found for qualitative differences, and in this case as in the other, comparisons are valid since the weights are constant. These score-cards may be suggestive to social case workers as forecasting new and promising methods of getting objectivity into their social observations through converting qualitative differences into quantitative terms. Who knows, some genius may yet propose a system of weighting by which a "normal family" can be recognized on sight and other cases graded accordingly.

Quantitative expression for social facts is in its beginning, and yet a considerable degree of objectivity has been obtained by the more familiar technique of social case work. The procedure of the good first interview in which efforts are made to gain the confidence of the client and incidentally in this process to get the client to drop clues for subsequent investigation, is an attempt at gaining objectivity. The technique of using sources of information outside of the family is also a good example of an effort to avoid subjectivity in observation. In so far as the testimony of expert witnesses is relied on—for example, the diagnosis of physical condition by the doctor, the examination of the dentist and the oculist and the diagnosis of mental condition by the psychologist or the psychiatrist, more accurate methods of observing and recording the circumstances of the case are used than result from a record of the opinions of the worker himself. In this way subjectivity in the case record is avoided by the substitution of psychological terms or medical terms having specific meaning for the general or vague terms of the popular vocabulary.

The Role of Classification and Generalization

So far we have considered the extent to which social case work has been able to develop a technique of making objective observations. But unbiased observations are only the first step in scientific method. What of the underlying hypothesis? What of the method of classifying data? What of inductive generalization?

It is easy to fall into error in making the initial hypothesis. Some social workers may give undue weight to intemperance, some may be in the habit of looking for other ear-marks of neglect or need or immorality. There is often unwillingness to subject the hypothesis to the acid test of facts. The mature and experienced worker regards an initial hypothesis as at best provisional, and is ready to adjust to the circumstances.

To what extent has social case work contributed a system of classification for sorting out its data? We recognize the sick and feeble-minded, the psychopathic, the fatherless family, the non-support and desertion case, the illegitimate family, the neglected and the dependent child, the delinquent child, the homeless, and so on. Failure to make proper classification of the

case may involve failure of the device of self-help. Self-help must be psychologically possible in order to secure complete rehabilitation. Sometimes classification becomes the end of differential treatment. The case rests with classification. Dr. Brannick has called attention to the unfortunate tendency of some social case workers, once the client is diagnosed as feeble-minded, to consider treatment practically settled from that time on. This is failure to recognize the personalities and the individualities of the feeble-minded. For the same grade of mentality, there may be considerable variations in temperament and disposition, and all of these should be made the basis of careful study and differential treatment. It should always be remembered that classification is in reality only the point of departure for new study of each particular case. Individualization is not completed by correct classification, it has just begun. When investigation rests satisfied with classification alone, it makes classification an end in itself. Classification is after all only a means to an end, its proper place is to contribute to scientific treatment. When it ceases to become a means to an end and is the end itself, it hinders progress.

What of inductive generalization when classification has been satisfactorily completed? Social case workers have accumulated in case records great quantities of observations of social facts. Wherever the technique is scientific, valuable data for classification and inductive generalization have been gathered. There is great need for the study of this material, its analysis, classification and comparison. Results of such study should throw light on procedure, and more than this, may often supply the basis in fact for the discovery of some principles of human relations that have the universal validity of a scientific law. It is true that a few interesting studies of case records have been made, but these are only a beginning.

The Place of Case Work in the Science of Sociology

Evaluation of the technique of social case work shows, I believe, that social case work is an instance of the development of a scientific technique for making unbiased observations of the human beings in distress. The investigation procedure of social case work is not an example of a scientific technique of classification and inductive generalization. The classification categories of case records which are scientific are mostly those supplied by the doctor, the psychiatrist or the trained expert. Inductive generalizations from case work which are truths of universal human validity are rare. The technique of social case work is then a scientific technique of making social observations.

Let me make clear the significance of the complete method of science by giving an example of the application of its three principles to the study of social relations. Dr. Engel, a German statistician, gathered together data showing the expenditure of German working-class families. He classified these figures as expenditure for food, rent, fuel and light, sundries, and so on. A study of the classified material led to the induction of the following generalizations: As income increases a smaller percentage is spent for food; the percentage outlay for clothing is approximately the same whatever the income; the expenditure for rent, for fuel and for light remains practically constant whatever the income, and the percentage outlay for sundries increases with increase of income. Subsequent studies of standard of living among workingmen's families in America are found to confirm the first and fourth of these conclusions. Moreover, according to American experts, there is considerable variation in expenditure for rent, fuel or light, and the expenditure for clothing grows larger as income increases. While Engle's law of income is a generalization of less exactitude than those of physics and chemistry, it is none the less an example of the consecutive application of the three principles of the scientific method.

Social case workers should not rest satisfied with contributing a scientific technique to the first step of science. They should raise their eyes to the possibilities of the successive steps. Caution in making generalizations is the first mark of the scientific mind, but caution can be carried so far as to stifle scientific progress. Social case work deals with concrete human situations demanding prompt action. Social workers, therefore, praise the value of concrete thought, but in so doing, perhaps, underestimate the value of theoretic thought. But concrete thought and theoretic thought take on meaning and hold promise of achievement only when you pass from the concrete to the abstract. It is futile to uproot them from their setting. They are significant only when dynamically connected. The practice of beginning with theory and passing on to more abstractions and then back again to some application of a principle to a concrete case is truly a vicious circle, but the procedure which begins with a tentative hypothesis about a problem, passes on to observation and concludes with a generalization derived from experience is a virile circle.

Social Casework as Applied Sociology

Having considered the scientific aspects of social case work, let us now discuss more specifically the relations of sociology and social case work. One way of stating the relationship of social case work to sociology is to say that social case work is applied sociology. The line between a pure and an applied science is not a hard and fast one. As a rule the pure science studies general principles. An applied science is concerned with the applications of these principles to definite cases. Social work deals with concrete situations. It is an art requiring great skill of performance. It necessarily involves concrete thought. We have already found that concrete and theoretic thought become dynamic with possibility of achievement only when connected with one or another. I believe that achievement in the control of social forces for human advantage will come in proportion as concrete thinking of social workers is linked up with the theoretic considerations of sociology.

But, you may ask, do social case workers and sociologists after all deal with the same type of social phenomena? According to our initial definition of science, do they deal with one well-defined group of phenomena? To my mind the answer is definitely affirmative. Both social case work and sociology deal with problems of adjustment raised by social contacts and social relations. To make this statement more concrete let us consider what the social case worker and the sociologist do. Social case work I have alluded to as the differential treatment of the human being in distress, the procedure of individualizing the human personality in misfortune. A social case worker seeks to restore normal standards and raise human beings who are in distress to the level of standards which prevail in the community at the time. Note the word *standards*. Although social case work deals with human beings in concrete situations, it is concerned with establishing through the agencies of self-help and modified environment, the conditions that will permit individuals to rise to the *prevailing standards* of the time—standards of living, hygienic standards, economic standards and ethical standards. In short, social case work deals with such intangible things as standards, conventions, customs and tradition. It deals with psychic things, spiritual things, if you will. But this is just what the sociologist investigates. He studies the origin, growth and development of social customs, standards and traditions. He is concerned with the evolution of present standards from humble beginnings through the intermediate stages to recent days. No other system of knowledge has done this. Politics, economics, ethics, even psychology treat of those massed and correlated psychic ways variously known as social customs, standards and traditions, if at all, only as incidental to

their own special subject-matter. We may conclude, then, that sociology and social case work treat of the same problem phenomena: The sociologist dealing with the principles of the evolution of social standards; the social worker dealing with the principles which are involved in re-establishing normal social standards in concrete cases.

The Give and Take Between Social Case Work and Sociology

What may social case work contribute to sociology? In the first place, contemporary data to check its generalizations. Sociologists are prone to make wide generalizations. These generalizations are often induced from logical systems of classification, but the material which is classified is not always made up of accurate and unbiased observations, because it is usually historical records of observations made by others. The reason is that sociologists have been trained in the library rather than in the field. This is at once a necessity and a disadvantage. They have been trained to use the historical method of investigating documentary sources because they study the historic background of modern problems. The historical method is a technique of observing social facts just as case work is a technique of observing social facts, but the historical method is a technique of drawing inferences from the observations of others made in the past.

The social case worker starts with observation of facts. The sociologist, since his concern is social evolution and he must use the historical method, begins with a *study of traces of psychological operations of others* and he is lucky if he concludes with a fact. It is necessary for him to consider whether the documentary source is an original or a copy. If it is an original, was the author located in time and place to actually observe or did he get his knowledge through hearsay? If he observed directly, was he a trained observer or just a witness? Are there any reasons to suspect his motive in reporting the incident? Was he a competent witness by virtue of mental condition? and so on. You see that there are many sources of error and hence great difficulty in securing sound inductive generalization. By contrast, the social case worker contributes to sociology, contemporary social data with which to check its generalization. But more than this, social case work contributes to sociology a partly perfected technique of directly observing social facts, which should be a useful supplement to the technique of historical method.

What does sociology contribute to social case work? Sociology shows what social conditions are susceptible of modification through human action and those which are not. This helps to conserve effort to be exerted where most effective. Pure sociology shows how difficult it is to modify social structure and how established most social structures are. Now social work often involves modification of social structure. In order to do this, it is necessary to know the nature of the structure. The study of sociology shows how particular structures have come into being and how they evolve. It shows that social structures of long standing can not be immediately abolished or abruptly changed. Knowledge of modifications that are probably possible helps to avoid the passing of laws that are unenforceable.

Knowledge of how great a gap there is between the standards set in reform laws and popular standards of a time and place is knowledge of practical value. The unenforceable law is a menace because it breaks down respect for law in general, and undermines confidence in the judgments of specialists. It is not even educational because true education is never secured by social coercion from without, but only by self-restraint and self-control. If a considerable majority of the people will not voluntarily restrict their freedom of action in accordance with the law, then the law is worthless.

The study of sociology thus supplies a scientific background for social case work. *It provides the basis of self-orientation for the worker with individuals and families.*

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Mrs. Ada Eliot Sheffield of Boston said, in opening the discussion: Dr. Chapin has called our attention to the fact that social case workers, while trained to observe and collect facts, fall short in classifying those facts and in drawing generalizations. He makes the point that case workers need to generalize or make hypotheses as a condition of becoming really keen in observation. If now case workers are to lay an increasing emphasis on the study and adjustment of character, then we must develop a kind of observation which especially enlists hypotheses about human nature.

Perhaps I can best discuss Dr. Chapin's paper by offering a concrete illustration of this point. Not long ago a case-worker in discussing a difficult girl upon whom she had spent much thought remarked to me, "Mary is malicious."

"Just what do you mean by malicious?" I said.

"Well," she answered, "Mary has a way of saying things to me that are just this side of impertinent. She is quite clever at making the sort of nettling remark which one cannot notice without appearing petty. For instance, only last week she said that she wished she could have for her visitor Miss Blank (naming another worker); she thought she could do much better with her."

As my friend had shown infinite patience and devotion in dealing with Mary, this naturally annoyed her. My own comment, however, was that many of our own friends, people of character and education to which this girl cannot lay claims, say things which are closely analogous to that remark of Mary's. I instanced Miss Robinson, a social worker whom we both knew and liked, and who on several occasions had said things in my hearing of much the same sort as Mary's remark. My friend replied that she thought in Miss Robinson's case such remarks were a kind of defensive symptom of unassured self-esteem. "Exactly," I answered, "but why are they not the same in the case of Mary?"

As the comparison between Mary and Miss Robinson has been brewing in my mind the explanation which occurs to me is this: Miss Robinson is a person with claims to importance which she has not altogether the power to realize. When in contact with other social workers who say things which she feels she might well have said or who accomplish things which she might have been in the position to accomplish, she feels at a disadvantage. This makes her try to stabilize her own self-esteem by remarks tending to pull down the self-esteem of her companions. Mary also is a person who likes to be the center of interest. As she does not conduct herself according to Hoyle, my friend is frequently obliged to call her attention to the ways in which she is failing. This makes her, too, feel at a disadvantage.

The hypothesis then is that any person with a sense of importance beyond his ability to justify is likely to try to maintain his own self-esteem by saying things to lessen the self-esteem of others. This hypothesis may or may not prove valid, but at any rate, it is a working hypothesis. Had my friend had such a tentative generalization before her in dealing with Mary, she would have become more observant as to the occasion on which Mary made unamiable remarks, and as to the provocations under which she made them. This result would have followed whether the hypothesis proved valid or not. The holding of such a tentative explanation of Mary's trait would also affect her treatment of Mary. If you think a girl malicious, there is nothing to do about it, so far as I can see, except hit her over the head; if you think of her as unconsciously trying to ease the discomfort of an ebbing self-esteem, you become on the emotional side pitiful and on the intellectual side comprehending.

Miss Mary E. Richmond of New York expressed the appreciation of the social case workers for Professor Chapin's able and suggestive presentation of his subject. He had pointed out an undoubted weakness of the historical method, in that the historian does have to depend upon the observations of others. But was not a part of what passes for science equally dependent upon second-hand observations? There was an amusing incident connected with a certain Cold Spring Harbor Eugenics Chart, in which a eugenicist had attempted to chart her own family heredity with the aid of a maternal aunt, who had always been regarded as an authority on the family. In all probability that chart was now being kept in cold storage for the benefit of future generations. Long after it had been filed, however, the maternal aunt had let the cat out of the bag. She had said, "Yes, I was very glad to tell Sarah about the family. But, of course, there were a number of things I did not tell her—things that it would not have been proper for a young girl like Sarah to know." Surely, the scientist could profit occasionally by greater familiarity with the evidence tests of the historian.

Professor Chapin had urged the importance of contributing through case work and its recording to the body of data upon which sound social generalizations could be made. The obligation was a genuine one but one that case work could not begin to meet until it had agreed upon and begun to use a terminology common to all its various forms. She had urged this need upon the attention of the Pittsburgh Confer-

ence two years ago, and believed that steps should be taken promptly to strengthen the present poverty-stricken condition of case workers' vocabulary.

Dr. Richard C. Cabot of Boston: We have heard an interpretation of the relations of science to social case work. As a medical man I know well the services of science, the disasters and follies of empiricism, and the advances and securities made possible by good scientific method.

But science is enveloped by art. In music one begins with an instinctive untaught aptitude. Of itself it carries us but a little way. Science takes this raw skill and subjects it to a discipline. Sometimes this discipline stereotypes, formalizes, dessicates the original talent. Then we have left a mere technique, a vocal method, a digital dexterity, almost valueless. But there may come upon this frozen soul a *secondary spontaneity*, in case art returns with science incorporate within it.

So in social or medical case work we begin with an aptitude; we acquire a scientific method, and then, if all goes well we incorporate this method into the living spontaneity of art,—no less spontaneous because it has now taken in and assimilated a science. We become human again even if we have passed through, as students do, the mechanical and dried-up stage when science has killed off impulse, stifled freshness, limited sympathy. Again and again, if we live long enough and have the energy and the opportunity, we may pass through this cycle, renew not only our youthful freshness of interest but, on the way, renew our adolescent awkwardness,—the scientific stage. For adolescence, like the callow student, has too many facts on its hands,—more than it can deftly handle. With each new course of scientific discipline we become unhandy for a time. But if we master the new ideas they soon cease to hamper us. Our art returns enriched.

Another caution for those who would improve their social case-work through familiarity with sociology:—We must not forget that sociology has developed under the dominance of certain evolutionary and biological concepts whose yoke it has not yet wholly thrown off. It is still adolescent in its awkwardness in the use of such a concept as adaptation. Adaptation means becoming fit. A key fits a lock so that it can rest there. The locksmith adapts it and all is well. But people can get so well adapted to their environment that they are no earthly use. Social work does not aim to produce people who are passive, pacific, contentedly and smooth functioning in the prison of things as they are. Social work wants to enhance life and one of the things life often does is to remake and reform its environment or, failing that, to smash it. Professor Henderson's masterly book on "The Adaptation of the Environment" has made this clear anew. Perfect adaptation is not a human ideal. It is a mechanical one. The ooze on the ocean floor is now adapted, I suppose, to its environment for a good many thousand years to come. But active life is forever choosing, constructing, destroying, reforming its environment. Not even to himself does one want to be permanently adapted. That is to settle down like a mollusc or a middle-aged loafer. One breaks up his over-perfect adaptation again and again as long as there is life in him.

THE FUTURE OF RED CROSS HOME SERVICE

J. Byron Deacon, Director-General of Civilian Relief, American Red Cross, Washington

I have in mind the story of the two negroes who at nightfall crawled down over a pier into a little boat and fell asleep. During the night the rocking of the boat sawed asunder the rope and the boat floated across the lake. In the morning, when Hezekiah awoke, he was filled with wonder and astonishment, and, calling to his partner, he said: "Rastus, Rastus, wake up; we ain't here no mo'."

Now, ladies and gentlemen, always before in gathering of home service workers we have come together for the purpose of talking about our very pressing problems of organization and administration and what to do for families; but "we ain't there no mo'." We have floated over to the further shore of the lake. Our present concern is primarily respecting the future of home service; and it is upon that subject which I shall speak to you.

I speak with a good deal of embarrassment for the reason that the time limit prompted by consideration of you and of the other speakers makes it necessary for me very ruthlessly to condense what I have to say. Consequently, many things I shall merely mention, because they must be mentioned by one attempting to present this subject at all, whereas I should have prepared to discuss them fully. At one of the sessions of this conference held a day or so ago an ardent social worker arose from the floor and plead with

the speakers to be concrete. He said: "Make your presentation concrete. I, for one, have a concrete head." In no uncomplimentary sense of the term, I assume that you have concrete heads. I ask you to believe that I shall try to speak forth frankly and just as fully as time permits all that I have in mind respecting the future of home service.

When, a little over two years ago, President Wilson requested the American people to center in the hands of the Red Cross, so far as possible, war relief work for civilians, he placed upon the Red Cross a responsibility for human welfare which I suppose was vastly greater than has ever been undertaken by any other humanitarian agency anywhere at any time. The Red Cross, as you know, went extensively into work for civilians in France, Belgium and Italy; it also went extensively into the work for soldiers' and sailors' families, which has come to be known as home service—a work undertaken for the double purpose of maintaining the morale of our fighting forces and of contributing to the welfare of their families.

Achievements of Home Service

If it were my purpose to chronicle achievements, I would pause to tell you that seven hundred thousand soldiers' and sailors' families thus far have been under the care of home service sections—three hundred thousand families now being under care. I would tell you that our working forces consist of thirty thousand home service workers, twenty-eight thousand of them volunteers. I would tell you of the training provided through home service institutes, in which eighteen hundred students have completely acceptably the prescribed courses. I would dwell particularly, because I think it is significant, upon the fact that home service has extended to thirty-seven hundred places in the United States; that is, thirty-seven hundred chapter head-quarter communities have home service sections. Taking into account the branches, it extends to fifteen thousand communities, only three hundred of which, prior to the coming of home service, had any general family social work agency. Twenty-nine hundred of these communities are of a population less than eight thousand.

I would present all these data, not merely as a proud record of achievement, although it is that; not merely as evidence of a stupendous success in social service organization, although it is that; but, rather, I would present them, in all humility, as a measure of our present responsibility and our future opportunity.

It is relevant to this discussion, however, to state that, speaking by and large, home service has successfully accomplished its end, it has succeeded in providing with measureable success for the needs of soldiers' and sailors' families. I would call your attention to the fact that there has been no appreciable duplication of the work of home service anywhere, at any time, and that this is in marked contrast to what every social worker would naturally have expected; for what with the popularity of service to soldiers' and sailors' families, it would have been quite reasonable to suppose there would have been everywhere, numerous groups working unrelatedly, with resultant chaos. No such thing has taken place. Moreover, there has been no appreciable criticism of home service.

I think the significance of those facts is this: It can mean only that home service has proved an acceptable service to soldiers' and sailors' families, and not only to them, but to the general public as well.

Conditions Under Which Home Service Developed

To be sure, the conditions under which home service developed were particularly favorable. What were some of these conditions, not to mention all?

First—Home service developed in a period of patriotic fervor, the "Win the War" and the "Do Your Bit" spirit stirred people to the depths of their being.

Second—Helping soldiers' and sailors' families was a popular service.

Third—The Red Cross was a popular agency. It symbolized compassionate humanity in a war-mad world. It offered millions of people a practical outlet for their service energies.

Fourth—There were ample funds for the work, and their source was democratic.

Fifth—There was a clearly defined, limited, unoccupied field—the field of service to soldiers' and sailors' families.

Sixth—The name, "Home Service" was felicitous, free of obnoxious suggestion of patronage, of charity.

Seventh—Social agencies and social workers were promptly and generously cooperative. They found in home service a congenial and natural outlet for the best war service they had to offer, namely, their training and experience.

And, finally, the Red Cross wisely built its home service structure on the sound foundation of local responsibility and local control; the national and division offices of the organization functioning merely to stimulate, co-ordinate and standardize, to provide training for workers, to provide workers tools for their work.

I suppose there never again may be such a favorable combination of circumstances for the development of a social movement.

That thought leads naturally to the queries: First, if the Red Cross embarks upon a peace-time program, will these favorable conditions continue present? And, second, is their continuance indispensable to success? Manifestly, patriotic fervor has subsided; but I ask you may there not have grown out of patriotism a deeper, broader fellowship, a clearer, sharper, service-urge among our people? If so, and I have faith to believe it is so, for myself I shall be well content to accept in lieu of patriotic ardor the spirit of fellowship and the will to serve as the twin engines to drive our work.

Will Red Cross continue popular? Will funds come abundantly? Clearly, these are questions which must be left to the test of time, to the determination of the public; and I believe, may be, left there with entire confidence of an affirmative answer.

So far as home service is concerned, manifestly the popularity of service to soldiers' and sailors' families will eventually, and before long, disappear; and with the passing of the soldiers' and sailors' families will go, too, the advantage of a clearly defined, limited field.

Will social agencies and social workers continue co-operative? To one who knows them it is unbelievable that they will not. Much that is best in the Red Cross they have built. The Red Cross has afforded them an opportunity to come on to common ground, to make common cause for the common weal, with larger and more representative groups of people than they had ever previously had an opportunity to work with. Social workers have learned the necessity of carrying the public with them. The Red Cross offers them an unparalleled opportunity of joining hands with the public in a genuine community of interest.

I think it goes without saying that we shall wish to sit down with social workers around a common table, when plotting out and fostering the program of future home service work, realizing that only so can we build wisely and well.

As for our name, "Home Service" and our fundamental principle of building upon a foundation of local responsibility and control, these will characterize our work in the future as they have in the past.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I have ventured to speak briefly of these

matters because I believe they lie at the very root of the things which the Red Cross is planning to do.

Home service, then, war-born, bred as an emergency measure, favored by conditions I have mentioned, within two years has spread to all parts of the United States; it has extended, as has no other social movement, into the small towns and the open country; it has served a constituency larger, more democratic, than was ever served before by a voluntary agency. It has based its service upon the essentials of the family case work method; it has demonstrated, I believe, that this method is a tool which many people can be taught to use, and not merely an instrument of precision which only a specialist can handle with safety. It has operated on the principle of local responsibility and local control. It has brought to communities previously unaware of them a dawning perception of social needs and social obligations. It has developed an appreciation of training for service and a demand for trained service.

In the larger places, places relatively rich in social agencies before the war, home service, under leadership invariably derived from established social agencies, has contributed to the stability of those agencies and to the maintenance of standards by relieving the agencies of an immense volume of work growing out of the war. It has created new assets for these communities through the large number of previously undiscovered volunteers which it has enlisted, and through demonstrating to a larger public the validity of the very methods which the established case-working agencies are using.

Home Service in Time of Peace

And now comes peace and a sight of the end of our war-time tasks. Our home service folk, good workmen as they are learning to be, have no thought of resigning their posts until the pledges of the Red Cross to soldiers' and sailors' families are fully and finally discharged. What then? Shall home service cease? That, ladies and gentlemen, is a question which has been convincingly answered by the home service workers themselves. In the weeks immediately before the signing of the armistice, and particularly in the period since then, from Maine to Oregon, from Michigan to Texas, evidence impressive in volume and character has come to Red Cross division and national offices, evidence indicative of a desire, not infrequently of a decision, to carry on home service as a continuing peace-time activity. This evidence, be it said, was in the main unsolicited. The demand to continue home service is properly to be characterized as national in scope. It was most insistent from those places where, prior to the establishment of home service, no organized form of community-wide, neighborly service existed. It was most insistent from the small community, which comes to the same thing.

The practical question was not, then, shall home service go on? but, shall home service go on under the Red Cross? And that question has been decided in the affirmative. I shall not burden you by attempting to detail the processes by which that decision was reached. Suffice it to say that the decision was reached deliberately, after mature consideration, and after full consultation with competent advisers, outside the Red Cross as well as inside the Red Cross.

Policies for Extending Home Service

The national organization, then, having responded affirmatively to the desire of home service sections to continue, it became necessary to formulate certain general policies for their guidance in extending into peace-time activities. These policies are:

First—That peace-time activities should not be undertaken while they will hamper the prompt, efficient discharge of the responsibility which the Red Cross has assumed to soldiers' and sailors' families.

Second—No peace-time work should be undertaken which will compete with or absorb the work of any other social agency organized and equipped to cover the field which the home service section considers entering, or which does not clearly address itself to an unmet social need.

Third—The chapter will assume in the future, as it has in the past, full responsibility for providing personnel, funds and facilities for home service work.

Fourth—So long as the work is done in the name of the Red Cross, it must accord with the standards set by the Red Cross.

Fifth—The Red Cross will not seek to perpetuate home service as an integral part of its organization, but will leave each chapter free to establish it independently of the Red Cross, at any time it seems advisable to do so.

How should a home service section proceed when it wishes to undertake peace-time work? First, it should apply to the chapter executive committee, outlining the proposed activity and submitting evidence as to need, avoidance of duplication and assurance that soldiers' and sailors' family work will be safeguarded. In formulating its plans, the home service section will wish, naturally, to take counsel with representatives of responsible social agencies.

Second, if the chapter executive committee approves the application, it should recommend affirmative action by the division manager and the division director of civilian relief.

Third, provided the application looks only to extension within the field of family social work, the division manager and division director of civilian relief, acting together, will decide the matter in the light of the data submitted, or with such supplementary information as they may deem it necessary to obtain. All they decide, of course, is whether the name of the Red Cross may be used. No one in the division office, or at national headquarters, can put an embargo upon the continuance on an independent basis of any activity which the Red Cross has undertaken in war time and which the community desires to continue.

Fourth, provided it is proposed to enter other fields of community service than the family social work field, the division office is asked to refer the application to the general manager and to the director general of civilian relief for decision. This is done for two reasons: First, in order that there may be no unwitting extension into fields covered by other national agencies; and, second, in order that, as the work diversifies, the Red Cross may add to its staff whatever specialists may be necessary for counsel and leadership.

Now, as to relations between the chapter on the one hand, and the division and national offices on the other; presumably they will continue to be very much what they have been thus far, except that as war-time international relief obligations decline, the time and energy of chapter groups will be released for local work. Consequently, when that time comes, the chapters will no longer engage in made-to-order activities, but will necessarily assume more initiative and more responsibility for determining what their jobs shall be. It would seem obvious that as chapter production declines and local social service programs being to operate, that chapter organization and chapter personnel will change.

So far as home service is concerned, the national and division organizations will continue their advisory, co-ordinating relationship; they will continue to provide means of training workers and to provide workers tools for their work. Specialists will be made available to advise and assist chapters in planning their programs, adjusting their organization to new tasks and in working out relationships with other social agencies.

For the benefit of home service section workers, present, let me say that you may confidently count upon the national and division offices of the Red

Cross to back you, to serve, you, even more fully, if you wish, in the future than in the past.

Work for Families

What activities may chapters undertake in the name of Red Cross home service?

First, they may do social work with families; they may serve their communities as general family social work agencies, where that field is not covered by other agencies, and it is not covered in ninety per cent of the places where home service is now operating. Where general family social work agencies exist, home service may engage in specialized forms of case-work, if needed and desired; as, for example, the work of home and school visiting, the work of the visiting teacher. That is a field of service which requires a type of training which many of our home service workers have had, and it is a field which perhaps presents richer constructive social possibilities than are to be found in the types of families which general family social agencies commonly deal with. It goes without saying that this work should not be undertaken without the full approval of the Board of Education, and it should not be undertaken in those communities—they are few—in which other agencies cover the field.

Information Service

The second field of service which a home service section may enter is information service, one of the most unique and broadly useful things which home service has done during the war. It is just as necessary in peace times as it was during the war. Its basis would be a hand-book of information, not nationally compiled, as is the present hand-book, but compiled by states, representatives of the Red Cross in each state doing their own compilation. The hand-book would include a summary of the laws which social workers have occasion to use; it would be a social service directory, with a brief description of the function of each agency and how to use it. There would be a federal section, common, of course, to all states, dealing with such matters as a summary of immigration and naturalization laws, a brief description of the field of activities of federal departments and agencies which closely relate to the work of social agencies in local communities, as, for example, the Federal Children's Bureau and the Department of Agriculture. Then, too, in this hand-book there would be an outline provided for each community, to guide it in compiling information about its local resources—social agencies, ordinances, regulations, etc. Obviously, the preparation of these hand-books must be a co-operative enterprise, an enterprise in which the full participation of social workers outside of the Red Cross is enlisted. I know of no community which now has such a service, and I know of no community whose social service equipment would not be greatly enriched by such a service.

Work for the Community

The third category of activities which a home service section may undertake I can characterize no better than by calling them activities of a community service nature. Time does not permit me to attempt to specify what these projects may be, beyond saying by way of illustration, that they may address themselves to community health and sanitation needs, to recreation needs, to the special problems of immigrant groups, or to the more effective local use of state and federal resources for the protection of health, the care of the sick, the defective, dependent and delinquent.

The same principle applies to a chapter which desires to enter the field of community service that applies in the case of family social work, namely,

the activity to which it addresses itself must contribute to meeting a recognized social need, and it must not compete with the work of agencies covering that particular field. Community activities may be undertaken by the chapter, working alone, or in co-operation with other local groups.

How shall a chapter determine its service activities—the particular things to do? The answer is relatively simple. Because the Red Cross is not a from-the-top-down governed organization, we place the responsibility for formulating a program upon the chapter. We recommend that in planning its peace-time work the chapter avail itself fully of the counsel and experience of social workers. We recommend also that the chapter, before embarking upon proposed peace-time activities, lay its plans before an even more widely representative, more inclusive group, the leaders and representatives of other social forces, as well as the social service agency representatives. We propose to the chapter that in determining its program it undertake a careful study of local social needs and local social resources. An outline for the guidance of communities in studying their social needs has been prepared, and our division field representatives are now being trained to participate with chapter groups in making these studies. Moreover, specialists in this field, one of whom you will hear from later this afternoon, have been attached to our staff. I submit that this method of planning for Red Cross peace-time service is a sound, tested method of approach to social problems and that it is in full accord with democratic principles.

For the rest part I must content myself with bare assertions. Time does not permit fuller development of the points I wish to make. I will assert then, first, that the plan I have discussed so briefly presupposes trained workers, working in close organic union with a broadly representative local group of citizens, and that our training courses virtually everywhere will be doubled before the end of the year, and that the curriculum will be broadened as the work diversifies. Already steps have been taken looking to the ultimate assumption of the training program by colleges, state universities and training schools for social work. It goes without saying that our efforts to recruit suitable people for the training courses will be unrelenting.

My second assertion is that the Red Cross in the development of its peace-time home service plans is looking chiefly to the places which extensively lack organized voluntary means of meeting social needs. I suppose no voluntary agency ever had the opportunity which is now presented to the Red Cross for fostering the development of social work in the small town and the open country.

Summing Up

To sum up, what is there for home service to do when it has brought to completion its work for soldiers' and sailors' families?

First, to keep right on doing similar things for other families who may need a neighborly helping hand, subject to the general policies and limitations I have outlined.

Second, to find the weak, the ragged spots in the community life, the health impairing, the disease, ignorance, prejudice breeding, the play thwarting, the morals impairing spots, and, joining hands with other workers, make common cause in mending and strengthening these, to the end that our communities may be made safer and better places for the living of useful, normal lives.

THE FUTURE OF HOME SERVICE

Margaret F. Byington, Director of Bureau of Field Service, American Red Cross, Washington

Of course, I think we all feel at the moment about the future a little as I feel when I start to go in swimming here. There are some pretty big breakers out there. If I stay in close to the shore and try to keep my feet on the sand, those breakers seem to come along and knock me over and roll me under and confuse and demoralize me; but if I have courage enough to take my feet off the sand and swim out, I find that those very same breakers have a wonderful power to lift me up to a new height. I have a little feeling that way about the future.

We are worried a little as to what lies ahead of us, whether we home service people are going to be able to use to its full advantage this great opportunity that is ours. Of course, the only way in which we can make good is very courageously to face forward into the future, hoping that we shall find in this opportunity not something to overwhelm us but a new force which shall lift us up to a greater vision.

Obviously, the first thing which we must do is to consider what we have learned through the war period and what that lesson means for the future. The only point that I would like to discuss for a few minutes is the possibility of our carrying out that idea which we have always held. It is that some day people will accept social service as simply and as naturally as they accept medical service. Nobody minds going to a doctor. Everybody in the community does it. Can we make this social service which we have developed, can we make our skill available for everybody in the community who may need that sort of counsel? When the war began, home service took the attitude which all social agencies have done: that it would develop its work, that it would have an office, and that he who would might come and ask their counsel and their help. But very soon we began to feel that more people needed what we had to offer. We had information, we had skill in service, and we wanted the family of every man in the service to take advantage of that information, to come to us for that service. So we began to do something social service had not done before. We began to advertise. We placarded all over the towns, in railroad stations, in the court houses, in the postoffices, everywhere we could, the simple statement that Red Cross home service stood ready to offer information, advice, counsel and help to soldiers' or sailors' families who needed it.

We have, in many of our rural communities, visited every soldier's and sailor's family with this offer of personal service and counsel. I do not need to say to those of you who are doing home service work that we have found a great opportunity coming to us in this way.

Everywhere, all through the country, we have thus been able to serve those who would not otherwise have known that there was service which they could claim as theirs. We have found it possible to do it in a rare spirit of democracy, a spirit, of course, which was part of the war enthusiasm.

One of our field workers was telling me of a visit to a town where they thought there was no service they could render, though they did not know of one lady whose son had died and who wanted information about the possibility of finding his body. The worker went and talked to the lady of the house and did what she could to solve this particular problem. The woman then said, "My cook has a husband in the service and her allotment and allowance have not come; I wonder if you would talk to her." So the cook was called in and the problem of allotment and allowance was worked out with her. There was just one of those simple illustrations of the fact

that the service we had to offer was for all and one which we recognized was a natural thing to render.

Now, can we do it in peace times? War, of course, a war in which all of our boys were in the army together, made it natural for the Red Cross to offer its interest to every member of the community. Is there any reason why we cannot go on in peace times and give this same service to every person in the community, rich or poor, intelligent or unintelligent, who may have the need for it? We talk much about "limiting intake." Should we not discuss instead the possibility of "increasing outgive"? I realize that this possibly raises very definite questions. It probably involves changes in our method of approach to individual families. It certainly means a wider and far different use of neighborly interest in social work.

I want to tell you just one story, if I may, because it seems to me to give so clearly the limitations and the possibilities of such service. In one institute in Berea, Ky., the students are visiting civilian families as part of their field work. One of them told me this story with the simplicity and unconsciousness of one not a skilled social worker, who was stirred by finding a real opportunity to serve. The students went to visit this family because they heard a boy in the family had influenza. They are being taught in the hospital very simple ways of caring for the sick, and they took with them all the paraphernalia for trying to make the boy comfortable. When they arrived, they found the family had just moved. The boy, though very sick, wanted to go back to his old home, which had a fine spring of water and a beautiful holly tree in the yard. He had the sick person's unreasoning conviction that if he could only get back to his old home, he would get well. The social workers followed to the old home and helped the family get settled. Then they gave the sick boy an alcohol rub and made him comfortable. They had carried out a few narcissus blossoms one of the girls had been raising in her own room. But the boy died within a few days and the students found on their next visit that their efforts to make the boy comfortable had meant much to the family. The only flowers at the funeral were a bunch of holly and the little narcissus blossoms that the girls had carried out. The boy had asked to be buried with his Red Cross pin on. He had given money to the Red Cross and felt that it was his lodge; that the Red Cross to which he belonged had come when he was sick and dying to minister to him. The two home service workers went with the family to the funeral and sang at the grave, and then went back and hurried to put the house in order so it would look a bit more cheerful when the family came home.

So much of the story tells of simple neighborliness such as any group might gladly render; but, because they were being trained for skilled social service, they did not rest content with that. They found that the typhoid had developed in part because the house had no sanitary arrangements, and they took up with the landlord the question of furnishing them. The girl of thirteen could hardly read and write, so once a week they go there to tutor her, and are hoping that next year she can attend Berea. They have organized a club of girls out in that neighborhood, where half a dozen houses are clustered together.

This story illustrates two points in regard to the possibility of extending social service. Of course, the first one is, that it must be skilled. Just neighborly service is not enough, however beautiful that may be. The worker must bring to bear on every problem the most skilled knowledge about health; about education; about all the things we discuss at this conference. All home service workers, however simple the problems they face in their home towns, need to grasp the opportunity for education which the division offers, to take advantage of conferences like this, so that they may gain a more vivid understanding of the possibilities of social work, to take the

survey, so that we may bring to bear on even the simplest problem the maximum skill and knowledge of the community.

The other thing which we need is a true spirit of democracy. I sometimes wonder whether the Red Cross, with its seventeen million members, could not become a great fraternal order for mutual service, bringing to bear the greatest skill and greatest understanding on the social problems of the whole community. It does mean earnest effort on the part of all of us if we are to live up to these two standards of skill in service and democracy of spirit. If we make this effort, I do not see why, little by little, we may not be able to develop a social service which is open to every member of a community and which may be accepted simply and naturally by every member of the community as a normal element in our community life.

THE PRESENT OPPORTUNITY OF THE CITY HOME SERVICE SECTION

Anna King, Executive Secretary, Home Service Section, Boston Metropolitan Chapter, American Red Cross

At a staff meeting held just before I came to Atlantic City, the question was discussed as to what the ideal solution in regard to Home Service would be in those communities that have already organized social agencies.

One of the first persons who spoke was a volunteer visitor with a family service organization and a very active worker in a dispensary as well as a worker on our staff. Her opinion was that it was the obligation of Home Service, as fast as it was advisable, to transfer its work to the various civilian charities, turning over to them also our good will and our workers.

Another worker, who represents an organized small community, who is herself the Home Service worker in that community and also the representative of the local charities, said that she, as the Home Service worker, did not feel that she could turn over to herself as head of the charities the families whom she had known as a Home Service visitor.

Another worker, also our representative and the representative of the local charities in another organized small community, said that, "Where the work had been done as it should, there would be mighty few families to turn over to anybody."

A worker in the city of Boston, who came to us from one of the children's societies, said that she thought if we attempted to transfer, there would be difficulties. It would be hard on the agencies taking the families and some of the families would not consent to go, as they would feel that the Home Service gives a different kind of help from that which any other organization in the community could give.

Another worker, who is active in a church ladies' aid society, said she felt that if Home Service had done its work properly, the families would understand that the service we were giving was exactly the same as what every high-minded organization in the community was giving, and that she, the Home Service worker, could turn over to herself, as the representative of her church society, any person whom she had been serving.

Another worker, whose whole experience had been gained from her work with us and from the New England division institute, raised the question whether any other society in the community is organized on the same principles as the Red Cross is; whether there is any organization that makes for democracy by practically universal membership as does the Red Cross organization. She also made the point that not only does practically every family belong to the Red Cross, but that the Red Cross local

committee membership is very much more representative than the committee membership of most other organizations.

A discharged soldier, recently returned, who is now a member of our staff, stated that the soldier coming back had got the habit of looking to the Red Cross; that this gave the Red Cross a strength for community service which might be lost if an effort were made to transfer this interest to a different association.

I think these different opinions are indicative of the type of problem that we in the organized communities are facing. Each one of these persons quoted is devoted to the work he or she is doing, but the way each sees wisdom for the future differs. To try to formulate a coherent program that will win the understanding support of these differently minded devoted workers, of the soldiers and sailors and their families, and of that public whose opinions are so hard to discover, is our great problem and opportunity.

Home Service in the Organized Community

The war emergency is still with us; the peace treaty is not yet signed; there are many complications in connection with the war which give us and will continue to give us for several months to come a reason for our "being on the job." Does not this mean that our present opportunity is to analyze ourselves, to urge the community to analyze us in every possible way in order to try to discover, first, whether in even such a highly organized community as Boston we have something which the war has enabled us to develop that is of permanent value to the community to be carried over into peace times; and, second, if this is to be continued into peace times, whether it should be continued by the Red Cross or by other organizations in the community.

I think there are several points in connection with Home Service and the future that we all recognize at once. We know already by experience that while we continue, our work will grow increasingly difficult in certain ways. Some of the communities, some individuals, are already beginning to criticize our "overhead" expenses. We know that we, like civilian organizations, are going to be challenged by the public as to budgets in a much more analytical way than during the war.

How long the various war organizations will continue, it is hard to say. We have all known from our childhood about the Grand Army, and now we find the American Legion developing rapidly. How much of a factor in family service that is going to be, we cannot yet tell. We do know that the various war organizations that stand for community recreation and development are very active and that some of them will continue through this year and perhaps longer. We have worked out with the seven great organizations a close system of co-operation that has enabled us to reach many families of men in service whom it is doubtful whether we could have reached if we had not had an intimate war connection. Surely, while community sentiment demands that the discharged soldier be treated as an ex-soldier rather than as a civilian, we have an obligation to see that he and his family get the best service that we can give.

But these phases of Home Service are merely an extension of the war task. What are the features of Home Service which are essentially unusual that the community may wish to conserve after the war?

Information Service

The information service, which we have all discussed so much, is, perhaps, the most unusual phase of our family service. One opportunity of this service, aside from that of giving accurate information, is to enable an organization to know of some family problem before this problem has come

to a crisis. An elderly man recently came into our information service to ask some usual question about allotment and allowance. The worker with whom he talked, who had had some experience in social work, noticed that his manner was peculiar, although he was courteous and seemed fairly well educated. Accordingly, she asked him if he would like to have someone call on him and his wife to explain in detail about the allotment and allowance, and easily won his consent. When the visitor called at his home, she learned from his wife that the man had recently lost his job, and that she was much worried about his strange actions. Subsequently, the visitor found that he had been discharged because of some mental disability, that he was receiving no medical treatment, and that the family had nearly exhausted their funds. A mental examination was arranged with the help of the wife, which showed that the man should be sent to an insane hospital at once, and within a week the man, without the mortification of possible police arrest for unsocial behavior, had been sent to an insane hospital and plans had been made with the family to help them to meet their trouble. In this way the family was saved the stress and strain that might have come if they had had to wait until pressure of debts or anxiety made it necessary for them to appeal to some organization.

Another interesting use that the information service might continue to have in peace times is shown by the following incident: A man who had a relative in service came into one of our local offices in a very excited state one day because he found that his wife had been suddenly taken to the Psychopathic Hospital. His idea of that hospital was that it was a "place for crazy people," and he came to the office to find out how he could "get her out of there." He listened to the explanation of what the hospital was and went away with the recognition that if his wife was mentally deranged, to be at the Psychopathic Hospital was probably the best thing that could happen to her. Because we do not represent any one of the local organizations in the community, I think we can often convince a stranger of the value of such an institution as the Psychopathic Hospital more easily than can the hospital itself. Whether as the war emergency subsides some other introduction to service similar to which the information service has had can be discovered, either through us or through some other organization, is one of the problems to be faced.

Democracy of Clientele

Another unusual phase of the Red Cross work has been the variety of types of families served and the consequent opportunity to meet the health needs of the community more adequately. A social service worker in one of our largest hospitals told me that to "steer" the patients sent to that hospital by the Red Cross would take the whole time, she believed, of one worker, and that the families referred by other agencies had not decreased. It seemed rather that these Red Cross patients represented a hitherto undiscovered medical need in the community.

Volunteer Service Bureau

Besides these unusual features of the Home Service, the Red Cross has helped build up volunteer service. This service in our particular chapter has been recruited, not through Home Service, but through the headquarters of the chapter. One of our head workers, who carries one of the greatest responsibilities in our section, came to us originally as a motor driver. Another supervisor began her social work as an office clerk in the early Red Cross war days in the spring of 1917. The recruiting department of the volunteer service bureau has enabled us to discover many possibilities of leadership and potential social workers. To these newcomers in social work we have

a great responsibility. In the course of the war many of us who have been "on the job" for a long time recognized that this Home Service was a very wonderful new opportunity to give the type of service we have always striven to give. We have, however, been so pushed and crowded by our work that we have not had the chance to show the new workers the real similarity of the service that we have been giving with that which other organizations give. It takes more courage and vision, I think, to stand by in an organization that has no connection with the glamour of a uniform and with its emotional challenge than it does to be a social worker on our staff. We have the great responsibility to teach everyone who has come to work with us to understand truly the meaning of the service we give. We must not lose any of them for social service by a premature effort to transfer them to organizations whose fundamental principles they may not yet understand, while perhaps they are too young in social work to have the sense of their obligation to continue their work under less easy conditions.

Plan of Organisation

But more unusual than the information service, than the contribution, to health, than even the volunteer service bureau, is the Red Cross organization. The democratic representation on our committees, men and women of all walks of life, of all creeds, of all opinions, acting together to fulfill, as public servants, the trust that has been confided to them, this is one of the precious assets of the Red Cross. And in the window of almost every house where our visitor calls hangs the sign of Red Cross membership. This broad membership has had a very fine appeal. If the family is, like most of us, reluctant to turn to anybody for assistance, the appeal to the bond of membership will often serve as a real introduction for service. On the other hand, when another type of family feel that assistance is their right, they understand the challenge. "You and your neighbors have contributed this money; we are your appointed servants; if you can show just reason for needing this money, you will have it; but if you do not need the money, you would surely not want to impose upon your own good faith and that of your neighbors by accepting it." This membership has not, of course, been the basis of eligibility for Home Service. The great fact is that that family has given of itself; the membership has been merely an additional way of registering this fellowship in service, a way that has helped to make the service we give seem not intrusion, but the act of a comrade.

Deciding for the Future

When we have tried to analyze all that is unusual in Home Service and wish to come to some conclusion as to this Home Service and the future, there are three points we must bear in mind in making any decision:

First. Any plan that is formulated, whether it is to be undertaken by the Red Cross or not, must be interpreted to the soldier and sailor, to their families, and to the community, in such a way that all will understand that the proposed plan fulfills the pledge the Red Cross has made to the families of soldiers and sailors. We all use the phrase, "We must finish the war." Then we in Home Service think of the treatment of the veterans of the Civil War received from this nation and wonder if the country cannot fulfill its pledge more wisely to these young veterans now returning. We have got to have a social interpretation of "seeing the war through"; to work out a program that is socially sound and that the men themselves approve as to what is really the proper way to conclude that war responsibility.

Second. Home Service must discriminate very carefully between what is the permanent, healthy strength within our organization and what has

been the force that the war fever has given us and that we must of necessity lose with the return of peace times. We must be sure that we do not try to keep fostering the war fever.

Third. Just as we must try to eliminate all that is part of the war fever, so we must make every effort to conserve for the community, whether under the Red Cross or not, all that is possible of the constructive lessons that the war has taught. Whatever in type of service, in interpreting that service to the public, in new ideas of organization, the war has brought into social work, these we social workers must try to keep.

Already in Boston we have taken some practical steps toward the study of how we can best realize our present opportunity to analyze our work and our obligation to the future. Our chairman has appointed a committee on co-operation to confer with the various social agencies of the city about a method of closer co-operation. Also, our local supervisors are planning for the next three months to analyze their work both as to type and as to probable duration. At the end of a few months I hope we can present our findings to some larger body that will represent the various social activities of the community so that we may secure their advice and guidance regarding what further steps we should take.

But whatever method any of us follow, whatever contribution we may believe Home Service to have made, the keynote to the ultimate success of our program must be whether it expresses the will of a few or represents the wishes of the whole community,—whether it is imposed from without or is the result of the united efforts of the community. For it is only as the program is democratic that it can be a healthy growth, a true expression of our desire for wise self-determination.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Mrs. Blanche B. Bartlett, Field Representative of the Potomac Division, American Red Cross, spoke on "Opportunities for Home Service in Towns of West Virginia." Mrs. Bartlett's field covers thirty (32) counties. Owing to poor traveling facilities this means that it takes a week to visit two chapters, allowing three days for each one. She described the eastern neck of West Virginia as a place where the culture of old Virginia is found. It is an agricultural community, wealthy, comfortable, self-satisfied, unconscious of the needs of others. Negroes are the laborers. Central and southern Virginia are large mining sections. In one county in the south there were fifty different companies each running from two to twelve mines. At present whatever welfare work exists in the mines is at a standstill. The mines have been shut down during the last three months. There is no money with which to pay for the nurse, this having been supplied from the wages of the miners. The ignorance of the region is pathetic, not only among the foreigners of whom there are many, but among the native whites. Hungarians and Italians predominate among the foreigners. The races will not mingle—they divide into groups and remain there. There is great need for a welfare worker who will be a teacher. Welfare work must, however, take into consideration the fact that the people want self determination. The women need help most of all because, while the men and children get about more or less, the women have least opportunity to learn the language and to mingle with others.

Prof. E. L. Morgan of Massachusetts Agricultural College, Amherst, now on a sabbatical leave of absence, is serving as director of the new Bureau of Rural Organization of the American Red Cross, Washington. Recently in Washington there was held a very significant conference at which ten or twelve national organizations were represented—the Knights of Columbus, the Jewish Welfare Board, the Red Cross, the U. S. Department of Agriculture, the county workers, etc., to consider the problems of rural progress. Prof. Morgan has known only in a general way about the work of the American Red Cross, but he believes that in their after-war program there are tremendous possibilities. Their line of approach is developing leadership which federal organizations and state supported institutions could never accomplish. At Washington there is a Department of Agriculture which extends out through the State Agricultural Colleges to the counties and gives attention to the development of the economic and home-making aspects of country life. The Red Cross is a national organization entering the field of rural work from the more social side. The plans of the Red Cross include no overlapping and co-operation is the watchword. In the work of reorganization it must be kept in mind that the problem of the county is an undeveloped field for social workers. It can never be approached in the same way as that of the city. There is, however, now at hand sufficient knowledge and experience which if properly assimilated would form material for teaching purposes regarding the development of the country community. Caution must be observed because as yet no one knows a great deal. We need "case work" methods applied to the development of the small community—the

community too small for an associated charities. We must do for the community what we have been doing for the family. The community becomes the unit as well as the family. It must be remembered that it is difficult to put over in a small community what passes in a large city, the unit is small necessitating a readjustment in method of all forms of law and regulation enforcement as well as the organization for social work. The people in the small community need the right approach. They need no "uplift." It is a problem of developing the latent resources.

Mr. Joseph C. Logan, Director of Civilian Relief, Southern Division, American Red Cross, Atlanta. As a result of Home Service work throughout the South, Mr. Logan finds that the situation has changed, from one in which the communities felt there was nothing to do, to one in which the demand for trained social workers far exceeds the supply. Workers of a receptive spirit with a deeper knowledge of family needs and with powers of community leadership are chosen for the work. When they enter a community they are in advance of the ideals of the people. To bridge this gap, a chapter training course is organized lasting from two to three weeks. Members of local communities are encouraged to attend conferences outside the county and outsiders are brought in to speak at the local conference.

The great effort lies in bridging over the gulf between the standards of the expert, whether in sanitation, in recreation or in education—and the individual and community. "Getting over the plan" to neighbors not in sympathy—and who do not understand it is the problem. It is explained to the people that if a little child were run over and injured, every one would drop his work if necessary until he received proper attention. However, the question of adenoids is often more important in its result upon the welfare of the child. The expert has come to tell them about these needs and how to meet them. The Red Cross teaches the community to accept, learn and apply the standards of the experts. They must go out into the cross roads and teach the people the standards of right living and community welfare. This is the first time such an opportunity has been opened to a social agency to help the small community.

Workers in the Red Cross Home Service have been recruited from other fields. They appreciate their heritage and the way in which the workers in these original fields have unselfishly stood by them. They approach the new field with humility and tolerance. That they are already helping in organizing good will is shown by the fact that for the first time a social worker was recently invited to go to Sam Jones' church in Cartersville, Georgia, to address an audience of 5,000 on the subject of "The Good Neighbor in Peace as Well as in War."

ADMINISTRATION OF MARRIAGE LAWS IN MICHIGAN.

Sara A. Brown, General Secretary, Associated Charities, Lansing, Mich.

In Michigan, application for license to marry is made by one of the contracting parties. He appears before the county clerk and makes affidavit that both persons are familiar with the laws of Michigan relative to marriage, as printed on the back of the application blank, and that there is no legal impediment to the marriage. This affidavit, with no confirming witnesses, is the only requirement unless the person states there is legal impediment.

Frequently the clerk reads the laws before taking the affidavit. They are abbreviated statements regarding the legal age; prohibiting marriage with certain specified kin; prohibiting marriage without divorce; prohibiting marriage of the insane or idiot or a person who has been afflicted with syphilis or gonorrhea and has not been cured; and prohibiting marriage of epileptics, feeble-minded, imbecile or insane who have been confined as such in any public institution, without a certificate from two physicians affirming that a cure has been effected and that there is no probability of transmitting their defects to their offspring.

Legal age requires the man to have attained the full age of 18 and the woman the full age of 16. No license can be issued for a girl between the ages of 16 and 18 until the written consent of one parent or her guardian is filed with the county clerk. If the man is under 18, no license may be issued. In one county recently during a period of five weeks, four licenses were issued for the marriage of girls between 16 and 18, two of whom had been married and divorced, in each instance the mother appeared giving her consent. An opinion has been given that a common law marriage by a girl over 16, but under 18, would be valid even though the consent of the parent were lacking. The most frequent violation of this law is in making false affidavit as to legal age. The person making such a statement is guilty of perjury and subject to prosecution for perjury under the general laws of the state.

One of the best family case working agencies in the state is now wrestling with the problem of annulling the marriage of a 14-year-old girl and a 16-year-old boy, who went into a neighboring county, made false affidavit and were married. It looks as if no one can sever the bonds except the parties themselves or their guardians. Another family case working agency prosecuted in the case of a man 20 years old and a girl 15 who had made false affidavit regarding the girl's age. The man was sentenced to 65 days in the county jail and the marriage was annulled.

When either party is not of legal age, marriage can only be performed by judge of probate to protect the good name and for the safety of public morals. With the consent of the parents of both parties, the judge of probate may issue a secret license, perform a secret marriage, making secret record in his private calendar and with the secretary of state, where the record is made in a private register, which may be consulted only under order of court. Violation of confidence is punishable by fine or imprisonment. This law, commonly known as Act No. 180 Public Acts 1897, specifies that "The judge of probate may issue a license to any female making application to him under oath that she is with child or has lived with a man and has been considered as his wife or for other good reasons desires to keep the exact date of her marriage secret to protect the good name of herself and the reputation of her family." From observation in family case work, we are of the opinion that application for such orders are frequently granted, seldom refused and the marriage entered into that the man may escape prosecution. Section No. 7794 compiled laws 1915, provides punishment for any man who marries any woman for the purpose of escaping prosecution. Yet we have reason to believe such prosecution is seldom, if ever, resorted to.

Marriage between parties either of whom are under legal age is avoidable by the party under age whether the marriage is common law or has been solemnized in the usual form. The party over age is bound by marriage unless the party under age consents to a separation or refuses to consent to the marriage relation when he reaches legal age.

Section No. 11367 states: "No insane person, idiot or person who has been afflicted with syphilis or gonorrhea and has not been cured of the same shall be capable of contracting marriage. Violation is considered a felony punishable by fine or imprisonment." It further states that "no person who has been confined in any public institution or asylum as an epileptic, feeble-minded, imbecile or insane patient shall be capable of contracting marriage without filing in the office of the county clerk before issuance of the license a verified certificate from two physicians stating such person has been completely cured and that there is no probability of transmitting any such defects or disabilities to his offspring. Any person of sound mind intermarrying with such incompetent person deemed guilty of felony punishable by fine or imprisonment."

However well it may sound, this law is absolutely ineffectual. The clerk issuing licenses has no means of knowing the facts covered by this law, since there is no registration anywhere which he may consult, and no record of persons committed to or discharged from institutions. Records of commitments are in the files of the probate court, but most frequently are not indexed. When a physician's certificate accompanies the application, the clerk consults the registry of licensed physicians in the state for verification of the physician's signature. No provision is made for the registration of those diagnosed as insane, feeble minded, imbecile or epileptic or afflicted with syphilis or gonorrhea. Under the present program of the State Board of Health, all patients, both men and women, who have received treatment through the state board, are registered. All physicians throughout the state are required to register private patients with the state board, but are not required to register by name. The new law, which will go into effect Oct. 1st, 1919, requires every patient be registered with the State Board of Health by name.

Family case workers throughout the state are considering seriously the advisability of filing petitions in probate court for all patients attending the psychopathic clinics who have been diagnosed as insane, feeble minded, imbecile or epileptic, in order that there may be a public record recognized by law.

From the observation of case workers throughout the state prosecution for violation of any phase of this law is practically impossible. When sufficient evidence has been secured to take the case in court, seldom if ever will an official take the responsibility of the prosecution. The common law marriage is certainly a disadvantage in the enforcement in the spirit of either the law forbidding the marriage of incompetent persons or the secret marriage.

Two provisions would apparently make the law effective: First, state registration, preferably with the Department of Health, of all persons referred to in the law; second, lapse of time between application for license and the granting of the same, sufficient to enable the clerk to consult the state registration or a certificate from the State Department of Health accompanying each application for a license.

MARRIAGE LAWS AND THEIR ADMINISTRATION IN MASSACHUSETTS

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Cruelty to Children, Boston*

My remarks will be confined to a consideration of three different topics:

1. The Common Law Marriage.
2. The Provisions for the Granting of Marriage Licenses.
3. The Value of the Five Days' Notice.

The common law marriage is not recognized as legal in the state of Massachusetts where the parties are Massachusetts residents who attempt to marry themselves in that way. It is the general rule, however, that marriages celebrated in other states or other countries that are valid by law in the place where the marriage was solemnized are also deemed valid within the state of Massachusetts; for example, New York parties that were married at common law are considered legally married in Massachusetts if there is clear proof of their marriage, even though such a marriage would be illegal if done in Massachusetts. There are several exceptions to this rule, however. In the first place, marriages which are deemed contrary to the law of nature, as, for example, incestuous marriages, are not deemed valid. Secondly, marriages which the legislature of the commonwealth has declared shall not be allowed validity, as when persons resident in Massachusetts go into another state to evade its laws, and marry with the express purpose of returning to Massachusetts. The embarrassments that result from a prohibition of common law marriages are so slight that they should be given very little weight in consideration of the social advantages of such a prohibition.

Under our law, no boy under 14 and no girl under 12 may marry under any circumstances; and no boy under 18 and no girl under 16 may marry without the consent of their parents and of the probate court.

The service that the probate courts of Massachusetts render is principally concerned with the permission of girls between 12 and 16 to marry. Most of the applications that are made to the probate court for such permission are granted, and the majority of the cases in which such permission has been granted show that there is a condition of pregnancy. In a few cases the reasons alleged are that home conditions were very bad and that the future prospects of the contracting parties were bright. The probate court, however, is known to refuse such permission, and this refusal is likely to be based on one or more of the following facts:

1. The presence of feeble-mindedness in one or both of the contracting parties.
2. The fact that the contracting parties belong to different races.
3. The fact that one or the other has a criminal record or shows criminal tendencies.
4. The likelihood of the prospective husband to provide inadequate support for the family.
5. The presence of venereal disease.

In short, the probate court is inclined to withhold its consent when the prospects of stable family life are poor. The value of the service which the probate court is rendering is largely dependent upon the opportunity the court has of getting at the facts. In a good many instances the court is not in possession of the essential facts, because the contracting parties have usually agreed to present such a petition. For this reason the procedure requires that there shall be a full governmental inquiry so that the facts in the case may be presented which are now apt to be kept from the judge by interested parties.

According to a statute passed in 1911, no marriage licenses may be issued until an intention of marriage has been on file for a period of five days, and as a rule this filing of the intention is insisted upon. Such a provision gives opportunity for an investigation of legal impediments to the marriage, such as a possible previous marriage, an incorrect statement of age, the presence of feeble-mindedness. It further gives an opportunity for an investigation to be made by friends and relatives, by social agencies or by a public department. This notice of intention five days before the issuing of a license is now law in all the New England states. It has eliminated many hasty and unwise marriages and it has had the further effect that most persons are now married in their own states. In order that this law might not cause serious hardship, the district courts were given the authority to grant waivers of this five-day notice, and these courts have been liberal in the granting of such waivers. As a rule, the reasons given for asking that a waiver be granted are reasonable, though during the war period probably no soldier who asked that a waiver be granted was refused.

At present, Massachusetts is not equipped with a department charged with the investigation of instances where the probate court is asked to give permission to a marriage or where there are suspicious facts in the statement of the intention. The clerk who is charged with the issuing of the license is given discretion to withhold the marriage license where there are suspicious facts and such instances are referred to a police inspector in the city of Boston who is assigned by the police department to this work, and the registrar believes that he has been of great value. A member of the police force is also used in other cities of Massachusetts, but without specific authority.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

In recognition of the increased interest that social workers have recently taken in the subject, a session was devoted to round table discussion of marriage laws and their administration. Following the foregoing statements, social workers from three other cities contributed.

Miss Theo Jacobs, Acting Secretary, Federated Charities, Baltimore, told of the low marriageable age which is legal in her state—12 years for females—and of the fact that common-law marriages, though technically invalid, are actually recognized under certain conditions as the result of court decisions.

Mr. J. B. Gwin, General Secretary, Associated Charities, El Paso, Texas, gave illustrations of the need of effective control of the marriage of the unfit. He also urged a requirement that there be a specified period of time between the application for marriage licenses and their granting.

Mr. Fred S. Hall, Associate Director of the Charity Organization Department, Russell Sage Foundation, joint author with Miss Elizabeth W. Brooke of a recently published volume on *American Marriage Laws*, summarized the discussion and urged a careful study of administrative methods in any state before efforts are made for legislative reform.

FAMILY READJUSTMENT AFTER THE WAR

Mary C. Goodwillie, Vice-Chairman, Home Service Section, Baltimore Chapter, American Red Cross.

When war crashed through civilization of the twentieth century, destroying all the old securities of life, we were for the moment stunned. The continuity of life seemed broken, our connection with the past gone; growth and development swept away, education and Christianity mocked and the intellectual and spiritual destroyed as easily as the material. Gradually, however, we recovered our balance and even amidst the growing horrors the familiar asserted itself and the outlines of the simple fundamental things of life emerged from the mists of confusion.

It was the same world, after all. The spirit of man was neither crushed nor broken, but able to rise to new heights.

War had, as it were, put the loud pedal on life, bringing out with startling effect the best and the worst in human nature. We saw that the nightmare horrors of cruelty, wanton destruction, hatred, lust of power, greed, were not new forms, only unbelievable in their unrestraint. We watched courage grow into heroism, unselfishness into sacrifice, good will and kindness become a kind of passionate brotherhood. We marveled at generosity that held nothing back, at strength which knew neither pain nor fatigue in its power to endure.

To those of us who have been studying the family under different forms of stress and strain, this intensification of life at every point has peculiar interest. The most remote corners of the country felt the mighty stir and the slackest wills were conscious of a concentration of purpose, and the rapid pulsing of the blood sent youth out on a great adventure, woke old people from their dreams, left the coward trembling and drove the weak into temptation.

What reaction might we expect from this heightening of family affection, this stimulation of mind, imagination and passion?

It is this note of intensification and vividness, this breaking up of the crust of life, that seems to me the outstanding feature of the Red Cross Home Service work; one that has given a new and brilliant opportunity to the case worker to overleap some of the old barriers, to reach the human spirit more simply and surely, and to touch more easily the springs of character.

There was a chance that, in the moment of emotional excitement, these finer issues would be lost in a concern for material things, and that all the old sloppy charitable mistakes would be made over again on a bigger scale in the name of patriotism. That this did not happen was due partly to the wisdom of a few people at Washington, but most of all to the hard, patient work of all those devoted believers in the principles of case work, who for forty years have slowly been educating their communities by showing people this kindly, sensible way of helping families to meet their difficulties.

The new recruits for Home Service, responding to the patriotic thrill, entered upon their work with high courage, rejoicing in an opportunity to render war service in the particular way for which they were best fitted and exhilarated by the chance they saw to win a great victory for case work.

The extent of this victory cannot yet be determined. To some eager souls the Red Cross has seemed to usher in a new social service era, but to the more thoughtful, looking at it at the end of two short years, the problem is seen to be the same slow one of education and no royal road has yet been discovered.

It is probably fortunate that the Home Service workers could not foresee from the beginning the size of the task they had undertaken. If the vision was dazzling at first, later courage grew a bit grim, and last August, when

the troop movement was at its height, many a tired worker set her shoulders and hoped only to pull through the days as they came. As one of them said to me afterwards, "We were just able to touch the high places." Standards seemed lost in the stress.

Then, when we had recruited our staffs and were getting into our stride, came the armistice with a whole new set of problems connected with demobilization, the wounded and the disabled men. We were just learning how to handle the family without a man, when the man returned and we couldn't be sure that the man who came back was the same man who went away. What had war done to him or for him? Would his homecoming present difficulties of adjustment, and, if so, what skill had we in the making of them? It was the same old case work problem again, people with their infinite variety, a great experience and varying reactions. The utmost imagination of the case worker was needed here. If we had felt the challenge of the war before, we felt it doubly now. How could we know how to help these men? All we had read or heard about the war was called to our aid. Fortunately most Home Service workers had brothers, husbands or friends in the army overseas or in the camps this side. Their letters and their homecomings helped. In Baltimore we had sought out people who could talk to us and bring home to us with vividness the actual scenes of the battlefield, trench, hospital or camp. But most of all, we are learning from the men themselves in our daily contact with them. One worker, who is dealing entirely with the disabled men, said: "I sit day after day, hearing one marvelous tale after another." And then, still under the spell of it all, she brings her mind back to her task of making the necessary adjustment to normal life for the man before her. She uses the old case work principle of relating the man to his background, with such help as her own stimulated imagination can give her in understanding just what has been stirred in him.

In the younger unmarried man it is often ambition which has felt the spur of war. The foreigner to whom the learning of English has opened the door of opportunity, the boy to whom books meant little in the way of education, who has had his mind roused by new scenes. He was keener on the drill ground and rifle range than he ever was in the school room, and is putting his will to getting on. And they *have* gotten on, those boys, some of them who enlisted as privates and have been advanced to corporal or sergeant, a few even winning a commission. In the readjustment they want to make something of themselves. Those who are disabled are enthusiastic over the opportunity of training offered them by the Federal Board for Vocational Education. How many, like Corporal Brown, are realizing the ambition of a lifetime! He had always wanted to be a farmer, and now a 10 per cent disability is the means of sending him to an agricultural school. This work of further education is one of the big opportunities of readjustment. I only hope the Home Service Sections everywhere are giving the needed publicity to it so that no disabled man who is eligible for training will miss his chance.

It is going to be hard, impossible often, for the families to enter with understanding sympathy into these newly aroused ambitions. It will be fortunate indeed if the Home Service visitor can interpret them so as to make the present moment a starting place for better things. If no such friendly interpreter is at hand, or if the family fails in affection and interest, the flash of vision, the prick of will may be lost forever and only a dull bitterness remain, all the duller and bitterer because of the memory of once having been a part of great things.

The desire, so very common, to do something different, is not always due to roused ambition or stimulated mind. There is a restlessness which visitor and family must try to understand. One element of this restlessness is a longing for the old companionship of their comrades in arms. It is almost a new thing, this friendship between men who, as one boy put it,

have shared everything and faced death together. No matter how loving the welcome and homecoming is, after the first joy has passed, there is a lonesome feeling for "the other fellows," for one's own particular "buddy."

For some this restlessness is just the unsettled state of mind of a naturally roving disposition. How many such there are labeled transient on our records! They never did keep a steady job and home ties were long ago broken; but in helping them to some sort of readjustment, we must never forget that things which have dropped out of sight may be shaken to the surface again by war, and those ties which seemed broken may have been only loosened. The wandering, good-for-nothing boy did not matter much to the people at home, but the son who fought in France is some one to be proud of. We must trust as far as possible this stirring of family pride and affection and make the utmost use of it. One boy, who had not heard of his people for twelve years and said they wouldn't want him back, was pathetically glad to return to them when told they had telegraphed for him and were sending the money for the long trip to Florida.

The getting of the job has a real bearing on the family readjustment, and if careful, understanding work can be done on the employment end, many difficulties will be avoided. We are very fortunate in Baltimore in the personnel at our Bureau for Returning Soldiers. Two of the men were placed there by the Home Service office and are on our staff. They come to our weekly conference and much mutual help is given, and together many a complicated problem has been worked out, for they have the case workers' point of view and know that the job that interests and meets the man's new requirements is the quickest return to a steady, normal life.

The same close relationship exists in Baltimore with the work of the Federal Board. Our offices are in the same building and the man's training problem and his family problem move together.

The stimulated ambition of the soldier is going to mean not only a reaching out by the man himself, but many a younger brother and sister will be given a chance they otherwise would not have had, because an older brother has been shaken out of his old ruts and seen another standard than that of his family or neighborhood. James is a Polish boy whose father and brothers are stevedores. He went to Camp Meade a private two years ago; he came back from France a sergeant last week. His increased allotment to the family has kept pace with his promotion. This letter, which was written to thank the Red Cross for the help we gave when a younger brother was about to make his first communion, shows how he had begun to take thought for the future of the family. No case worker could have done better:

"I am taking the great pleasure of thanking you ever so much for your kindness that you and the Red Cross are taking the interest of providing my brother Bennie with his all necessary equipment for his First Communion. And I also wish to say that when I was home my most interest was to see that my other brother Casimir would obtain some kind of education, because *there* is a boy that won't be able to make his living in his older years without having some kind of schooling. So then I would like to ask the Red Cross if there is any possible chance to send that boy to some kind of school." Casimir had a paralyzed arm so that he would never have been able to do laboring work.

This shock of war, which throws a man into a bigger world where he is forced to undergo discipline and to accept certain responsibilities, has brought some very interesting reactions among the group of unmarried mothers and common-law wives. How many marriages have been brought about simply because at every turn a man's relations were challenged! First the allotment officer, "Halt and explain." Perhaps he had never explained to himself or thought it through before. Then the Associate Field Director, the commanding officer, the Home Service worker, repeats the same chal-

lenge, "Halt and explain! Here is your responsibility; what are you going to do about it?"

Marie thought she was going to be married before the baby came, but Joe left one day without a word, enlisted and never answered her pleading letters. When the Red Cross asked his commanding officer to take the matter up with him, he denied all responsibility for Marie's baby, and as far as the commanding officer and the Home Service knew, nothing had been accomplished. In a very little while, however, he began writing to the girl, and promised to see her when on leave. She sent him pictures of the baby and then one day, when he was ordered to France, he telegraphed her to meet him at Camp Merritt so that they could be married. She did; the allotment was made and when next she came in to see us at the Red Cross office, it was to borrow \$3.00 so she could send him his Christmas box, "just like the other wives." Now she has \$150 in bank—all the treasured allotment checks—to start housekeeping with. Joe had squared his shoulders at the challenge and saluted his responsibility.

In another almost identical instance the commanding officer insisted on an allotment to the child. The man did not wish to make it, but having made it, he wrote almost immediately to the girl. "I'm a bit shy sending you pictures of myself for fear you will not want to see them. You will receive money for November, December and January. I was told yesterday that I would have to pay all the back money, so that means I will not draw any pay for three months. If I can get off for a few days you and I will come to some sort of an agreement." The "agreement" was their marriage on his next leave.

In both these cases the man's mother, at first indifferent and hostile to the girl, entered heartily into the marriage and one of them offered a home to the wife and baby.

Frequently marriages have come about between the man and his common law wife, not nearly so often by any persuasion on the part of the visitor as by the acceptance on the part of the man of new standards, the standards of that bigger world where he has been forced to take his place. A colored couple, who had lived together faithfully for fourteen years and had "jest neglected," as the man put it, to get married, asked to have the Red Cross arrange to have it done quietly so the neighbors wouldn't know.

Again: An Italian wrote to us asking us to visit his children who were living with their guardian. The "guardian" proved to be his common law wife with whom he had lived for nine years. That the government would give her a wife's allowance when he had allotted to her put her dependence on him in a new light. The marriage when it finally came off must have seemed a simple affair to him compared with the complicated set of papers which traveled back and forth between our offices and Washington, the application for wife's allotment, birth certificate of a child, affidavits, etc.—all the things that make a man realize that the world expects certain arrangements to be entered into with due form and ceremony.

It is a task worthy of the best case worker to see that these marriages are more than a formal assent to other people's prejudice in favor of the marriage ceremony, more than a legalizing of his children and protecting of their rights. Much rests with those at home, all who compose his little social group. Home itself has come to have a new meaning to him. It is *his* even though he has never seen it, by right of his surrendered pay. Certainly through these first months of homecoming there should be a continuing friendly influence which will help to steady and support this new born sense of responsibility so that the impulse of manliness may not be lost.

Very different are those other homes where the wretched rooms, the over-worked, disheartened wife and neglected children seem to make a mockery of the marriage certificate. Class 4 proved no escape for those non-supporting husbands and drunken fathers who sought its shelter, claim-

ing dependence. It is hard to say whether the departure of the head of the house gave more satisfaction to the wife or to the organized charity visitor, for these families were nearly always known to a family agency. Here at last the social worker saw a chance to build up this wretched home. The steady income of the allotment and allowance, often far greater than the woman had ever known, and the freedom from worry have in many cases resulted in better health and a kind of courage and self-respect. One man was so stirred by the change in his family that he came to see the Red Cross worker to make full confession of his former shortcomings. "I want you to watch me the way you have watched them. You'll see me make good." It was his admiration for his commanding officer—one of the many who have cared for these families were nearly always known to a family agency. Here at last formed home caught the impulse and carried it further.

But if my impression is right, we can count very little on the roused ambition or stimulated pride of these men when they return. Perhaps it is because the man went unwillingly, forced to go, bearing a grudge against his wife, the Draft Board, and the Government of the United States. Perhaps it is because a man who has neglected for many years his wife and children has killed in him those qualities which might have been stimulated. He will be given his chance, of course, but failing to take it, the Prisoners' Aid Society, the Charity Organization Society and the Red Cross will do well to join hands to protect the newly established home.

The so-called war marriage presents an entirely different problem. It was often entered into hastily, under the emotional strain of leaving home, when the loneliness of camp life was unbearable and when some girl came all too easily across the path. If she is the right sort and has taken care that her faithful affection reaches the soldier in a strange land, she may prove an anchor amidst temptations and a blessed haven to which to return. But some men will find themselves in a predicament like Tim's, whose honest face was full of troubled perplexity, as he asked: "Am I married or am I not?" A hasty wedding, a hurried good-bye, one letter with a Baltimore postmark, and months of silence. The returned Government checks had been sent to the Red Cross, but the most patient search could find not one trace of the missing bride. Tim had his bonus and a few extra dollars and he was for starting out for Providence and Fall River to follow the faintest possible clue. He was much relieved when we suggested that he get to work while the Red Cross make the hunt.

It is almost impossible to speak without emotion of those hundreds of families all over our land who, having sent out their men with pride, have made every effort to keep the home just as they remembered it, have borne agonizing anxiety with brave hearts, and now with joy unspeakable are preparing for the great homecoming. All that was best in them has been ennobled, much that was mean or selfish has dropped out of sight, and their love has reached new heights. It was all written in Mrs. Lipsky's shining face as she poured out her joy to the Red Cross friend who had stood by her through the dark days of sickness and poverty: "Every room is decorated, Miss, and when you see him with the soldiers, you will see me, marching down the street beside him." One can only pray that the boys coming to these homes may be worthy of such a welcome.

And so at every turn, it is the case work problem, the necessity to understand what these months of war have done to the family and to the man, to bridge the gulf between them when necessary, quicken the sluggish natures to keep pace with the more eager, steady the unstable that they may continue to be worthy of their best.

There is yet another and different family adjustment which must be made, in these days of return from military to civilian life. I mean the relationship of this mushroom growth of Home Service to the old established

family case work. (And I speak, of course, only of those places where family work existed before the war.) From the start we have been mutually dependent, for if the Home Service owes its very life to organized charity, it in turn saved organized charity from a heavy burden of overwork. The big debt, however, is on the Home Service side. We owe so much that there is only one way in which it can ever be repaid. I, as a Home Service worker, should like to say to organized charity: "We took all you had to give, workers you could not spare, the principles of case work which you had tried out, your record keeping and office system, your most prized volunteers, and turned to you for training. All we have to give in return are some new recruits whom we hope will carry on the old task, a fresh point of view about some phases of case work, and a few suggestions that we offer, even at the risk of their being called criticisms."

The only real criticism, to my mind, would be the suggestion that the Red Cross should carry on its family work as a peace time task, because there are some things that it can do that cannot be done by organized charity. There *are* some things that we have been forced to do by the war, have done with a free hand to meet an emergency which should not be lost.

Organized charity has had to put up a stiff fight for its principles, and a principle to be recognized must have, I suppose, a certain fixity, a firmness of outline, which when unduly insisted upon becomes rigid. Now the crust of social service has been broken, along with the other crusts of special privilege and social caste and party politics, and the old order is changing, but I, for one, believe that organized charity will have both the imagination and the skill to meet the present opportunity. It will mean doing some things differently.

First, it must change its name and this it is all ready to do. The old one in its various forms has a forbidding sound and is little loved by anyone. The combination of Red Cross and Home Service has, I think, much to do with drawing people to us. We have been popular as organized charity never has been, and though I realize that one of the finest things about organized charity is its willingness to be unpopular in order to fight on the side of right, I think, like some people who pride themselves on being frank and to prove it tell unnecessary and ungracious truths, so organized charity has on occasions neglected to cultivate good will lest it should seem to truckle to the public. They have not let the public in and trusted it as much as the Red Cross. The intelligent do not question the wisdom or skill or expertness of organized charity, but they feel its suspicion of everyone whom it has not moulded. How can this aloofness be overcome? The chance which was given to every last person to help the Red Cross with money and service undoubtedly had much to do with the sense of belonging to it, which is so universal. Is there not a suggestion here which may be worth following up?

Aside from the aspect of the war itself, the most noticeable difference between the task of Home Service and the C. O. S. is the wider range of Home Service. People of all classes have come to it without self-consciousness. We have not had to explain away the stigma of "charity." There are several reasons for this besides our name; our relation to the Government and the Government's provision for soldiers' families for one thing, but more than anything else is the feeling that money is the smallest part of all that the Red Cross does for people. The figures here are striking. During the year 1918, 52 per cent of the people applying to the Federated Charities of Baltimore needed no material relief. During the two years of Home Service in the same city 86 per cent needed no material relief. This figure is based on the number of families visited in their homes and does not take into consideration the information and legal service rendered. In April, 1919, our heaviest month, 93½ per cent received no material help.

Nothing could have been simpler than the approach which our Infor-

mation Service gave to people. They wanted all kinds of advice which we could give and we were there to give it, not at stated hours, but all day long. We wanted people to come to the office, we sought them out, we advertised for them, and we made them very welcome. Is there not, on the other hand, a definite feeling that people should *not* come to a C. O. S. office until forced to do so, that there is virtue in making any shift to stay away, and a little shame in coming? Are not children discouraged on principle, even though the workers would find pleasure in their dropping in? "When I go back," one Home Service worker said, "I shan't keep office hours." And I know one office that is to be transformed by paint, paper and new curtains for the sole purpose of being attractive to both volunteers and neighbors. There is no exact parallel to the Information Service of the Red Cross but a more vital touch with the social work in schools and churches, with settlements and dispensaries, would bring family agencies more often in touch with people at their usual level, instead of nearly always at their lowest.

Of all the by-products of the war, surely the volunteer is one of the most interesting. It is the moment to make people understand that emphasis should not be placed on the trained professional worker or on the volunteer, but on the right relationship of the one to the other, on a partnership which will make the work of each most effective. Home Service got wonderful results from volunteers, because they were pushed to it to use them. We put it up to them and gave them real responsibilities, trusting to their intelligence, education and devotion to find their way to the heart of the job. That was not a well thought out theory on the part of Home Service. The work was so much too big for us, so much too hard for us that we were pushed to use every means to encompass it. We were enormously helped, of course, by the stimulus of the war, which urged people everywhere to give up all other interests for war work. We cannot count on this full time contribution of the volunteer, but we can count and should count on the real interest in working with people, which many have felt for the first time, the pleasure of a steady job and the joy of using all one's powers. Because the work was too hard for us, the Home Service workers had to dig down deep into the reservoir of hidden powers, and many were surprised at the reserves of physical strength, of original thought, of tact and executive ability that were discovered. We thought in action, we capitalized our powers, calling to our aid many a forgotten experience and many a despised discipline.

The push of the work—problems coming at us faster than we could handle them—led some Home Service Sections to work out their policies in staff council. The new problems as they arose were put up to a group and as a group they solved them. Whether this is practical or not in older established work, I do not know, but it has been much enjoyed by those who have tried it and makes for a fine spirit of loyalty and esprit de corps.

It is the use of personality that stands out in my mind, but if it is to mean anything, real persons must be chosen and I should like to see emphasis placed on personality rather than on technique in the social work of the future. Now is the time to make so flexible our requirements and training courses that we can draw in teachers, trained nurses or others richly endowed with generous human qualities and with an educated mind and personal attractions. We need such to act as interpreters of case work to men and women stimulated to a new interest in social things by a war that has shaken out of the dark corners the ugly shapes of disease, illiteracy and injustice and has roused a determination to set the world in order. In that setting in order case work has a big part to play. Now is the moment if we can take advantage of it. It will mean hard work and a getting together of all who care to see family case work advanced. The stir has been felt and there is promise in the air that the progress which, while it has been steady, has

often seemed slow to those watching it intently, may now be stimulated to make great gains.

For not by eastern windows only,
When daylight comes, comes in the light.
In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly,
But westward look, the land is bright.

REPLACEMENT OF SOLDIERS IN CIVIL LIFE—THE INDUSTRIAL ASPECTS

Fred C. Croxton, Department of Civilian Relief, American Red Cross, Washington

The industrial readjustment of the soldiers cannot be properly considered without taking into account conditions which affect all members of society—civilian as well as returned soldiers.

Industrial Conditions During the War. Industrial conditions at the time of the mobilization of our military forces and the bearing of such conditions upon the replacement of soldiers should first be briefly reviewed. The outstanding points are:

1. The demand for labor.
2. The increased number of women in industry and their entry into new occupations.
3. Higher earnings and overtime.
4. Concentration of labor in industrial localities.
5. Concentration of labor in industries essential to winning the war.

The Demand for Labor. The surplus of labor, existing before the war, was vitally affected by two conditions arising from the war and which made themselves manifest soon after the beginning of the struggle. Immigration practically ceased and from that source a large part of our unskilled male labor and a considerable part of our female labor had for a number of years been largely recruited. Large contracts for war supplies were awarded manufacturers in the United States, and this meant recruiting industrial armies.

With the entry of our country into war, additional factors developed. Some four million of our younger men entered military service and a very large proportion of these were withdrawn from industry.

The demand for labor grew intense until during the last few months of the war; labor was sought throughout the length and breadth of the land and, aside from a few skilled occupations, the type which seemed to be farthest below the demand was common labor.

This demand for common labor was caused not only by the greatly reduced immigration, but also by the expansion of industry which had brought about the advancement of unskilled workers into semi-skilled jobs. In construction work the hammer and saw man had become a carpenter. In the machine shop the laborer was operating a special machine.

Women in Industry. The demand for labor and the increased wages offered early attracted an increasing number into industry.

After the United States entered the war the patriotic appeal was an additional factor in causing women to enter employment.

Many new fields of work were entered by the women workers, both in essential war industries and in less essential industries, from which male workers had been withdrawn.

Higher Earnings and Overtime. Money wages advanced almost steadily from the beginning of the war in most lines of business, but particularly in lines of work closely related to war activities.

In addition to the advance in money wage, the basic day, in many lines,

was eight hours per day with ten hours' actual work and pay at time and one-half for overtime and double time for Sunday.

Concentration of Labor in Industrial Localities. Shipyards, munition plants and camp construction drew heavily for labor upon agricultural districts and communities without special war activities. Early in the war the movements of negro labor from the south began until possibly from two to three hundred thousand of such workers, largely agricultural in the south, became industrial workers in the north.

The movement of white workers from northern farms and smaller communities was much greater, but has not attracted the attention which has been given to the negro migration.

Concentration of Labor in Essential Industries. After the war began and preceding the entry of the United States, labor was of its own accord shifting to munition work, attracted by the higher wages.

With our country entering the war, there were added incentives—patriotism and public sentiment. Patriotism on the part of the worker who had a desire to do his part in the war.

Public sentiment demanded that the whole industrial force of the country be put back of the war, until at the time of the signing of the armistice in many localities there were practically no able-bodied men engaged in the less-essential industries, and in order to conserve labor, material and transportation, *non-war construction* work had virtually ceased.

Industrial Conditions Following the Armistice. With the signing of the armistice many conditions literally changed over night. From full speed forward in war work the problem was to reverse the industrial machine and go forward in peace activities. In many industries this was not possible, as no peace orders were ahead, and with money tied up in war contracts, many firms were not in position to manufacture for stock even if the nature of the commodity would make such a plan possible.

Covering the same five general topics, let us see the effect produced by the armistice:

The Demand for Labor. Owing to the sudden change from war to peace, there was an equally sudden change from a shortage of labor to an apparent surplus. The surplus was for a time real and it some localities there is still a surplus.

But the fact is that just as soon as industry again gets satisfactorily under way, the shortage will again develop and there is every reason to believe that such a shortage will develop before many months.

The reasons for a such a statement are that not only Europe is in need of our products, but within our own country there is a demand along many lines which waits on only one thing, and that is an appreciation that prices will not suddenly decline.

Throughout the country there is a shortage of houses; the physical equipment of railroads and street car lines is worn out; streets and roads are demanding attention.

Immigration cannot be expected to reach the volume attained before the war. In fact, the stream will probably flow away from, rather than toward, America,

Women in Industry. Many women who entered industry during the war desire to continue in employment. Their earnings have given them a greater degree of independence. They object to former sex limitation in industry. At this time the demand for women in industry seems greater than the supply, except in some clerical positions. This may be due to several reasons: that in many lines of work women have proved to be efficient, that they can generally be secured at lower rate than can men, and also a very important reason is that in many lines women workers are largely recruited from immigrants and the immigration stream has been practically stopped for five

years, which may mark the period of industrial activity for a large proportion of immigrant workers.

Earnings and Overtime. The wage rates have not been reduced in many cases, but have, in fact, been more generally advanced since the armistice.

The earnings, however, have been reduced by the elimination of overtime. In construction work this meant a reduction from 86 hours' pay per week to 48 hours per week.

Essential war industries, where highest earnings were possible, were discontinued and in many of the less essential industries the earnings had not made a corresponding advance.

Concentration of labor in industrial localities. This emphasized the unemployment in such localities and made necessary a redistribution of such labor.

Many in military service had moved to such industrial localities shortly before entering the service and under the law their mileage, when discharged, was computed to point of enlistment. This tended to further increase the unemployment in what had been important industrial localities and operated against the distribution of soldiers to their former homes.

Concentration of Labor in Essential Industries. With the coming of peace, many of the essential industries became at once not only less-essential, but actually non-essential, and production was discontinued at once. Some of such industries turned to peace work; others were abandoned; and labor must find work in other localities or in other industries within the same locality.

General Community Attitude Toward Returning Soldiers. The community takes pride in its soldiers and the general attitude is to give preference in employment to such men who went from the community. In some localities the same degree of responsibility is not felt for non-resident soldiers. The non-resident, as well as the resident, soldier must be supplied with work. The workman whose services were considered more important in industry than in military war are entitled to consideration. The replacement problem is not being satisfactorily handled if it is necessary to displace such workers in order to employ soldiers.

In some localities the various agencies interested in the soldiers are making it entirely too easy for the very few who take advantage of such conditions to get along without work.

The biggest thing is to see that the soldier gets a satisfactory job where he can again take his place in civilian life.

The Soldier's Attitude. The soldier abandoned everything to answer his country's call for military service and he returns expecting to have an opportunity to go forward without discrimination, but seldom asks favor.

He has heard of the comparatively high earnings and of the demand for labor and he returns expecting to find remunerative employment.

Many of the men want to "visit around" and "see the folks" for a while; others want work at once. Generally the soldier is not content to take his old job at the rate of pay at which he left, with present high prices.

Many of the soldiers want better jobs, feeling that they have had valuable experience and that this is the opportune time to make a change.

Many went away boys and after two years came back matured and naturally expect higher grade work.

Many who accept old jobs at comparatively low pay consider such a move only a makeshift and expect to seek better work just as soon as possible.

Comparatively few seem to have any desire to change from city employment to farm work, unless there is an opportunity to acquire land; on the other hand, there is a rather decided move from agricultural to industrial pursuits.

Many who have had inside work now prefer outdoor employment.

The soldier appreciates the spirit which prompts a former employer to take him on the payroll when there is no work to be done, but he does not want such a job and prefers real work. He does not want to be placed upon a pedestal, but wants work and an opportunity to find a place in the community life. He yielded up his individuality and became a unit of the great army and subjected himself to discipline as a part of the military life, but after completing his service he again assumes his individuality and objects to any unnecessary discipline.

The Replacement Machinery. The former employers of returning soldiers are generally making every effort to re-employ, as fast as they return, those who formerly worked for them.

This commendable spirit on the part of the employers can not wholly solve the problem of industrial replacement.

Many employers, particularly munition manufacturers, do not have work for their returning men.

Many soldiers do not want to return to their former occupations.

Where, for any reason, the soldier does not wish to, or cannot, return to his old job, there are only a few ways in which to secure work:

1. To advertise.
2. To go from gate to gate.
3. To secure information concerning available jobs from some employment agency maintained by some governmental agency, some philanthropic agency, employers, workers, or a private fee charging agency.

Only a comparatively few use the advertising method.

The method of going from gate to gate means a great loss of time. It means at the present time waiting to see if perchance a few more men may be needed after the shift starts. Only a few plants can be visited within a day. This plan, if followed without success for a few days, means discouragement and often bitterness, as the soldier feels that it is a far cry from "Welcome to our heroes" to job hunting.

The third plan is through an employment agency. If we allow the returning soldier to be dependent upon fee charging agencies, our own gratitude is open to serious question. In many well organized trades the local union maintains an employment agency for its members. Some employers' organizations also conduct employment agencies.

The most effective organization, however, for handling the industrial readjustment problem is an employment system maintained by the federal government in co-operation with the states and municipalities. Employment is to a considerable extent a local problem and the community should bear a part of the expense of an employment office. The state forms the best administrative unit, and with a proper system a state central office can make the necessary clearance of labor which will reduce idleness in one locality when there is a demand for workers in another; the whole service should be bound together into a federal system with proper standards of work established and provision for a general clearance between states of information concerning opportunities for work and available workers.

Co-operating with such federal system should be all agencies which are assisting in the readjustment problems.

We ought to realize that there is a dangerous unrest abroad in the land and that the best guarantee against the spread of this unrest is satisfactory employment.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

In answer to questions, *Mr. Croston* replied first regarding soldiers' peddling. We should strive to create sentiment among soldiers against commercializing the uniform and we should endeavor to show the public throughout the community that this is a mistaken form of patriotism.

Second, in regard to apprentice jobs. It depends entirely upon the opportunity ahead. If the work promises something worth while it is not an insult to take such a job. In this case its development depends on the soldier's capability.

Third, in regard to the unemployed skilled worker. If work cannot be found for him in his own locality, we should endeavor to secure a job for him in another locality. The public should be encouraged to finish work that has been started. For example, the tendency has been to stop all building. If this construction work were continued, it would help solve the problem.

Mr. Frank J. Bruno of Minneapolis stated that when the Federal Employment Bureau ceased to function, the Home Service asked the Mayor of Minneapolis to appoint a committee of citizens. This committee agreed to give a certain amount of time each day to confer with soldiers out of work. They find out what kind of job he wants, what he is probably best suited for, etc. The citizens go to employers personally and they have been influential in getting employers to take men back. Although this experiment was tried out simply as an emergency measure, it was found so successful that it is still continuing.

Answering interrogation, *Mr. Croston* said that the difficulty of emphasizing the legal residence as a basis of transportation left the burden of proof on the man.

Others who spoke in informal discussion were: *Elizabeth Wood*, Philadelphia; *Miss L. Bighen*, Rochester, N. Y.; *Walter May*, Pittsburgh, and *Walter W. Whitson*, Peoria, Ill.

CASE WORK AND INDUSTRIAL STANDARDS

Stockton Raymond, General Secretary, Associated Charities, Columbus, Ohio

Case work is the most effective method of human engineering. It is impossible to deal successfully with men and women in job-lots. Wherever the human element is a factor, case work is the best means of approach. This is demonstrated in the treatment of families in difficulty. It is no less true in the relationship between husband and wife, parent and child, teacher and scholar, buyer and seller, and employer and employee. Case work has shown its efficacy in building political organizations.

Employers are realizing more and more the importance of the man-to-man contacts. Workers must not be treated as mere machines, but as men and women entitled to personal consideration. Morale in industry is as important as in the army. A square deal, incentive—involving wages and opportunity for advancement—fair treatment and inspiring leadership are necessary to maintain morale. In the last analysis, the spirit of an industry depends upon personal relationship. It is impossible to conceive of opportunity or fair dealing upon any other than an individual basis. The morale of an industry which does not conserve the physical strength and mental capacity of its workers is sure to be low. Decent standards demand that production shall not be injurious to the worker or tend to lower his standard of living.

Some Ways in Which Standards in Industry Affect Case Work—Wages

Any industry is below standard which pays its workers a wage that is insufficient to maintain them in physical efficiency and give them reasonable opportunity for self-development. If the wage is not enough to provide the necessities of life, the family must deteriorate physically, secure outside assistance, or supplement income in an immoral or dishonest way.

Even though the wage is sufficient to secure the bare essentials of life, if it is inadequate to provide for education, recreation and self-development, family life is sure to be so impoverished that it will not attain its maximum capacity for production or service.

Low wage standards result in low grade workers. In paying a wage

below standard, the employer is affecting his labor supply of the future. The fundamental purpose of case work is development. Good wages may not always be well spent; they do afford the basis for normal family life. On the other hand, low wages preclude development, and result in low morale and high turnover of labor with attendant social and economic loss. The case worker believes that the time will come when the employer will see that he cannot afford to pay to his workers less than standard wages.

Hours of Labor

It is a sound principle of case work that the future, as well as the present, must be considered. A worker may produce more by working twelve hours in a single day than by working eight hours. However, if the effect of the twelve-hour day is such as to undermine his strength and to deprive him of the chance for recreation and self-improvement, then—in the long run—the shorter work day is the more economical. In fixing the length of the working day, family welfare as well as maximum, long-run production must be considered. The day's work must be so fixed that not only health and strength will not be impaired, but also that opportunity may be assured. Case work demands reasonable hours of labor, a six-day week, the prohibition of night work for women and minors, and reduction of night work for men.

Safety and Health

The health and safety of the worker are directly affected by industrial standards. The individual factor is an important one in the prevention of accidents. Safety devices are essential, but industry will never be even reasonably safe until the principles of case work are applied to the selection and training of employees. It is necessary that the worker fully understands the relationship of fatigue and attention to safety.

Industrial compensation laws are defective from the point of view of case work, because compensation does not take into consideration the family situation. It is based upon the nature and extent of the injury without regard to social responsibility.

Could a law be devised which would increase the percentage of compensation, based on former wage, in proportion to the family responsibility of the injured worker? Such a scheme would not increase malingering, but would be a recognition of the principles of case work as applied to work accidents.

The re-education and re-adjustment of crippled must no longer be neglected. It is absurd to grant compensation without providing, at the same time, for the readjustment of the injured worker to industrial life. Case work insists upon constructive treatment for the cripple, with emphasis upon development and self-support. As long as industry merely compensates without attempting to reconstruct, it will continue to be responsible for the present socially and economically wasteful policy, under which no attempt is made to salvage that which is valuable in its victims.

Employment that undermines health directly affects standards of family life. In order that health may be safeguarded, the worker must be physically and mentally suited to his task. The industry which does not recognize this principle is likely, unwittingly, to injure the health of those engaged in it.

Injurious industrial processes are more subtle in their ill effects than are those involving accidents. Experience in case work teaches that it is bad policy, both socially and financially, for an industry to exploit health. The industry that safeguards and promotes the physical fitness of its workers augments its efficiency. Labor turnover is lessened, morale is created and production increased.

Unemployment

Unemployment is due in the main to industrial rather than to individual causes. Case work doubts the justice of permitting an employer to hire and fire a large number of temporary employees. Regular employment is as important to the laborer as fair wages. Irregular work is more demoralizing in its effects upon family life than low pay. The employer who believes in human engineering seeks in every possible way to provide steady work for his men.

Fitting the Man to the Job

It is recognized as bad business either to break down a machine by overloading it or to run it at less than capacity. If human life is not to be considered as infinitely cheaper than machinery, should not the same principles be applied by industry to its workers? It is wasteful to overwork, but no less wasteful to allow a man capable of holding down a big job to remain in a little one. Examinations made of the soldiers at the cantonment showed many laboring men to have minds of the finest type. Because of the lack of opportunity and the lack of interest by employers, these men, capable of enormous development, were doing work far beneath their ability. The case worker believes that it is good business for the employer to fit the employee to the job, and that industry would profit if it sought to train and develop its workers to the limit of their capacity. Here again is morale involved.

It has been said that industry does not need large numbers of trained men, and that unskilled workers will always be in demand. If true, this is discouraging; but the case worker does not think it has yet been demonstrated, and continues to believe that industry, in the long run, would profit by the effort to place each worker at a task which would really tax his ability. This is one of the big opportunities for case work in industry.

The necessity for properly fitting the workman to his task is indicated by the losses due to wasted effort, and the lack of effort resulting from the improper placing of workers. There is another factor which must also be considered. The effect upon the laborer of employment unsuited to his ability is similar to that upon the child of school work to which he is ill-adapted. The man becomes discouraged and tends more and more to become unemployable or a casual worker.

Hiring and Firing

Labor turnover is recognized as an expensive process. Some employers have been appalled to find, upon investigation, that their labor force was replaced three times during a single year, with resulting loss in the training of employees. At first, emphasis was placed upon the selection of workers. But even when this was carefully done, replacements continued high. It then became apparent that the employer has a vital interest in the reason why men leave. It has been found that about one per cent of any industrial group will die, five per cent will change because of sickness, and about ten per cent will remove on account of condition of climate and family trouble. Allowing, in addition, for a twenty-five per cent loss due to defective selection, a reasonable labor turnover of forty per cent is accounted for. What, then, is the cause of a two hundred or three hundred per cent labor turnover? Students of this question agree that labor turnover is primarily caused by the lack of understanding of the human factor. In the handling of men, human nature must not be neglected. Excessive labor turnover is due to wrong methods of human engineering. It can be prevented by the right kind of personal contacts between the employer and the workers. Individual contacts which build up morale and gain the loy-

alty and confidence of the worker are those which tend to decrease labor turnover. Men must not be patronized, but made to feel the genuine human interest of their employers. This must be expressed not only in words, but in acts. An officer recently returned from France said that the present splendid condition of the camp at Brest is due to Major General Butler. He made the men in the camp feel his interest in them. When things were in bad condition, he put the whole problem up to them, and one day every man set out for a long tramp to the place where lumber wanted at the camp was stored. Each man knew that there was no means of transportation for this lumber and that it was badly needed. Major General Butler went with them, and each man carried back as much of the needed lumber as he could. The men entered heartily into the spirit of their work, and in the same spirit transformed previous bad conditions to a model camp. Another incident indicates the methods of Major General Butler: Some work was necessary on one of the roads. A company of two hundred and fifty men was ordered to do the job. The men were made to feel that the work was worth while and that the authorities of the camp were interested; and besides this, that they were in competition with other companies. The men worked like beavers and the next day received a letter from Major General Butler complimenting them. It was by methods of this kind that an army officer transformed a much criticized camp into one which is now much praised. The same principles apply to industry.

Hiring and firing are wasteful. The right sort of human engineering is not only good case work, in that it tends to develop the worker, but also good business, for in this way only can men who have had experience in their work be retained and an efficient organization created.

Americanization

Americanization is a give and take process. It is the duty of those who have been longer in the United States to see to it that the best that is in our national life is transmitted to those more recently arrived from other countries. On the other hand, it is the privilege of the earlier arrival to receive from the newcomer the best that he has to give. Industry is usually the first important contact of the immigrant with American life. If he is brow-beaten by his foreman and exploited by his employer, he is sure to gain a wrong idea of American life. The human engineer understands that the contact between employer and worker is especially vital in the case of the immigrant. Great stress has been laid on the necessity for teaching the foreigner to speak English. It is even more important that he receive the right impression through his industrial contact. The interest of the employer must be unselfish. The worker must know that his employer cares about his progress and his family relations. The spirit of brotherhood must permeate the industry and the foreman made to feel his responsibility for "getting it over" to the humblest employe. Americanization will never be really successful until every American becomes an "Americanizer." As long as prejudice exists, one group will fail to understand another and each will be the loser. One of the great opportunities of industry today is, through contact with the immigrant, to become a factor in Americanization.

The Effect of Low Industrial Standards on Family Life

The case worker knows that low wages, long hours of labor, unsafe and unhealthful working conditions, unemployment, hiring and firing, poor adjustment to industrial life and wrong relationship between employer and employe are important factors in producing serious problems in family life. To industry, of course, can be definitely traced handicaps due to accidents and sickness. Unemployment, likewise, is often due to industrial con-

ditions which might be improved. Industry may fairly be held responsible for at least some instances where the worker becomes discouraged and ends by being a derelict.

The Unemployable

The unemployable may be classed roughly as, first, those who, because of old age, or mental and physical disability, require permanent care; and second, those in whom there is the possibility of rehabilitation. Colonies for the physical, mental, moral and industrial reconstruction of the second group are essential to their successful treatment. In order to refit them for industry, medical care and industrial training covering an extended period is often necessary. At present, the case worker is almost helpless in dealing with the unemployable. The vagrant is provided temporary food and shelter, but wanders away before real facts can be determined. A term in the workhouse is of no permanent value. If sent to the infirmary for medical care, he leaves before results can be obtained. Unemployable persons capable of reconstruction, who become a burden to the community, should be sent to camps or colonies for a period sufficient to make effective treatment possible. Upon discharge, they should remain upon parole until they prove their ability to readjust themselves to community life. There is as great need for such a colony for women as for men. The case worker encounters the greatest difficulty in dealing with women physically unfit for industry who, with the proper care, might become again employable. Industry by better human engineering can greatly decrease the number of the unemployable. It should be interested in the reconstruction of those temporarily unfitted for work.

Industrial Contacts of Social Agencies

It used to be regarded as sound case work to withhold from the employer the knowledge that a social agency was interested in an employee or his family. The theory was that the employer would be prejudiced against the worker, if he knew that the man or his family were in serious difficulty. The case worker feared the laborer might lose his job, and thus a bad situation be made worse. Although realizing that the employer might be a great help in dealing with the problem, the social worker failed to take advantage of this fact, because of the bare possibility that interests of his client might be injured. Social workers today see more clearly than ever before the importance of the contact between employer and employee, and the assistance which the employer can give in dealing with family problems. As social workers are being employed more extensively in industry, the contacts between social agencies and industry are growing closer. The facts at the disposal of the social case workers are valuable to the employer who understands that the family life of his employee is an important factor. Standards both of industry and of case work will improve as the case worker and the employer join forces in meeting family problems.

Unemployment

During periods of unemployment, standards in industry are especially threatened. It is then that wages are likely to be cut and other hard won gains undermined. The social case worker, in times of unemployment, finds it necessary to insist that persons out of employment accept any work that can be secured. There is no doubt but that this attitude contributes toward the lowering of standards. However, there seems to be no remedy. A social worker is not in a position to finance the unemployed, and the only hope lies in the direction of a job. In times of unemployment, emergency relief work becomes overwhelming and there is nothing for the social agency to do, but to advise persons out of work to take such employment as they can find.

Insufficient Earnings

Many family problems result from low wages; in dealing with that problem the case worker is not entirely helpless. Courage is necessary to insist upon a fair wage or advise the laborer to give up his job. At least, when other work can be found, this action should be taken, but only after a careful study of industrial history and the mental and physical capacity of the client. What could be more splendid from the point of view of case work than to find a job suited to his ability for an underpaid and under-employed worker? Would not a bureau which stood ready to make mental and physical tests in order to determine whether or not a worker is suitably employed, afford wonderful possibilities for the promotion of family life in the community? To this bureau any man having ambition to progress industrially might go and secure the best possible advice and assistance in readjusting his industrial life. Individual employers are doing just this sort of thing. Until the practice becomes universal, is there not room for such a bureau in our community life?

Strikes

What should be the attitude of the social agency with regard to strikes? If the union is not a strong one, it often happens, during strikes, that some of the families involved ask assistance from a social agency. It is regarded as a sound principle of social work that relief should not be provided for an able-bodied man who could secure work and yet makes no effort to do so. It has been the practice of relief agencies to insist that the striker accept other employment, if it can be secured. The effect of this policy, no doubt, is to help break the strike. The man who is working elsewhere cannot picket, and is more likely to lose interest in the strike. So the relief agency, in insisting upon the striker accepting other employment, is indirectly undermining industrial standards. The only alternative seems to be that the relief agency come out boldly on the side of the strikers and assist them in raising funds to support the strike. It cannot, however, as a relief agency, use its general relief funds for the support of a striker where he refuses other employment.

Child Labor

Case work through contact with family problems should insist upon school attendance and the enforcement of proper standards with regard to child labor. Case work often means assisting the individual to adjust himself to industrial life. Children must not enter blind alley employments and must have the interest of the case worker in securing work that offers real chances for the future. Boys under twelve and girls must not be permitted to sell papers on the street or engage in other street trades in order to save a dollar per week in the relief fund. Standards of industry may be safeguarded at least to some extent by the attitude of the social worker towards child labor and education.

Women in Industry and Home Work

Employment by women who are needed in the home tends to lower standards in industry. This was shown clearly when the women who sought night work in order that they might be with their families during the day objected strenuously to a bill prohibiting night work for women. Relief agencies, although hard pressed for funds, should not be tempted to allow women to accept employment to the disadvantage of both family life and standards in industry. Home work should be discouraged, since, beyond doubt, its tendency is to lower industrial standards.

Conclusion

Standards in industry can best be measured by the case work test. Practical human engineering requires not only the development of the material, but also the spiritual side of family life. It has been said that the spirit of the workers is industry's greatest asset-liability."

SOCIAL WORKERS AND THE SPIRIT OF UNREST

John A. Fitch, Staff of New York School of Social Work

There is an unrest prevailing in America today that is different from anything that has ever existed in this country before. It is widespread and it concerns fundamental things. It involves a turning away from the old and smaller struggle to a new and far more significant one in which the demands of labor will be not alone for improved conditions—shorter hours, higher wages, better work places—but for a new status. It is no petty thing, therefore, that we have to consider, but a matter of gravest consequence. It may be that we have reached a turning point in our social and industrial history.

In the outcroppings of this new unrest we can perceive certain distinct phenomena, each of which has its own significance. First there is a new solidarity of thought and of action. The agitation over the Mooney case gives evidence of that. A labor man has been sentenced to life imprisonment on testimony that labor believes to have been perjured. This is not the first case where a similar belief has prevailed, but today as never in any similar case there is indignation the country over. Countless protest meetings and a national convention have been held, ending in plans for a general strike, if justice is not forthcoming.

The general strikes that have recently occurred in Seattle, Winnipeg and elsewhere give evidence of the same thing. Whatever other factors may have been involved it is clear that in these strikes labor was standing together as never before. The object of a majority of the strikers was not the securing for themselves of any immediate advantage, but the support of and the expression of comradeship with fellow-workers who were seeking to improve their condition.

In the second place there is a turning toward new methods and new instruments for carrying on the labor struggle. Craft unionism, for example, is making concessions before the demand that the occasion makes for a new strategy. The present remarkably successful campaign for organizing the steel industry is being carried forward jointly by twenty-four different unions, each of which claims jurisdiction over some part of the industry. In each steel mill, where organization has made headway, steel works councils have been established, which bring together all the separate crafts and provide for uniformity of action. It was the same strategy that brought organization once more to the Chicago stockyards, after fifteen years of complete disorganization. In the Pacific Northwest the movement toward industrial unionism has proceeded so far that a referendum is being taken there to determine whether or not craft organization shall be definitely abandoned. In western Canada a large group of unions have broken away from the American Federation of Labor, altogether, in order to establish the "one big union," which is the ideal of the industrial unionist.

Another manifestation of this reaching out for new instruments is the spontaneous development all over the country of labor parties. In fifty or more cities parties have been formed since the beginning of the year. In Illinois a state-wide political organization has been formed, and in Penn-

sylvania only a few weeks ago the State Federation of Labor voted to organize in the political field.

A third significant fact is the nature of the demands that labor is making. Never in the history of the American labor movement has there come from a responsible union a proposal so challenging to existing economic custom and at the same time put forward with such constructive foresight, as the plan of the railroad brotherhoods for the operation of the railroads. This plan calls for government ownership, with operation to be undertaken by a corporation whose sole capital would be "operating ability," and whose stockholders would be the officials and wage earners of the railroads. Such a proposal, worked out in such detail, would be impressive enough, regardless of its source. Coming as it does, from a group of unions that have stood for many years as models of conservatism, its significance is intensified. We have gone far on the road toward new thinking and new action when the railroad brotherhoods put forward the most radical project of the day.

Not to be outdone, the United Mine Workers have come forward with a similar plan for nationalization of the coal mines, with operation by the workers.

Beyond all these things, and modifying them all, there is a new spirit, a new idealism among the workers, that has grown directly out of the war—its achievements and its slogans. American workingmen everywhere understood that this was a war for the most idealistic of purposes, to make little nations free, to make the world "safe for democracy." Responding to this idealism they willingly gave everything to achieve victory—sons, husbands, brothers, and money for Liberty Bonds, Red Cross funds and for the K. C. or the Y. M. C. A. Now it is not to be supposed that all this thinking and planning and working and suffering for democracy is to go for naught. After fighting for it abroad there arises a new demand for democracy at home. Democracy in political life we have, and once a year we stand in the voting booth—sovereigns—and exercise the power that belongs to free men. But the mill or the shop is where men go every day, where they live their lives. Why not democracy there, too? Labor is asking that question and asking it so insistently that it is impossible for matters to remain as they have been.

It is impossible, too, that workmen everywhere should not have been profoundly affected by what has happened in Russia. It requires no adherence to Bolshevism to make the workers of one country thrill with the thought that in another country their fellow-workers are in control. Whether they know the truth or not, whether they approve or disapprove of the acts of the government of Lenine and Trotzky, it is an intensely stimulating thought that there is a country where workingmen are in the saddle. It is a thought that leads to questionings. Can such things be? Is it possible that the men and women who toil, who give their bodies to the maintenance of industry and society can be equal in honor and power and emoluments with those whose position comes from ownership instead of achievement? Is it possible that the day is dawning when workmen shall no longer be merely the recipients of orders from those in authority, but shall share both in the making and in the executing of decisions; when they shall no longer be the futile victims of the fluctuations of industry, waiting like commodities in the market place for the whim of a buyer, but masters of an industry brought into subjection to human need?

These are deep and pregnant questions and they must be answered though the length and breadth of our social structure and the foundations of it be searched and tested before the answer is found. They must be answered, too, whether men are wise or foolish in the asking, patient or restive in awaiting the answer. And they must be answered, even though they are

new questions, inspired by a new spirit; and the custom of men is to fear what is new and to suppress what they do not understand.

In the prevailing attitude toward the new spirit of unrest two predominant motives stand out. One is fear, the fear of the unknown and the fear of anything disturbing to an ease based upon the continuance of things as they are. The other is a calculating movement for the capitalization of fear.

Among those who are motivated by fear is a certain part of the American labor movement itself. Some of the ultra-conservative labor leaders are a bit dubious about the movement that is sweeping new members so rapidly into their organizations. It is even possible that some of them would stem the tide of organization if they could, apprehensive lest the new contingent will be uncontrollable and will prove a menace to their own carefully nurtured power. This small group, itself incapable of constructive leadership, is fearful and jealous of the rising spirit that would substitute other leadership. The recent strike at Lawrence, Massachusetts, made this clear. Striking for objectives that were ultimately obtained and surpassed, using methods that were in full accord with the practice and traditions of the American labor movement, the strikers nevertheless were opposed and denounced by labor officials whose counsel against the strike had been overruled.

Conservative labor leaders who are honestly fearful of a possible "radicalism" in labor ranks have even joined forces with the enemies of trade unionism in an effort to suppress labor activities tinged with what they have felt to be too radical a hue. William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor of the United States, proud of his trade unionism, took occasion not long ago to denounce as treasonable four different strikes in widely separated sections of the country, on no information whatever, apparently, except such as was furnished him by so-called "Minute Men" and other groups opposed to the labor movement. Without a scintilla of evidence worthy the name he declared that these strikes were revolutionary in character, and thus he lent the powerful influence of his high office to the injury of the working people of Lawrence and Paterson, Butte and Seattle.

The atmosphere in which we are living is favorable to hysteria. Hence there has been for some months past a great shouting and darkening of counsel over a thing called Bolshevism. The term has come to be at once a convenient epithet and a club with which to belabor any movement with which one is not in agreement. The association opposed to National prohibition denounces the Anti-Saloon League as a fomenter of Bolshevism. School boards in more than one city are combatting the Teachers' Union on the same grounds. Conservative labor unions have pinned the label of Bolshevism on other unions more radical than themselves. Security leagues and defense societies find Bolshevism at the bottom of movements to amend the federal constitution or as the inspiring genius of those who make inquiry concerning the right of courts to declare laws unconstitutional.

Altogether, then, with unrest on a scale never known before, with fear and malice abroad and the air filled with epithets, we have a situation that seems reasonably to call for action. Three lines of action are proposed: one is statesmanship, based on understanding, one is a policy of makeshift, based on fear, and a third is suppression.

The first needs little discussion. So far as a public policy is concerned it involves rational legislation that will conserve the interests of the wage earners and make possible their progressive advancement. With employers it means recognition of the rights of the workers and the establishment of relationships that will mean a sharing of power.

The second is the movement for sham industrial democracy. Employers who never have conceded the right of collective bargaining on even the

most fundamental of subjects are now installing hastily conceived plans for the organization of advisory committees. Though most of these plans are so devised as to prevent the employes from acquiring any real power, the plans are given names that suggest nothing less than the actual rule of the people. Designed to protect an autocracy of industrial control, the plans are offered as a sop, to quiet those who are calling for real democracy. In thus characterizing a movement of the day it is obvious that I am not referring to the organization of democratically elected shop committees, for the purpose of genuine collective bargaining—a movement which is a part of that industrial statesmanship mentioned above.

The third line of action proposed is either to divert the prevailing unrest into innocuous channels or to suppress it by force; and this is the program which seems at the present moment to commend itself, if not to a majority of our people, at least to that part which is most persistently vocal. Certain "Americanization" campaigns are particularly adapted to the purposes of this program.

"To counteract radical tendencies and to aid the foreign born to understand America" is announced as the objective of the Americanization program of a great religious organization. "Radicalism" the announcement states, "is a by-product of the world war. Every country in the world stands in fear of red riots and in this the United States is no exception. It was a menace in the American army, but it is a more serious menace to American industries. From demobilized camps and dismissed armies come tens of thousands of foreign born men, who listen to Ishmaelites whose hands are against the present order; other foreign born give ear, because they are ignorant of what America is, what rights the constitution gives the people, and how government in this country rests wholly in the hands of the people."

To counteract this dangerous propaganda, to silence the Ishmaelites and stop the red riots, this Americanization program suggests songs, conferences, dinners and instruction in the English language.

From such a conception as this it is but a step to a policy which, once it is entered upon, becomes indiscriminate and devoid of reason. We have laws to prohibit the display of red flags—as if that could limit thought. It is seriously proposed that the Espionage Law be re-enacted and made applicable to times of peace, with all the violence that that implies to American and Anglo-Saxon traditions and laws concerning freedom of speech and of the press. Serious limitations on freedom of speech and assembly have already been enacted into law in some states and a movement is on to make such restrictions general.

The American Defense Society, with headquarters in New York, is conducting "a nation-wide campaign," to use its own words, in behalf of federal legislation that will "enable the constituted authorities to apprehend all alien agitators and to deport them or dispose of them in any other effective manner."

In the Pittsburgh district at the present time, in the towns and boroughs along the Monongahela River, mayors and chiefs of police are joining with agents of the United States Steel Corporation to prevent the holding of union meetings. Organizers are not permitted to get possession of halls. Some of them have even been arrested while quietly attending to their affairs, and while they were under arrest officers have tried to intimidate them.

At Plymouth, Massachusetts, where the Pilgrim Fathers landed in their search for freedom from oppressive rulers, the city officials not long ago closed all the halls of the city against union organizers who were attempting to hold a meeting. At Lowell, after all the halls had been closed to them, workingmen went outside the city into a wood and there, by the light of lanterns, held their meeting. And, as a friend of mine significantly quotes:

"The sounding aisles of the forest rang
With the anthem of the free."

From suppression it is but another step to mob violence. A mayor of a great American city is quoted as saying that the government is "on the wrong track in starting conferences instead of cemeteries, in dealing with the I. W. W.," and that he would lead a movement to "hang them to the first convenient light pole."

In a discussion in the Senate of the United States last January, of the bill to appropriate \$100,000,000 to provide food for helpless and starving people in Europe, it was suggested that that is not the way we treat our "American Bolsheviks." "We shoot them," remarked Senator Vardaman. And Senator Hardwick responded, "We have shot them and jailed them and done a few other necessary things in order to keep them right and keep them within the bounds of the law."

Less important so far as individuals are concerned, but very important in view of their numbers, is the assumption on the part of certain recently demobilized soldiers that they somehow have become the conservators of the patriotic instincts if not of the morals of the American people. This assumption on their part makes them the ready tools of those dangerous elements—the more dangerous because they assume to speak in the name of law and order—who would set up mob rule as a protection against what they call Bolshevism! No one assumes that the recent attempts of groups of soldiers and sailors to break up meetings in New York and in other cities has been wholly uninspired. No one supposes that the raid of May 1, on the building occupied by the New York Call, the invasion of a meeting which the raiders thought unpatriotic and the assaults upon the men and the rough handling of women and children was wholly spontaneous and unprovoked by outside influences. Whether they were or not, the danger of permitting any group of men to arrogate to themselves the right of censorship over public speech and morals must be apparent to all.

It is deeply significant that when it was brought to the attention of Secretary Glass that some of the men who were responsible for the outrage at the Call Building were speakers in the Victory Loan Campaign, his answer was in the nature of justification of their act. Secretary Glass is quoted as saying, "I am not prepared to say that the ultimate responsibility for the disorders to which you called attention rests with the soldiers and sailors rather than with those incendiary publications which they resented."

These are but a few of the evidences that exist on every hand of the building up of a new intolerance. Time is lacking to speak of unlawful and violent acts of citizens and police in many communities, having as their victims the leaders of groups of workers who were proceeding by lawful means to secure redress of their grievances; of the arrest of strike leaders on trumped-up charges; of the recent abortive attempt to deport from our shores certain foreign born men whose only crime was membership in a radical organization; of the wave of indiscriminating intolerance now sweeping the country with redoubled vigor, that brands every foreigner as a potential criminal.

In this situation there is a challenge to all true Americans and to social workers in particular. The issue is clear cut. Either this movement of intolerance is fundamentally opposed to all sound principles of dealing with human beings or the social workers have been wrong from the beginning. If suppression, based on ignorance and distrust, is the means by which social progress is to be attained, then friendliness and good will are false doctrines and the Sermon on the Mount has no constructive message for our times.

What will you do with this challenge? Out of your rare knowledge of men and women and your acquaintance with human problems and relationships you are able to appraise the significance of this labor unrest as few

people are. You know whether or not this uneasiness and discontent grows from any source other than malice and leads anywhere other than to meaningless revolt.

There is no need to tell you what four years of rising prices have meant to men and women already underpaid and who have seen, despite wage increases, a steady shrinking through those years of the purchasing power of a day's pay. You know the meaning of seasonal employment, which in many industries despite the pressure of the war emergency has still forced thousands into periodical idleness. You are concerned with individuals, you are familiar with the problems of existence of thousands of families. You know then the effects of a ruthless system of unrestrained hiring and firing. You know, too, the hazards to which the lives of wage earners are exposed. You know that they live in constant fear of sickness or accident or unemployment, or of the coming of old age with its total and final loss of income and with no provision made against it.

And so we have unrest, not a meaningless thing springing from malice, but an upward striving arising out of the hunger of body and soul. Far from being the menacing thing that timid souls fear, it is rather a movement in which the finest instincts in man are seeking expression and room to grow. You can no more suppress it than you can stop the tides.

The thing above every other thing that is needed just now is understanding. There, it seems to me, lies the opportunity of the social worker. Knowing the underlying facts that explain surface phenomena, he can refute the wild rumors, the hearsay tales and the libels that tend toward confusion of thought. He can correct his own impressions by frequent association and conference with those men of labor, who in every community are working sincerely and finely for the raising of their fellows to higher standards and conditions and for the building of a better citizenship. He can work incessantly for such a community understanding of the true nature of industrial unrest as will break down that ignorance and fear which is the sure foundation for misguided policy. What we need is comprehension rather than hatred, and light rather than suppression. This the social worker can help achieve.

Next after that we need constructive leadership. It is not enough to understand, we must know what to do. We must have a social program worthy the name, not a plan limited to the temporary adjustment of individual problems but something that deals with underlying causes. Every social worker should know for example the proposals for social reconstruction recently put forward by the committee on national program of the Conference on Social Agencies and Reconstruction. He should know the reconstruction program of the American Federation of Labor, of the National Catholic War Council, of the various labor parties and of the British Labor Party. And he should bear this distinctly in mind, that labor is seeking more than better pay and shorter hours, that its aim is clearly in the direction of a changed relationship that will mean its positive establishment in a position of power in the industrial world.

A moment ago I said that the present situation constitutes a challenge to the social worker. It is a challenge not only to his intelligence but to his integrity. We have very nearly come, it seems to me, to the parting of the ways; and social workers, whether they will it or not, must soon decide which road they intend to travel. It is a decision between stimulant and soporific, between aggressive action in line with conviction and a catch-penny policy of follow-my-leader.

There is more at stake today than the settlement of a strike or the success of a legislative program. The issue is Americanism. You have been told that that is a matter about which there can be no two opinions. That may be true, but the first question to decide is "What is your America?" We must

have an answer to that before anyone will know what is meant by "Americanization." Is the America we believe in one of negation, and our attitude toward the foreign born one of supercilious patronage, or is it a forward looking America, capable of self-examination, of respect for other thought and other traditions and of good will toward all men?

There is a movement on foot today to rob America of some of the things that have made her great. In total disregard of her history and of the ideals of liberty and freedom of expression for which men have died, organized groups are demanding changes in our laws that will if unchecked create a new America, an America of intolerance and of reactionary class rule.

There can indeed be no two opinions among true social workers concerning such a conception as this. We must stand out for the forward looking, broad gauged Americanism that is our heritage from past generations. Otherwise we shall be choosing for ourselves an intellectual serfdom. We must decide also that we are no longer unbiased observers where injustice is breeding. We must scorn neutrality wherever there is a contest between social progress and stagnation or reaction. We must get at the facts and then we must become partisans on the side of truth. Only thus can social workers be true to their traditions and their high calling. Only by such a clear conception and expression of their faith can they rightly claim comradeship with those free souls who from Socrates to Jesus and from Jesus to Lincoln have struggled, not to stifle thought, but to make men free.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Mr. George L. Warren, Secretary of the Charity Organization Society of Bridgeport, Conn., said: I feel that Mr. Fitch is to be complimented for his exposition of the situation and his challenge to social workers merits their grave consideration.

I cordially agree with Stockton Raymond. I am unable to follow the extreme labor agitators and on the other hand the reactionary capitalists. They are probably reacting perfectly normally to their respective stimuli. Mr. Paul Kellogg says that an English M. P. has summed up the difference between social workers and labor leaders in this way: social workers are strong on method and weak on vision and labor leaders are weak on method and strong on vision. Social workers tend to stress scientific aspects of human conduct much more than labor leaders.

As proof of Mr. Fitch's suggestion that industrial democracy is on the way, I wish to point out that during the war, labor was taken in on a joint partnership basis by the Federal Government. In Bridgeport we have been developing the shop committee plan with a good deal of success. It seems to be a real step toward the realization of democracy in industry. The men are electing as their representatives on the shop committees the saner and more conservative among them. The shop committeemen are at present working alone in their individual plants; in time, they must unite in local and national organizations. Both labor and capital will be represented in these organizations. Social workers will be called upon for the scientific human facts about living conditions, etc., upon which compromises will be based. It behooves us to be more scientific, more sure of our facts and then state them boldly. And, always, we must help, by practical recommendation to enable the manufacturer to put some of his idealism into practice in his own plant.

Prof. Francis Tyson of the University of Pittsburgh, said: It is to be regretted that Mr. Raymond did not deal more fully with the question he suggested, the practice of social work in relation to misery rising out of industrial disputes. Perhaps, as Professor Pound suggested in his admirable paper last night, we are at fault in calling ourselves "social workers" unless we can identify our program with the whole of society rather than with any particular group. May I raise the question as to the reason for withholding service in distress arising from strikes? Is not such a condition as objective as unemployment or sickness for other reasons? Should our service, where it does not involve money relief at least, be withheld? Further, have we not a basic concern in the motive and success of strikes in so far as they aim to raise the wage and improve the standard of living of the people? In any case, labor's three demands of a minimum wage, a basic day, and the right to collective bargaining have been recognized as fundamental by the U. S. Government, during the war in the decisions of the War Labor Board. And the time may come when they will be similarly recognized by social workers. Is it part of our duty as social workers to inform our boards

and other members of the employing group with whom we come in contact of the real issues at the present time in Industrial America?

John J. Sonstebj, Chicago. I represent at this convention an international trade union, and think that social workers see too much of isolated sufferers from misery, and get obsessed with the idea of human misery, and think it is far more prevalent than it is. Conditions are far better than we think. Take, for instance, the question of free speech. We are perfectly free to say what we like at this convention. Let us leave the labor program to the labor leaders, and try to catch up with the government's social-welfare program, which is now far in advance of our own.

Mr. Fred R. Johnson of Detroit: The city authorities have not in any way forbidden the open discussion of industrial questions. Absolute freedom of speech has prevailed. As social workers we need to keep our balance in the present troubled situation and to remember that the Anglo-Saxon and the American ideal is, in the words of Wendell Phillips, for liberty to prevail under the law.

Dr. Thomas J. Riley, Brooklyn, cordially agreed with Mr. Warren's suggestion that we should make our family budget public. He suggested that we have a similar obligation to make known the prevailing rate of wages in a community and its relation to the standard family budget. We have another obligation that is too frequently passed over; to make known bad housing conditions. Labor leaders themselves ignore this important phase of social welfare too frequently. We should take this up with them, and get them to make better housing a plank in their platform. The Brooklyn Bureau of Charities has successfully co-operated in the past with the Brooklyn Central Labor Union in starting the Tuberculosis sanitarium at Medford, L. I.

Mr. Sidney A. Teller, Pittsburgh, said that social workers should arrange their own open forum, at which they themselves could express their views freely. Such a forum is held weekly in Pittsburgh under the Social Workers' Club. In March, 1910, one of the American Federation of Labor organizers of the steel industry came to Pittsburgh and this Social Workers' Club was the only group outside of labor, to give the organizer an opportunity to present what they plan to do. Social workers must stand for freedom of the press, of assembly and of conscience.

Mr. J. Howard T. Falk of Montreal urged that social workers should not hide their first hand knowledge of social mal-adjustments under a bushel. Social workers are often so busy in case work that they lose sight of the dual obligation—the duty to *prevent* human misery. We should go straight to employers and demonstrate to them that social justice is cheaper than taxes for correctional and institutional care plus donations to private societies for relief. It may be impossible to bridge the gap between capitalism and labor, but it is not impossible to bring about a common understanding between the hand workers and the brain workers.

Mr. Edward Lynde of Grand Rapids, Mich., spoke of the plan inaugurated by the Social Welfare Association of Grand Rapids. Case workers in the organization found that wives were going to work and letting their children run the streets because the husbands were not earning enough to support their families. The society suggested that representatives of labor and of the manufacturers association, together with representatives appointed by the society should make a study of the cost of living in Grand Rapids, and its relation to the wages paid in the city. A committee has been appointed with the title, Committee on Industrial Justice. One sub-committee is studying the employment situation in Grand Rapids. A second sub-committee is pushing health insurance. A third sub-committee is studying the question of the minimum wage and minimum hours of labor, and the fourth sub-committee is studying the minimum cost of living with reference to Grand Rapids wages. The plan inaugurated by the Social Welfare Association has now been adopted by the Association of Commerce. This committee's work has already brought about better relations between capital and labor.

FAMILY BUDGET PLANNING

Helen W. Hanchette, Associated Charities, Cleveland

As the development of thrift is dependent upon the wise planning of a family budget, we are going to consider budget planning not in the sense of the technical details of any particular budget, but in a general way. To most people, the term thrift implies only saving. However, there are two phases of thrift, and is not the diverting of expenditures from unproductive channels to those productive of wholesome living for our clients the more important consideration?

Although our emphasis is to be on wise spending, we should not fail to recognize the value of the government plan for systematic saving. Experience last winter indicated that if people could be made to realize the importance of saving money during periods of regular earning, at good wages, our emergency problems would be somewhat lessened. Although there was a definite slackening of industry following the armistice, and approximately 75,000 people in Cleveland were laid off, our organization had only a slight increase in applications due to unemployment. This was unquestionably due to the fact that practically every wage earner had bought Liberty Bonds and Savings Stamps and, therefore, could obtain necessary credit. From this experience we may get suggestions as to how best to teach the families of seasonal or irregular workers who receive good pay, the need for consistent planning so that they will get away from their tendency to live up to their income during employment and later be swamped with debts.

A Bank and Budget Planning

Realizing that systematic saving would be impossible for many folks without a readjustment of their household planning, about a year ago a mutual savings bank in Cleveland, numbering nearly one hundred thousand depositors, established as an experiment a home economics bureau in charge of an experienced woman whose practical and scientific knowledge of food, clothing and household management was offered without charge to depositors.

A variety of pamphlets was published and distributed by the bank containing suggestions on budget planning. These served to arouse interest in the bureau and bring to it questions relative to individual family problems. The worker in charge feels that her service is most helpful to young business women and to young married women. Two account books have been devised, one for the household and one for the individual. These are given to people on the promise that they be kept faithfully and returned at the end of a year.

From women who came for personal advice, three study groups of ten each have been formed for the discussion of matters involved in household management. The following subjects were discussed: (1) Budgeting; (2) House Decoration; (3) Renting vs. Owning; (4) Planning of Meals, and (5) Buying of Clothing.

Many and varied are the problems coming to the bureau in the course of a day. The young man just ahead of me was telling the worker that he had an opportunity to buy a home, but the contract demanded a payment of \$100 a month exclusive of taxes. Could he, with a wife and three children on an income of \$250 a month, afford to make a payment of \$100 a month without lowering the family's standard of living and depriving his children of proper food, education and recreation?

A young mother of foreign birth had the day before come to the bureau, stating that her baby was not growing and asking anxiously of what her diet should consist.

Two discharged soldiers with their brides had stopped to ask what was the best way to start housekeeping on a small salary. When the worker suggested to couple Number One that they rent two or three rooms and buy for cash only such pieces of furniture as were actually necessary, they left, the wife saying, "Oh, I should never consent to live that way. We can buy all we want from an installment house and live comfortably." Couple Number Two thoughtfully considered their resources, deciding on just what things were necessities. In making their budget with the assistance of the home economist, a small margin was left for saving. When they went away they were fully in accord with the worker that their future must not be hampered by debt and they should buy only what they could pay for.

The most interesting of all was the case of a young married couple with whom the bureau had been working for several months. The husband was employed by a wealthy uncle who allowed him whatever was necessary for his expenses. The wife had everything charged to her husband and never had the slightest idea of the value of money. She frequently had misgivings as to the future and would try to get her husband to tell her how much she was spending, but he always told her to get what she wanted and leave the question of expense to him. Through her cousin she learned of the home economics bureau and she expressed a desire to go down and talk things over with the worker, but her husband only laughed at this.

Suddenly reverses overtook the uncle. The husband went home one night and told his wife that they must live on \$175 a month, and asked her how much of this she must have to run the house. Of course, she had no idea, but it gave her the chance she had wanted, and next morning bright and early she appeared at the bank for consultation and she has been going regularly since.

Bureaus of this type offer extensive facilities for easily reaching people needing counsel and are apparently a coming factor in thrift education. It should be clearly noted, however, that in the multiplication of such bureaus there is a real danger. Because of the accessibility and the variety of questions asked, their workers trained in one line only may attempt to give offhand advice in complicated situations which should have careful study by people experienced in case treatment.

This project is one of the many new developments in human relationships, well intended and with great opportunities for good which, unless carefully managed, will have almost as great opportunities for harm. On the whole, I believe it is fortunate that banks and other similar institutions are moved to afford to the public facilities for improving household management. It is to be hoped that the possible dangers will be perceived and measures will be taken to guard against them, so that well-meant efforts shall not have unfortunate results.

What struck me most forcibly, in going over the problems which come to the Bureau, was the fact that after all they represent the same kind of problems which we at the associated charities are all the while meeting, the chief difference being in the size of the incomes involved.

The Field of the Home Economist

Among the clients of the associated charities are two groups: one whose income and resources do not permit self-support. The other is self-supporting, and sometimes has a slight margin above that, but because of lack of opportunity or defects of character, the families composing this group cannot adjust themselves satisfactorily to the conditions which have overtaken them.

With both groups the case worker's task is first to determine, by a careful study of character and surroundings, what elements of strength lie in the individual family as a basis for helping themselves, and what weak-

nesses are going to keep them from a wholesome development. In almost every situation, problems of household management are interwoven, to meet the most intricate of which we have on our staff at the present time three home economists, and are about to start a visiting sewing teacher. The work of the home economists, who are also trained case workers, is three-fold:

First, to work intensively with a few families where the family problem is primarily that of home administration, teaching how to spend wisely so that the investment will yield the greatest possible return in health and happiness.

Second, and to my mind most important of all, to use this background of experience as a basis for judgment in advising with the other visitors as to budgets and menus, as well as for gathering material on prices to give out to those on the staff who are not specialists in this line.

Third, to keep in touch with all community movements relating to household management which may react to the benefit of our clients. To further this development there are regular meetings of the home economics committee, at which problems and policies are discussed. These workers, and in a less intensive way the visitors, in their work of education in thrift encounter every variety of problem known to housekeeping.

The X— family lives on one of those streets which is the despair of the social worker. Sadden it is beyond description with its smoke-laden air, its unpainted houses and its ash-covered back yards—a street with no individuality, but withal not bad enough to be picturesque.

As an iron worker, Mr. X— earned enough to support his family, if he and his wife had known how to manage carefully. Mrs. X— made great efforts to get along, but somehow they seemed to sink deeper and deeper into debt. Of the six small children, only two were in normal health.

It is too long a story to enumerate all the processes used by the home economist in untangling this family's difficulties, but these things were definitely accomplished: Mrs. X— learned how to break away from credit at the corner grocery, with its outrageous prices and poor quality of goods. Through the company where Mr. X— worked a co-operative store was available so that articles could be bought at cost. This saving was applied on debt. Next, came lessons in cooking which proved so interesting to Mrs. X— that she began telling the neighbors how to prepare appetizing dishes. In order to secure better sleeping quarters, the family were induced to move to a place where they would have another bedroom for the children without greatly increasing the cost of rent. And best of all that has been accomplished, the children are getting stronger and rosier every day. Breakfast food dressed up with raisins, cocoa instead of coffee, chocolate puddings, home made bread, more milk to drink, all appeal to them as being highly desirable.

In another family the problem of clothing was uppermost. Mrs. Y— knew nothing of sewing and was indifferent about learning. The visitor found it uphill work to get the woman to sew even for her own children. The garments when completed were nameless things. The visitor patiently urged that she keep on and at last, in spite of herself, Mrs. Y— became interested and her creative sense began to be manifest. She undertook new and more difficult work and before long even her seams would bear inspection. You will realize that she has made progress when I tell you that the last time the visitor called she was working on a black silk waist which she had offered to make over for her hypercritical mother-in-law.

The Development of Self-Respect

In our seeking to bring to its richest development the flower of self-respect among our clients, what is to be the most helpful form of giving relief to those who need it? Shall it be given as a cash allowance or as groceries, rent and fuel, and when shall there be variation? Here again the home economist can advise the visitor in making decisions and pointing out to her the many possibilities as well as difficulties involved in working out a plan which perhaps the less experienced person would not see. As

independence is a goal, sooner or later the skilled visitor will arrange that the client herself spend at least a part of the relief money.

The case worker who is trammelled by excessive safety will miss on error by so wide a margin that she will usually run into another, and perchance a worse error, and the client will flounder in a morass of incompetence. In giving relief only on a short time program, it is usually feasible to give in kind and thus avoid the chance of waste. Where cash allowances are granted, account sheets should be made out and turned over to the visitor at frequent intervals, not only that the organization may know how the money is spent, but primarily because it is much better for the client to feel the importance of careful planning.

Turning to the working children in the family, what will be the effect on their possible thrift habits if they are required to turn over their full income for family support? In this case, also, some chance must avowedly be taken or no independent spirit will be developed. "Life is more than meat," and if James and Mary must put all their earnings into the family pot, their ambition will not be whetted to do their best, and surely their lives will not be well rounded out.

On the other hand, the children who feel no sense of responsibility to the family are in grave danger of acquiring bad habits which will imperil their future. A middle course must always be found which will allow freedom for action and for growth and yet preserve family ties.

A sixteen-year-old boy, the oldest son in a widow's family, had been turning over all his wages to his mother, who bought his clothes and doled out to him small amounts for spending money. He worked irregularly, giving as a reason that he ought not to be expected to turn in all his money for the support of the family. This dissatisfaction led to delinquency and finally to court action. He was allowed to remain at home, and at the suggestion of the visitor was permitted to handle his own money, paying a generous amount for board. The result of the experiment was that he took better care of his clothing and saved part of what he had previously demanded for spending money. His whole attitude toward his responsibility has changed as he feels he is now being treated as a mature person.

Home Buying and Insurance

In Cleveland we are continually confronted with the problem of the family buying property. Originally, buying a home was considered the best manner of saving, and it probably is for one living in a village or so located in a city that he is accessible to a variety of employment. Real estate ownership is not desirable when it ties a man down to a certain accessible employment that may limit his income and thus prove a hindrance to advancement. Neither should property be bought at the expense of the health or morals of children. In striving to get ahead, frequently mothers as well as fathers go out to work leaving the children to get along as best they can. Nevertheless, it is true that the encouragement to self-support accompanying the restraining value of a title to real estate by howsoever slender a thread it hangs is the quality that has tipped the scales in favor of industry, thrift and good living for a family.

We could not buy homes for people, desirable as homes are, but to the extent of rent and for a month or two even beyond, giving relief to make the retention of title possible, is sometimes advisable. The mere owning of an interest in real estate should not prevent emergent aid, especially when, as is usual, the sacrifice from a forced sale would sweep away a client's very hard won initial payments, and with that loss, small in money value perhaps, often has gone all the hope, courage and struggle which were developing a sturdy citizen.

In the payment of insurance premiums, too, we must know how great a part insurance plays in the family's conception of thrift and self-respect. Should we ever advise that insurance be dropped? This can usually be answered in the negative in the case of the father, but what of the mother and children? Some mothers can easily understand the best insurance they can have on their young children is to give them nutritious food and tender care. However, if the insurance policy is essential to the family's self-respect, frequently relatives can be persuaded to be responsible for premiums when they will assume nothing else. Occasionally a readjustment can be effected with the company or lodge by which payments may be deferred until a family crisis is past. Insurance offers an incentive to work and save. Therefore, the whole matter of when to encourage its being dropped is a delicate one and a decision should be made only after thorough consideration of the probable effect on the family's outlook for the future. The advantage of an insurance policy or real estate is that it is not easily negotiable as is, for instance, a bank deposit.

It is not our function to enumerate all the ways in which thrift may be achieved. Perhaps from our standpoint the most fertile field of activity lies in the formation of habits of wise planning and spending which are essential to well-balanced family life, that goal toward which we are trying to guide our clients.

In conclusion, let me quote to you from "The Standard of Life," by Mrs. Bosanquet:

"Thrift loses its hard narrowness when we no longer confine it to the commonplace meaning of saving money. A thriving man is one whose well-being in the present promotes, rather than hinders, his well-being in the future; and the really thrifty man is one who so orders his present that it may bear fruit in the future. A good house may be as profitable an investment as money in the bank, and better than either, will be children well brought up, with strength and skill, and good-will towards their parents. Thrift, in one form or another, is for all of us the only way to realizing the highest standard; while the niggardliness which will not cultivate present opportunities and make them fruitful, is one of the worst forms of waste, for it wastes life itself."

THRIFT AND THE FAMILY—THE GOVERNMENT'S THRIFT PROGRAM

Prof. Benjamin R. Andrews, Teachers College, Columbia University, with Savings Division, U. S. Treasury Department

Thrift means good management, provident care, the wise husbanding and use of all resources. The word is often used to concern money alone, but it has a wider meaning that relates to the whole economic process—efficiency in production of wealth, watchfulness to secure a fair share of its division, and careful use of whatever falls to one's own lot.

Thrift in National Economy

In national economy, thrift signifies efforts to increase the national product, to promote labor-saving processes and devices, to reduce waste of national resources, to utilize all possible by-products of manufacture, to train the workman to skill in his task, to utilize the highest efficiency in management, and to develop steadily the fund of working capital which provides buildings, tools, machinery and materials for the economical production of products desired. The greatest possible national product with the least possible call on human energy and national resources indicates a thrifty adjustment in national economy.

In Personal Economy

Similarly, in individual economy, thrift means getting full value out of resources and energy, avoiding waste, planning ahead in view of longer or

shorter purposes and adjusting ways and means to their accomplishment. It means wise management of the whole business of living.

Thrift in money is what the word first suggests to most of us but followed into its ultimate results, pecuniary thrift even covers a wide field. Money thrift means using every dollar to its full possibilities.

Thrift means, first of all, making oneself of the greatest efficiency and use in the world's work, which has its natural reward in the compensation received. Individual thrift is the drive in industry that holds the man to do his best and brings home the large pay envelope. Efficient earning is the first rule of thrift.

Next, thrift means the wise spending of dollars received; the planned use of money, which takes into account future needs, and saves for them, as well, as today's needs for which immediate spending is necessary. To systematic minds this means budgeting the income—to anyone it means at least setting standards for spending and saving and some approximate control of outgoes to insure getting the things most desired and other things in due proportion. Wise spending is the second rule of thrift.

Saving sanely, the third rule of thrift, means measuring future demands that are big enough to project themselves back into the present and compel the saving of money for themselves. The fool says there is nothing to prepare for—and sickness, unemployment, the education of children, and their launching in life, the business opportunity, old age—all these things find him financially unprepared. The thrifty man prepares by his rule of saving regularly some share of all money received, and of making savings the first bill to meet out of income. He saves first and spends afterwards.

Investing savings securely is the fourth rule of thrift. Over three hundred million dollars a year are lost in fraudulent stock in the United States. Too often the man who has gotten a bit ahead has been induced to put it into some worthless investment. Thrift knows that safety goes with relatively low return in interest; it invests where principal and interest are safe, and reinvests interest as received in order to hasten the increase of the savings fund by compound interest.

To use whatever is bought with money as carefully as though it were money is a final fundamental thrift rule. It proscribes waste; it extracts to the full all the utility that a good possesses.

Earn efficiently—spend wisely—save sanely and save first—invest safely—use carefully whatever money buys. These are the rules of financial thrift for the individual and the family.

Personal Results

Such thrift cannot but mean individual and family happiness. It does not connote stinginess or meanness, but simply a wise survey of the whole of life, and a determination to use money as a means to the fullest, happiest living on a life-long plan.

The man who has \$2,000 a year and saves \$200 a year for future needs, has next year with interest added to salary \$2,010—and his savings continued year by year put him in progressively easier circumstances. Not only does he progress by saving, but his saving means progress for others. His savings add to business capital; and as men generally save a part of their incomes, the growing use of capital makes the product of industry larger, and that means higher wages and better conditions for all.

A community of thrifty individuals who are saving a share of income is a progressive community in which, so far as the thrift influence reaches, real wages are advancing, business conditions are stable, markets are steadied, funds are available for business development and for solid government investments, such as good roads, better school buildings, and parks, and all permanent improvements.

Thrift in Reconstruction

Thrift in private expenditure just now will more quickly re-establish American industry—it will increase the savings fund on which employers depend in reorganizing business from a war to a peace basis. Thrift means more employment at a time when unemployment is a problem. A careless observer might say that checking the spending of personal incomes throws men out of work; not at all. The money that is not spent is put into banks, where it is used in the expanding enterprises of industry; it hastens the rebuilding of factories and the improvement of machine equipment, and in so doing gives as much employment as though it were spent immediately by the person earning the income. Saving gives simply a different economic emphasis to employment—less money is spent for consumption goods, more money is spent for permanent productive equipment. It means as much employment and as much labor today. It means emphasis just now on the kind of labor we want to employ just now, in order to guarantee a prosperous future—namely, labor in the fundamental industries rather than in consumption goods industries. Saving means as much work now, and more work in the future, when large investments based on present savings broaden the financial basis of industry.

Thrift and Democracy

There are also social gains in thrift to be counted—particularly the creating of new industrial capital by a method that provides for a widespread ownership of the new capital. Democracy in government finance was as astounding a war achievement as was the democratic draft. A more democratic basis for business finance is likewise desirable. If new industrial capital is contributed by the average wage earner out of his earnings to a larger extent than at present then the capitalist's and the laborer's functions will be more generally united in the same person. One condition to democratic industrial finance is met if war-time habits of saving and investing in securities are carried over into peace and made a permanent practice of the average American. So far as general saving means ultimately a wider ownership of industrial capital, and the average man a recipient not only of wages or salary, but of some income from invested capital, it would seem to point to fundamentally desirable social results.

The Thrift Movement

Out of the wartime saving by individuals and families to buy government securities has developed a national thrift movement which aims to make permanent the habit of saving regularly and investing safely a share of all income received. The national thrift movement, based on the 1918 war savings campaign, has been launched by the Savings Division, U. S. Treasury Department, during the past six months, and the savings division asks that social organizations and agencies generally participate in this thrift movement. America needs such an emphasis upon thrift. While wholesale charges of American thriftlessness must be considerably modified when examined thoughtfully, nevertheless it is true that we have not as individuals and families exercised any special care in handling our personal incomes nor have we sought to save a portion of our incomes for investment. The war has changed all that.

Under the spur of patriotism, 30,000,000 Americans became owners of government securities bought out of personal savings, where before the war there had been only 300,000 owners of all types of investment securities—an increase of one-hundred fold. In most cases these purchases were made directly out of savings set aside regularly from earnings. It is a stupendous fact that 30,000,000 people, and probably 20,000,000 families, most of them

not accustomed to saving, began the practice during the war and became investors. Now after the war, the personal and national asset in the power and practice of saving must not be permitted to dwindle away.

Every American family can and should save something regularly out of its money income. Just how much this saving will be depends upon its standard of living, and standards are set by conditions of income and size of family. But whatever the standard, a wise management of income requires saving part of it. Saving means setting aside part of today's income for those needs of tomorrow which tomorrow's income alone can not cover. Seasonally irregular demands upon the purse, for clothing and fuel, for example, can only be met rationally by distributing their cost over all the months in the year. This can be done by saving—and by saving alone. Similarly, the larger emergency demands in family economy require savings. As one of our thrift philosophers has pointed out, we must practice thrift not only for the rainy day, but for the sunny opportunity as well. Thrift has seemed a pessimistic, down-hearted, fearsome companion too often, and this suggestion that saving provides for your golden opportunity, as well as protects against emergencies, is worth keeping in mind.

But can every family save money? Today's food comes before tomorrow's, of course, but saving to equalize seasonal demands is essential even in minimum incomes and these families need to practice something of carrying over income from one year to the next. Of vastly greater importance than the question "can every family save," is the question, "Should conditions permit every family to save," and to this an unqualified and vigorous affirmative answer can be given. The conditions necessary to saving are this: adequate income, and adequate knowledge of personal and household economics for its wise control.

Adequate income we may assume to be granted by wages at and above the minimum, but not unless we define minimum wage to include a definite savings item. There is little to go on in offering a standard for savings. The Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission in one budget schedule for working women includes 25 cents a week savings in addition to insurance; the Printing Trade Conference of the Washington, D. C., Minimum Wage Commission includes 35 cents a week for insurance and savings. As a basis of consideration I offer the following: No minimum wage to carry less than 50 cents for savings; the standard wage for the adult skilled workman to carry at least \$1.00 a week for savings; or viewed as a percentage, all wages above the margin to carry at least 5 per cent for savings. Such a statement is of course only a suggestion of what seems to the speaker to be desirable.

Adequate knowledge for the control of income and the saving of part of it, will be secured only as the result of thrift education which reaches every individual and every family. It is the purpose of the Thrift movement to conduct such a campaign of popular education in thrift, and since thrift intentions without the practice of thrift are dead, it is the second purpose of the movement to increase everywhere, the facilities for saving money, especially by establishing agencies for the sale of government saving stamps.

The thrift movement launched by the government is based primarily on the personal advantage of saving to the person who saves. It is employing educational methods, not financial drive methods. It aims so to persuade individuals and families of the desirability of saving that its practice will follow and the government will reap advantage in the purchase of government securities—specifically Thrift and War Saving Stamps. A general increase of savings in all forms, in savings banks, building loan associations, credit unions, home ownership, may also be expected to follow. The benefits of such a campaign are so general that, as was expected, the ready co-operation of all kinds of organizations has been at once available, with

the promise that when the government ceases its campaign, the thrift movement will go on in the programs of organizations, representing labor and capital, agricultural interests, churches, schools, social, fraternal and women's organizations. Thus, thrift and school savings are being incorporated as a normal and permanent part of public school procedure; the National Federation of Women's Clubs has created a Thrift Department and other organizations are participating similarly in the movement.

The Treasury Department in addition to its own campaign is therefore aiding various agencies to adopt a permanent thrift and savings program suitable to their own conditions.

In the Treasury Department's own campaign, it maintains a national office in the Savings Division of the Treasury Department, which prepares written material and acts as a clearing house and intelligence office for the twelve district savings organizations in the respective Federal Reserve Bank districts. Under the government's district savings directors are state and county and often local savings directors and committees.

In addition to the universal sale of savings stamps by post offices, sales agencies are established in banks, stores and other appropriate places. War Savings societies or clubs for buying stamps, are also established in places of employment, in schools and elsewhere, to promote thrift ideas among their membership and to facilitate the sale of stamps. In organizations already established, a U. S. Thrift Representative or Thrift Committee may be appointed to promote the same ends. The Savings Organization of the Treasury Department has issued considerable educational material which is available through the Savings Director, care of any Federal Reserve Bank. This includes pamphlets on government savings societies; "10 Lessons in Thrift"—an outline for club study, with bibliography; "Thrift in the Schools"—a curriculum for the eight grades; "Thrift Lessons," with ways of earning money for older boys and girls; "How Other People Get Ahead," a study of individual and family budgets, and other material. A series of twenty Thrift Leaflets has been prepared in co-operation with U. S. Department of Agriculture, which emphasizes possibilities of economy in the family and is available for group study, or for distribution.

Thrift and Social Workers

The Treasury Department urges every social agency and organization to consider just how it can promote the Thrift movement as a part of its own permanent program. The opportunity is two-fold: First, can you reach some group with the underlying principles of thrift—by personal contacts, by printed matter, by addresses, by study clubs? Ordinarily, this will mean simply a different emphasis in an already existing program as where visiting housekeepers teach thrift as well as housekeeping. Second, can you increase the facilities for saving money in the group for which you are responsible? Savings banks down town are not sufficient. We must establish retail agencies for collecting savings everywhere throughout our communities wherever a group of people or of families can be reached. Agencies for selling government savings stamps can be opened in institutions and offices, and the establishment of agencies suggested to bankers, storekeepers and others. Savings Societies or Thrift Clubs which buy savings stamps together can be introduced into occupational and social groups of all kinds. In some cases, savings collectors may be used—volunteer workers who encourage thrift by calling on families at definite times and providing them with saving stamps.

Social organizations giving relief to families may well consider whether relief granted should not always, in addition to the provision for food, clothing, shelter, and other so-called necessities, include also a small allow-

ance, say 25 cents a week, for savings, in order that the fruitful influences of thrift shall immediately be enlisted for the family's rehabilitation.

Social workers can lend unique aid to the Savings Movement by studying the conditions of thrift—practical methods of encouraging savings, the reaction of savings on standards of living, on wages, on family solidarity, on the welfare of children. Active leadership in local movements to increase saving facilities and to broaden thrift intelligence is the prime need and this constitutes a call which no socially-minded person will fail to heed.

It is only by the whole-hearted co-operation of existing agencies which take on a definite share of the responsibility for thrift education and the promotion of savings that the National Thrift Movement will achieve its goal of making every family a family that saves regularly a share of income and invests it safely. This habit means safety and progress for the individual and the family, a wide-spread, democratic ownership of industrial capital as it is created, and the happy result of everyone having still an added stake in the security and continued progress of his country.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Miss Emma A. Winslow, New York City, opened the discussion.

Mr. Frank Bruno of Minneapolis spoke of thrift in relation to ease work. As the charity organization societies deal so largely with those who are not able to foresee the consequences of their present acts and plan for the future, it is our problem to educate our families in foresight and in the method of more successfully meeting the requirements of their own environment. We should bear in mind, however, that in addition to its ability to square the individual with the needs of present day society, thrift has very definite vices; qualities which we, as social workers most detest, such as selfishness, unwillingness to see the other fellow's point of view, etc. We might even be cautioned against making our families too thrifty!

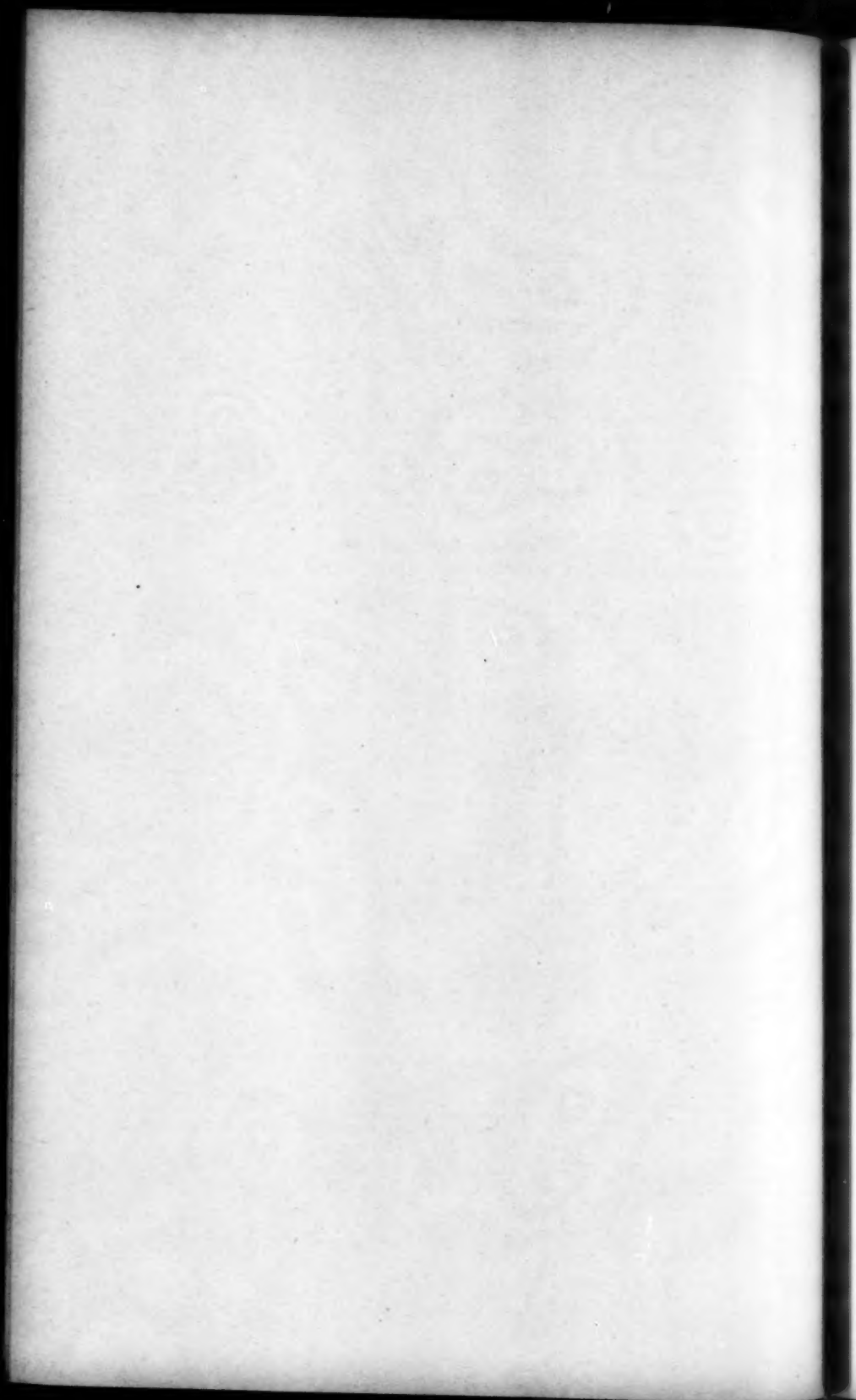
Miss Sara L. Brown, Secretary, Associated Charities, of Lansing, Mich. The Thrift Campaign has gone beyond all bounds of system in stressing for the 100 per cent goal. This has worked innumerable hardships, particularly in industrial establishments, where employees work so closely together that each knows exactly whether his neighbor contributes or not. Rather than be called a slacker or pro-German and receive the buffets of his co-workers, many men have participated in the Thrift Campaign who were themselves dependent on the Superintendent of the Poor and others who became dependent before the time of payment was completed. We believe the system was to blame and placed men in an unfair position as they could not resist the over pressure from those interested in putting over a 100 per cent campaign. We would suggest that less be made of this point and that opportunity be given personally and privately, and then only by those who are in close touch with the men and who are in position to know of their family conditions:

Question: What stand we should take in relation to our families carrying insurance? Eighty per cent of the families given pensions by the Board of Child Welfare in New York City carry insurance.

Mrs. Kathryn Van Wyck, Associated Charities of Milwaukee, said that insurance is included in the family budgets, as it is felt the families would pay insurance even if they go without food.

Miss Julia I. Felsenthal of Minneapolis brought up the question of expenditures for funerals. She felt that we should cultivate the co-operation of churches and fraternal organizations for propaganda purposes. She also spoke of the very early marriages in the least thrifty families and asked what could be done to make the children realize the obligations they have towards their parents and at the same time be fair towards themselves. Concerning the question of savings she emphasized the need of recreation. She thought that some means of borrowing should be provided so that a man could buy his home while he was still young, as it was practically impossible for the average man to save sufficiently for his old age.

Others who spoke informally were: *Miss Marie E. Murray, Brooklyn; A. W. MacDougall, Newark; Mr. Chas. P. Kelly, Erie, Pa.; Miss J. C. Colcord, New York; Miss M. W. Ketchum, Philadelphia; Fred S. Hall, Prof. Benjamin Andrews and Miss Halle D. Woods of New York.*



VI.
INDUSTRIAL AND ECONOMIC
PROBLEMS

DIVISION COMMITTEE—1918-19

Chairman, Mrs. Florence Kelley, National Consumers' League, New York.

Vice-Chairman, Samuel McCune Lindsay, Columbia University, New York.

Secretary, Edith Abbott, School of Civics and Philanthropy, Chicago.

Frederic Almy	Buffalo	Paul U. Kellogg	New York
George L. Berry	Nashville	Sherman C. Kingsley	Cleveland
Allen T. Burns	New York	Jessica Peixotto	Berkeley, Calif.
Alexander Fleisher	New York	Mrs. Raymond Robins	Chicago
Ernestine Friedman	New York	Rev. John A. Ryan	Washington
Mrs. H. P. Halleck	Louisville	Charles A. Sumner	Kansas City
Hornell Hart	Cincinnati		

DIVISION COMMITTEE—1919-20

(Year of expiration of term of office appears in parenthesis after each member's name.)

Chairman, Mrs. Florence Kelley, National Consumers' League, New York.

Vice-Chairman, Sophonisba P. Breckenridge, School of Civics and Philanthropy, Chicago.

Secretary, Edith Abbott (1921), School of Civics and Philanthropy, Chicago.

Jane Addams (1921)	Chicago	Hornell Hart (1920)	Cincinnati
Frederic Almy (1920)	Buffalo	Mrs. Florence Kelley (1921)	New York
George L. Barry (1920)	Nashville	Paul U. Kellogg (1922)	New York
Sophonisba P. Breckenridge (1922)	Chicago	Samuel McCune Lindsay (1920)	New York
Allen T. Burns (1920)	New York	Rev. John A. Ryan (1920)	Washington
Ernestine Friedman (1921)	New York	Charles A. Sumner (1921)	Kansas City

PROGRAM

At the meeting of the National Conference at Atlantic City, June 1-8, 1919, 321 delegates registered as members of this Division. The Division Committee, as elected at the 1918 Conference at Kansas City, is shown on the opposite page. Seven meetings for discussion were held, as follows:

	PAGE
June 4, 8:15 P. M. The Co-operative Movement	423
June 2, 3:00 P. M. Industrial Organization and Peace.....	433
June 3, 10:00 A. M. Social Insurance	442
June 3, 3:00 P. M. Trades Unions and the Public Service.....	447
June 5, 3:00 P. M. The Co-operative Movement	453
June 6, 10:00 A. M. Labor and Politics.....	462
June 7, 10:00 A. M. Case Work and Industrial Life.....	392

The meeting on June 7 was a joint session with Division V, on The Family.

TRANSACTIONS

At a business meeting of the Division held June 3, the following persons were elected members of the Division Committee, to succeed the three members whose terms expire this year: Roger N. Baldwin, Sophonisba P. Breckenridge, Paul U. Kellogg.

On June 5, at 5 P. M., a second business meeting of the Division was held, Mrs. Florence Kelley presiding. About fifty people were present.

Mrs. Kelley called Mr. Kellogg to the Chair. The following Division officers for the ensuing year were elected: Chairman, Mrs. Florence Kelley of New York; vice-chairman, Sophonisba P. Breckenridge, Chicago.

Mrs. Kelley again took the Chair and called for suggestions for the program of 1920. A large number of suggestions were made.

Adjournment.

(Signed) FLORENCE KELLEY, Chairman.

ADDRESS OF THE CHAIRMAN

*Mrs. Florence Kelley, General Secretary, National Consumers' League,
New York*

We are, I am sure, all filled with regret that we are not to hear tonight from Hon. Thetus W. Sims, who has for years striven in Congress to save for the American people that unmeasured wealth of water power which we waste day after day, and year after year. The consequences of that waste we are to feel in new ways now that we have a debt to pay greater than our nation ever dreamed of shouldering before this war. While I am sorry we are not to hear tonight of the contrast between the way in which that debt could be paid by the use of our national resources, and the way it will be paid at the cost of food, clothing and shelter of the most defenceless parts of our population, I am eager to take for myself a part of the time allotted to our absent speaker to bring to the attention of this great audience the most obvious thing that all of us learned who went recently from America to Switzerland to meet there in conference the women of seventeen nations.

The outstanding fact that came to all of us Americans as an almost unendurable shock, was the hunger that confronted us everywhere now that the war is over and the armistice in force for seven months. Just before we sailed, the Congress of the United States conducted an enquiry into the cost of food in this country. In the course of that enquiry, a complaint was filed by the greatest of all the food manufacturers, the meat packers. They complained that they had been urged to produce food with the idea that the war might continue for years, and they now had so much food on hand that they did not know how to take care of it and keep it from destruction.

In April and May, 1919, we were in Paris, then in Geneva, and later in Zurich. Wherever we went the one thing that the Europeans brought to our attention was the danger that threatens the whole of Europe from the spread of epidemics caused by hunger in the countries east of Switzerland. They were making every possible effort to share, in spite of the embargo, their slender supplies with the starving neighbors east of them.

In Geneva, in March and April, there was a concerted effort to save food. The city seemed more dead than alive to anyone who had ever seen it in a prosperous summer season—there was no milk, butter could not be had for any price, it did not exist. The bread was black, much like pumpernickel. Everyone who entered the city was required within twenty-four hours to go to police headquarters and pay five francs for a food ticket. The first thing you did was to make a modest contribution in cash for the privilege of eating at all. Without food tickets you could not eat. Now in March and April, the Swiss people saved bread tickets and turned them back to the police headquarters—to the city administration—to the value of 80 carloads of foodstuffs. Even the primary school children took part in saving food in order to share with the starving school children of Vienna. But it had never been possible—up to the 16th day of May when I left Switzerland—to get those 80 carloads of food moved over the border, so rigid was the embargo by land six months after the armistice.

So rigid is that embargo that I brought home with me photographs of skeleton children given me by a French-Swiss physician. I have never seen anything so terrible as these pictures of children in Prague who have been for months in the hospitals which cannot feed them. Yet Prague is the capital city of one of our allies, of the new Czecho-Slovak Republic. In order to enforce the embargo against the countries which surround Bohemia, the Bohemians have been starved and the children in the hospitals look like the famine orphans of India and Russia at their worst. That goes on. There is no relaxation of it. Mr. Hoover has been able to send a few

shiploads of food hither and yonder, but these are merely doles—they do not adequately feed one per cent of the people who are starving.

Undeterred by the shortness of their own rations, the Swiss people have arranged with Vienna (by permission of Paris), to take into their own homes for the summer five thousand Austrian children. Inspired by this offer, the Swedes—who are somewhat better provisioned, but farther from the homes of the children—offered to take three thousand, but for reasons not stated to the Swedes were permitted by "Paris" to take only eighteen hundred.

In May, while I was in Geneva, a group of physicians—French-speaking Swiss, came back, who had been conferring with physicians from eight countries east of Switzerland—Vienna being the headquarters of that conference. Physicians had come from the Balkan nations, and from Bohemia, from the different countries of the western part of the former empire of Austria. The men who had been fighting in the trenches, and their governments were still technically at war. But the doctors met in Vienna just as we women met in Zurich—not as former enemies, still less as present enemies—but as people vowed to struggle against death by starvation. The motto of the physicians is "We have no enemy but death." Those doctors all carried back to their countries the same message, that progress was not being made in the important cities east of Switzerland against the hunger typhus which is epidemic or endemic in all of them.

No one reproached us for our American participation in the embargo. Why they did not reproach us I cannot understand, because it is well known in Europe that we are rich in food, and that we have increasing available tonnage for freight going east. The people who came to our conference from Vienna, women of education, of excellent professional standing, and of greater or less degrees of former prosperity were starved people. Their poor hands looked like birds' claws, their faces were red as though they had been frost-bitten, because they had had no adequate proper food for nearly four years. They expressed shame and chagrin that they were so gratified not to be hungry for those few days while our conference lasted. The same terrible tidings of disease and death from starvation were sent by those who were not allowed to come. Whatever the harvests might have been here or there, in no country was there food enough to prevent the danger of epidemics spreading westward during the coming year from the areas of prevailing insufficiency.

We are sometimes called by an uncritical press "leaders of thought in America on social subjects." But how can leaders lead unless they have before them the facts concerning the country, through which the leading is to be done? And how can we be anything but blind leaders of the blind so long as our American press in regard to the present conditions of the peoples of Europe, east and west, is in the position of the king's jester of old? Our press, like the king's jester, has license but not liberty. It cannot tell what it knows, it cannot tell what we need to know, because the censorship is still threefold. There is still censorship of news by the French, there is still censorship by England, and there is our own censorship and our own espionage law. So long as that continues to be true, it will be the bitterest irony if anyone regards us as leaders of thought. We have not the first requisite for leading because we are in ignorance of the most essential facts. "We always know about the things in which we are sufficiently interested. Our ignorance does not excuse; it aggravates." This is an old saying of Jane Addams, when people used to exclaim concerning child labor, or the sweating system, or infant mortality in their communities, that they had not known how things were.

Now we, coming back with the things in mind which we saw; the lean figures, the ravaged faces of old friends, bringing with us the photographs

of starved and shriveled children, with the tidings from people of indisputable veracity who were not able to join in our conference; coming back to the wastefulness of our American way of eating, to the prodigal offers of our store windows, to the appearance of universal prosperity—(so long as one does not go into the poorest quarters of our greatest cities)—we seem to ourselves to have come from the mouth of Hell to the other side of the moon. It is as if for the moment we were not a part of that older civilization from which we sprang. We Americans have permitted ourselves to be so effectively cut off from the knowledge of the contrast between our unmeasured superfluity of food and the famine over there.

Three weeks ago tonight, at the great University of Zurich, I promised an audience as large as this, an audience in which twenty nations were represented, that I would return to America and would plead with every audience that would listen, to undertake the task and work at it unceasingly until success is achieved forever more—the task of establishing over this whole planet the right, at least of the children, not to starve. I promised to appeal to every man and woman, and especially to all the mothers of this great nation, that whatever their interests, whatever is foremost in their minds and their activities, they place this interest alongside of that foremost one, that none of us should rest while it remained true that we are rich in food while other peoples' children are permanently hungry.

There is good news today that the British cabinet has gone to Paris to see what can be done to hasten peace. We have all been led to believe that when peace was signed starvation over there would at least cease to be enforced by ships and by guns. Since I have been there I know that this hope may be merely illusory. It will take determined will and unflagging watchfulness, and the continuing effort of this and all other modern countries to ensure, that after peace comes none of God's children shall be condemned to starvation.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

James P. Warbasse, President, New York Co-operative League of America.

There is one great question which confronts the people of the world. It is this: Is it possible for the people to take into their own hands the administration of their economic affairs; is it possible for the people to supply themselves with the things they need through their own agencies; is it possible for the people to produce and distribute the necessities of life for the purposes of use rather than for profit? That is the question which divides the world into hostile camps today.

There are those who say that commodities must be produced for purposes of profit—that profit must be the incentive. The co-operative movement is dedicated to the proposition that the people can take into their own hands the distribution of the things they need, that the people may be their own shopkeepers, their own bankers, their own insurance societies, provide their own recreations, conduct their own medical and nursing care, carry on the accessory needs of life over and above the homely necessities of clothing and housing and food. Co-operation teaches that it is possible for people to make use of that ancient impulse to work together for mutual aid by virtue of which mankind has risen to its high position.

Meaning of Co-operation

Co-operation means that the people organize themselves to work together to supply themselves with the things they want, to make the necessities and the joys of life more accessible. It begins with some simple way of organiz-

ing, such as storekeeping, and then as one group succeeds in the enterprise other groups follow their example until a society is created in which are many groups of people providing themselves with the things they need. Then these groups come together and federate into wholesale societies. From the economic standpoint they enjoy the saving of the retailers' profit, they also learn how to work together. And then later on, they save themselves the wholesalers' profit; and when their wholesale is supplying them with large quantities of commodities, the wholesale then proceeds back to the point of production, to manufacture, and we find co-operative groups of people manufacturing for themselves the things they need. When that is done the revolution from the economic standpoint is completed. Things are then being produced for use and not for profit. A new principle is then introduced into our economic life.

Accomplishments of Co-operation

The co-operative movement of which Mrs. Barton has told you has done just this thing in Great Britain. She might have told you how that movement began seventy-five years ago with a small group of striking weavers and how those men developed the vision of the people working together to secure better access to the things they wanted. She could have told you how the movement has grown until at present it embraces about one-third of the population, conducting many shops and great business undertakings, banks, manufacturing enterprises producing in their own factories, practically all the things people need—the greatest flour mills in the British Empire, great shoe factories, factories producing clothing, machinery, watches—factories owned by the people who consume the commodities they produce. These people are working out a revolution in a quiet, unostentatious way.

In Belgium the movement has features differing from that of Great Britain in that instead of returning to the members of the co-operative societies the surplus savings or profits the savings are used for the social advantage of the members. We find the Belgian co-operators not only enjoying the economic advantages of purchasing in their own stores, but we find them conducting their own social enterprises. Those beautiful buildings, "the houses of the people" of Belgium were made possible by the Belgian co-operative societies. These are community centers where they carry on their social activities, education, recreation and business. Here are held conventions, and all sorts of meetings. These societies provide old age pensions, mothers' subsidies, strike benefits, and medical and nursing care. All these benefits are provided through the co-operative organizations.

I wish we might have here a screen upon which might be thrown pictures of some of the products of these societies which were begun in so simple a way among the working people. I wish I might show you a picture of the co-operative center of the city of Ghent. There the co-operative society had its own community center which in time it outgrew, and desired a better place. A few years ago the club-house of an aristocratic club in Ghent was for sale, and the co-operative society offered to purchase this beautiful building. The aristocrats were loathe to sell it to working people, but finally the co-operators got it, and the next Sunday their society, with banners flying, bands of music, men, women and children, marched out through the suburbs, while the aristocrats slept, and took possession of the building; and they have been there ever since. It was not good enough for them—that beautiful building—so they proceeded to beautify it still more. They created a theater in it, where their artists produce the dramas which the working people of the co-operative society love. They subsidized the best artist they could find and instructed him to create beautiful things for them.

Now we find the movement spreading over the world. In Europe the co-operative movement is growing ten times faster than the population has increased in the last ten years. They are entering all the activities of society,

taking into their hands those functions ordinarily found in the hands of private enterprises—the people doing things for themselves.

In Russia there is that wonderful movement you are to hear of from Mr. Zelenko, now growing so fast that it is almost impossible to keep track of it. At the present time it has 50,000 co-operative societies with a membership of between fifteen and eighteen million heads of families. More than half of the population of Russia are embraced in this great movement of the people, carrying on their own business, looking after themselves—an organization of society independent of the political state.

Co-operation in the United States

In our own country we have a co-operative movement. It has been backward. It has been said that the United States should be classified from a co-operative standpoint with Turkey, Nubia, and Zanzibar. However, there has been an awakening in the United States recently. We have suffered because of the individualistic tendency of our people. Now, so many people have found that alone they cannot fight their battles, and they are beginning to organize into co-operative societies. The American Federation of Labor has taken an interest in the co-operative movement. The movement now seems to be going along with trade unionism. The whole trade union movement is electrified with interest in the problems of co-operation.

One of the reasons why we have failed to develop co-operation in this country has been that we had no centralized organization to which people might appeal for information. For fifty years in the United States co-operative societies have been organized and have failed because each one stood alone and attempted to work out its problems alone. They made mistakes and went down to defeat, the mistakes not being passed on to other societies for their guidance, each society not aware of the existence of others. The United States has been preparing the ground for the co-operative movement for fifty years. Now it is beginning to succeed.

The Co-operative League of America, which I have the honor to represent, is an organization the purpose of which is to federate existing societies and apply standards, to give information, to make surveys of the situation, to provide the necessary instruction for societies, to act as a guiding influence, and serve as a center to which people may always turn for co-operative advice. The first national co-operative convention was held in the United States last September. At that time there were about 700 co-operative societies of which we had records. They were invited to meet in this national conference. Within three months after the convention we became aware of the existence of 600 more societies. Two months ago we had on our lists 2,000 societies, and during the last two months we have added nearly 1,000 more. Now we are aware of the existence of nearly 3,000 bona fide co-operative societies in the United States, all moving along toward success.

These societies are distributed widely throughout the country. On the Pacific coast is a group of remarkable societies organized within the trade unions, the labor movement standing behind them. The unions have realized that trade unionism does not solve the workingmen's problems, so far as providing for their families is concerned. When the working man, through his union, is able to secure an increase in wages, that increase is passed on to the consumer to pay, and as the working people constitute the majority of consumers, he pays his own increase of wages. As a result of this understanding the working people turn to co-operation. In the United States the societies in this movement are becoming federated. We are developing a single national wholesales out of the five or six local wholesales which already exist. The American movement is becoming a part of the great world co-operative movement.

Among the miners in the central states around Illinois is a strong movement of about a hundred societies managed largely by people who have come up out of the mines and are now carrying on large business affairs. In western Pennsylvania is another group which is multiplying rapidly. The Finns in the United States have been most successful in co-operation. They have gone into other social needs, owning their own recreation centers, organizing their own banks, having co-operative houses, and developing tenement houses in which the tenants are the owners of the buildings.

Aim and Destiny of the Movement

This movement which is sweeping over the world and increasing so rapidly offers a solution to the vexing problems of the day. In our economic life there are three possible expressions of human relations. In the first place we human beings may adjust our affairs in such a way that each individual aspires to be served by others. As a matter of fact if we look into the heart of the average parent we shall find that the parent desires that his child shall grow up to occupy a position in society in which he shall be served by others. We may designate that as the parasitic attitude. It is the attitude which the great mass of people are taught to aspire to. On the other hand, there is the philanthropic, or charity, impulse which prompts the individual to aspire to serve others at his own expense. The people in this category are prompted by a high degree of ethical or religious zeal and are willing to give themselves to others. But the co-operative movement offers a third motive; and in this is seen a solution of our human problems.

The co-operative idea is that each individual shall serve the others of his society, and in doing this he finds himself at the same time served by his fellows. The motive developed is one whereby my activities in the interest of all of my fellows in my own co-operative society redound to my own advantage, and the activities of my fellow members redound to my advantage as well as to their own. This movement teaches how we may all help ourselves by helping others.

The co-operative movement has an international significance. While in each country societies are federated into national organizations—about 24 of these national organizations being already in existence—the countries of the world are federated into international organization, the International Co-operative Alliance. This offers the best expression of internationalism the world has. These 24 national bodies meet in international conventions. Their last meeting was the year before the war when the spirit of internationalism and the brotherhood of mankind was the keynote. During the war these societies have been the least touched by the bitterness of warfare of any of the international organizations. There has come to my table every month during the war, without interruption, the Bulletin of this International Co-operative Alliance. This publication contains articles by Frenchmen, Germans, Austrians, Italians, Russians, often all in the same number, breathing the spirit of friendliness and international brotherhood. The war has failed to break down the sympathy between these great organizations as international bodies. The co-operative movement stands for world peace. Already there is in operation international exchange between these societies of the different countries, owning their own vessels, carrying on friendly exchange, one country sending to the co-operative societies of the others the commodities which are needed. The Russian and English societies are working out this problem of international exchange, so that as soon as this atrocious blockade is lifted we shall see sailing between Russia and Great Britain the vessels owned by co-operative societies. Going from Russia to England will be materials such as flax, hides, dairy products, and the same vessels will return from the co-operative societies of England loaded with products of the mills of the British co-operative societies—with boots and shoes, clothing, woven

fabrics. Such exchanges were in operation before the war. These vessels represent friendly intercourse all within a single organization. These vessels sail the seas not for the purposes of seeking markets and making profits, but in friendly exchange within a great organization. These vessels do not demand convoys to protect them. They do not require trade barriers or tariff discriminations. These vessels in the new field of commerce will constitute argosies of good will, more potent for peace than any peace congress the world has ever seen. When these vessels sail the seven seas our problems will be in a fair way to solution.

The organization of international exchange between the co-operative societies will be the business of the next international co-operative congress, which will be held, perhaps, during this present year.

Human beings need one another. This need expresses itself in two ways; there is a positive expression and a negative expression. The negative expression of our human need is found in the present competitive system. The merchant needs customers, the manufacturer needs laborers, the district attorney needs criminals. These balance one another. The one requires the other. The negative idea is that of winning, of gaining, of getting the better, of coming out ahead, of pressing someone down, or raising one's own self up at the expense of others. The positive expression of this human need is seen in the co-operative movement. Human beings need one another not only that we may be helped by others but that we may help others, in order that we ourselves, while being helped, may rise to the highest possibilities of life.

WOMEN IN THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

Mrs. Eleanor Barton, Women's Co-operative Guild, Sheffield, England

The title of my address is Women in the Co-operative Movement. In beginning I am bound to say that the women of the co-operative movement in England have set themselves wholeheartedly against the exploitation of little children. I want to speak about the co-operative movement because I firmly believe that all these troubles of industry will be settled by co-operation alone. I have studied peace questions from all points of view, and that is my conclusion, that co-operation in and between the nations can put an end to the terrible struggle we have had for the last four or five years, and unless we now pay attention to that movement it means that in a few years' time we shall be faced with another war; not with a war like what we have had this time, because the next will be more terrible because of the advance of inventive genius in making the tools of war. So I think it is an opportune time to discuss the question of co-operation as it affects men and women, but women especially.

I represent an organization of co-operative women. Here the co-operative movement does not seem to be understood. Our women belong to the movement and believe in it. They buy their goods in co-operative stores that are controlled entirely by working men and women. They buy goods from conviction, and that conviction is that by doing so they are gradually eliminating the sweating system from many of the industries. They go to their co-operative stores with ideals. Our large movement is not only a big trading movement, but it is a means to an end. By trading in this way we hope to capture all productive movements and so put an end to competition and to the terrible struggles that result from competition. Every co-operative woman feels by purchasing in her own store she is making something better for her brother and sister. We have our own women's organizations, which are auxilliary to the great co-operative movement, and are largely educational. They take up all questions that affect

the home, and it would puzzle you to find any question under the sun that these women do not discuss. And rightly so. When a woman marries she is faced with the housing question. That is her workshop, her eating place, her resting place, her drawing room.

You in America know something about that, as we do in England, and you realize how women feel about the houses in which they live, and that in these coming days they will be active for better housing for the people. Then they discuss the question of food. When taxes are put on food, wages do not necessarily go up. The wages are brought home and it is the women's fight today to make the money go as far as it went before taxation was increased. Therefore she has a special interest in taxation. There is the whole question of building, lighting, and sanitary conditions, and as the children come along there is the question of the house being suitable for babies to be born in, and as they grow up there comes a particular interest in education. That is a very large thing indeed. You in America have your difficulties with education as we have, and I think that as soon as women realize in large enough numbers, the effect of badly paid teachers on their children's lives, they will also have something to say about education laws. The majority of teachers in our schools are women, and yet in the past they have had no part to say in the conduct of that industry. The women of the Co-operative Guild tackled the question of education and realized that you cannot have real education where you have a dissatisfied staff of teachers.

Then there is the whole question of industry, and the question of the boy and girl entering it. This is a larger question now than ever since the war, because in the past we have found that very often a father has said, "I have done the best I could for my boys, they all have good trades, but the girls, well, I have not been able to do much for the girls. They will perhaps work for a year or two and then get married, and that is the end of that." In the past that was wrong to the girl, and mothers recognized that it was wrong. When the working girl becomes a married woman her difficulties begin. She often has to do all kinds of things to eke out her husband's income. She has to make up for her father's neglect, and has to bring up herself as well as family. That was true in the past, but today it is more wrong than ever because in most of our countries today the girls are not marrying and they must make a living for themselves. And now we have to turn it over in our minds and consider what our attitude should be towards them when they are not able to depend upon themselves. We have felt it was wrong to educate our children separately.

Years ago when I was interested in suffrage, I tried to decide for myself where the reason for the difference between the boy and the girl, our treatment of them, came in. When they were little there was no difference in the way we treated them in the home. When they went to school I found they were treated alike up to the fourth grade, and that then a division came. The boys were given science and drawing, and the girls had sewing and cookery. Science and drawing were considered important, and sewing and cookery were nothing at all. And that is where I believe the difference in our attitude crept in. Now you take sewing—if we want a dress made, who do we go to? We go to a tailor, a man, and he does it for us. For our dinner party we should get a chef, a man cook. We do not depend upon women in the skilled work of these professions, which clearly shows that sewing and cooking might easily be a part of the boy's school training. On the other hand, if you take science and drawing, you have women equally skilled with men. For instance, radium was discovered by a woman. In drawing, look at Rosa Bonheur's pictures. This proves that woman can take her place alongside of man in science and drawing. We

must alter our ideas and come to realize that woman can take her part equally in the things that matter, apart from household things. We have no right to limit woman to mere household duties because she is born a woman, any more than to say that because a man is born a man he must be a joiner. The Women's Co-operative Guild has realized all that has been lost to the world because women have not had their chance, and so for a long time we have been struggling for the right of women to express themselves as citizens. We worked hard for suffrage. We were not militant, but we were constitutional! We did our share.

In the co-operative movement women have the right to vote. The co-operative societies are controlled democratically. We appoint on committees women as well as men. Now we are having the vote in the larger citizenship and are branching out until women are on boards of guardians, on town and city councils. Women have run for parliament, and women are getting into administrative bodies. In the past women have occupied positions in the co-operative movement, and today our movement is so large that there are big positions, but there are not any but what a woman may and has aspired to. I cannot say we have been very successful, but we are gradually getting women into the directorates of the retail societies. I myself sit with twelve men. Our meetings are democratic. People have not yet got used to the idea of women sitting on committees. The movement runs a weekly newspaper. It has been controlled by men, but I have been running for the committee of control, and this morning received word that I had been defeated by twenty votes. Next time we may be able to turn that twenty votes the other way.

The underlying principle of the co-operative movement is that of giving everybody a living wage and good working conditions. Several years ago we had throughout the country exhibitions of the sweated industries. People went around and looked at the things being made and paid badly for, and during the time there was a concert going on and refreshments were being served, and all the workers were showing you they were being paid decent wages for the time they were there, and yet a great many people said it was terrible. We of the co-operative movement interested ourselves in the exhibition and found on the platform ragpickers working on nice clean cotton rags, for which they got a pound a week. Then we went out and began to inquire and we found that women who picked rags did not sit on platforms, that they were buried in dark cellars, and that their wages were far from a pound a week. And so it was through our investigations of the other industries. The co-operative women went to the bottom, and got the truth in the whole matter. We unearthed the facts about the sweating system and started out on a campaign to alter conditions. We inquired into our own movement and felt the wage conditions of our own women and girls should be raised, and we set ourselves to that. It was a wonder to the whole of England, and set the pace so that now the sweated industries have been compelled to make their prices equal to those paid in the co-operative movement. That was done out of workmen's wages, by the people themselves. Our co-operative women feel "who would be free himself must strike the blow." They buy at wholesale and sell at retail and at the same time give everybody a chance to live a decent and healthy life. That comprises practically the whole of our doings and of our movement.

We have gone on from one thing to another, and now we have got the vote, and our own movement has become political, and just now we are interested in the question of influencing the trade union movement to realize that there is a workers' movement that is accumulating great force and that there should be a band to unite us. In 1911 there was a miners' strike. The miners applied to the bankers for funds which they themselves had paid in, and the bankers refused to pay them money on the basis of the

miners' security. What had the bankers got to do with it? I suppose they said to themselves, "If we do not pay the strikers their money their women and children will starve," and they thought they could defeat the men through the women and children. So the miners went to the co-operative wholesale societies' bank, which gave them drafts on the banks which had refused to pay, and they had to pay the money to the miners. They dared not refuse to do it. This set the miners to thinking, and they decided to put their money into the co-operative bank, and so gradually we are getting more and more trades unions to put money into the co-operative societies' bank. In England it is being noted that there is going to be a fight between the workers' organizations and the great combinations that have been set up. In 1918 there were great bank amalgamations in England. The big fish have been eating the little fish. When they come to grips, the question will be whether our movement of each for all and all for each is to be the one which shall win. I myself have no fear as to the result. The Co-operative Women's Guild have a motto, "From a whole heart cometh hope." It is based upon principles that can withstand anything. It is really the Sermon on the Mount. It keeps nobody out. It asks everybody to come in and share equally in the effort to prevent one person from living on another. Nobody can have better principles than those to work on. It is gradually coming about that the workers of the trade unions and of the co-operative movement are getting together. It means that gradually the workers themselves are reaching out to higher ideals and a better life.

It is not bread alone we want. We want something more. We do not want always to be merely existing, along the lines going at present. With our workers getting shorter hours and more leisure, we want to see the workers able to use that leisure so as to better themselves and to have better communities. We teach our people that they have a right as workers to all that life can give, and it is something more than bread. They want not only bread but roses. We want better homes, better education for our children, better understanding of the arts, better understanding between all nations. These are the ideals which we are working towards. We are not expecting anybody to do it for us; we want to do it for ourselves, not by bloody revolution, but by peaceful revolution. We do not want to tear anybody down, but to build up things so they shall be better for all. We are marching forward to the time when everybody shall have bread and roses.

As we go marching, marching,
In the glory of the day,
A million darkened kitchens,
A thousand mill lofts gray,
Are brightened with the radiance
The sudden sun discloses;
The people here are singing:
Bread and Roses, Bread and Roses.

As we go marching, marching,
We bring the greater days,
For the rising of the women
Means the rising of the race.
No longer drudge and idler,
Ten that toil while one reposes,
But the sharing of Life's glories:
Bread and Roses, Bread and Roses.

THE PRESENT SITUATION AND THE OUTLOOK

Basil M. Manly, Joint Chairman, National War Labor Board, Washington

We are about to enter a period of the most acute industrial unrest and the most bitter industrial controversy that the American nation has ever known. Unless effective and radical steps are taken to bring about a better understanding between labor and capital and to establish an equitable basis for orderly industrial progress, we are certain to see within the next year strikes and mass movements of labor beside which all previous American strikes will pale into insignificance.

Since the signing of the armistice we have had a large number of small strikes and a few great spectacular strikes—the Seattle strike, the New York harbor strike, the Lawrence strike, the garment trade strikes, the Toledo strike, and a number of others of lesser consequence. But these have been so limited in comparison with the labor upheavals in other countries—in England, in Germany, in Canada, in Australia and in the Argentine—that there has been a public disposition to regard the industrial situation with complacency and to assume that, having passed through the first part of the period of transition without serious industrial disturbances, we were about to enter an era of industrial peace.

But those who take this complacent attitude are deceiving themselves. Since the armistice American labor has been waiting, watchfully waiting. It has been waiting because the outstanding leader of the American labor movement, Samuel Gompers, was on an important Government mission in Europe. It has been waiting because the American labor movement, expecting the war to continue much longer, had not formulated its definite policy before the signing of the armistice. Labor has been waiting also for the completion of the demobilization of troops and for the transition of our factories from war production to peace production.

The period of waiting is now nearly completed. Demobilization is nearing an end. Our industries are beginning to swing into their normal production and next week, here in Atlantic City, there may be formulated, at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, a definite policy for the American labor movement.

I am making no threat that Bolshevism or Spartacanism is about to sweep the United States. The American labor movement will not go Bolshevik unless it is driven to that course by the goadings of selfish and unenlightened capitalists and capitalistic agents.

Those who regard the American industrial situation with complacency ignore both the psychology of the workers and the compelling facts. The workers of the Allied world have been told that they were engaged in a war for democracy; that out of the ruins of the war would arise a new and more beautiful world. They are asking now, "Where is that democracy for which we fought? When are we to enter into this new world with its greater regard for the rights of the common man? They see no change for the better, but they find themselves in conditions in some respects worse than those against which they protested before we entered the war.

The masses of the people are being rapidly disillusioned, and when the people lose their illusions there is danger ahead. They have seen the prices of nearly every commodity, including rents, advance beyond the increases which they have secured in their weekly wages since the beginning of the war so that they are now actually able to buy less of the necessities of life than before the war began. There are exceptions, it is true, where the percentage of wage increase has been greater, but if you will examine these cases of unusual wage increases as I have examined them you will find that in a majority of instances those increases have come to groups of workers

who are admitted, even by their employers, to have been miserably underpaid during the pre-war period.

During the war, it is true, the increases in prices were in a measure compensated for to the wage earners by the greater steadiness of employment and by the frequency of opportunities for overtime, as well as for large earnings at piece work. But that time is now past and the masses of American workers, I say with some degree of assurance, are actually able to purchase less of the necessities and comforts of life with the wages which they receive today than they were able to buy with the wages which they received before the beginning of the world war.

No hope is held out to them of relief from this condition through a rapid or even a gradual recession of prices. Judge Gary tells us that prices will remain high over a long period of years. Otto H. Kahn, the spokesman for the American bankers, tells us the same thing, and Julius H. Barnes, formerly an operator in the Chicago grain pit and now successor to Herbert Hoover, tells us that there is no hope for cheaper bread.

Who Profited From the War?

But it is not merely that the cost of living is high and beyond the capacity of the wage earner's pocket book. This might be endured with some degree of patience and fortitude if the people who toil believed that no one was profiting from their necessities and that all were bearing the burden alike. But they have seen with their own eyes and heard with their own ears of unconscionable profiteering by American corporations during the war and they know that that same profiteering is now continuing unabated. I have just completed a study of the earnings of eighty-two representative American corporations, a record of whose profits is available for each year from 1911 through 1918. This is not a list selected either because the profits were large or because the profits were small. It is a list of all the corporations whose earnings covering this entire period were available to me. A compilation of these figures shows that the same eighty-two corporations which, in the pre-war years, had an average net income of 325 million dollars had net incomes in 1916 amounting to more than a billion dollars, in 1917 of 975 million and in 1918 of 736 million. The war profits of these 82 corporations alone were, therefore, in 1918 more than 400 million dollars, including the war taxes. This is after the deduction of every dollar of state and federal taxes and the deduction of every conceivable charge which these companies could devise for reducing and concealing their apparent profits.

I am convinced as a result of my study that the actual profits even after the payment of taxes in 1917 and 1918, were just as great as in 1916, the difference being accounted for by the fact that in 1917 and 1918 these corporations set up all kinds of excessive reserves for depreciation, amortization, and other unspecified and fanciful contingencies for the purpose of evading taxation and concealing their excessive earnings from the public and the tax collector.

But even taking the figures as they stand we find that these eighty-two corporations earned, net, after paying all taxes, including the excess profit tax, \$3.00 in 1916 and 1917 for every dollar which they earned in the pre-war period and over \$2.00 in 1918 for every dollar earned in the pre-war period. This is profiteering with a vengeance and the profiteers may well tremble lest the people may avenge themselves for this shameless exploitation during a period of the nation's greatest necessity.

Price Reductions Must Precede Wage Reductions

And yet, with the people and particularly the workers in this state of exasperation as a result of their daily struggle with an unjustly inflated

cost of living, attempts are already being made by selfish and foolish employers to reduce wages. Sometimes these attempts to reduce wages are made directly, but far more often by the device of shutting down the plants for a short period to repair the ravages of high speed war production and then employing new men at reduced rates. And the burning shame of it is that in many instances these new men who are being hired at reduced wages are our soldiers, the gold striped veterans of the great war, who return to America ignorant of the new wage levels and are easily made the dupes of unscrupulous and unpatriotic employers.

There were indications at the recent convention of the National Association of Manufacturers that a concerted movement to reduce wages would be made by a large group of American manufacturers. These people who banqueted so sumptuously at the Waldorf-Astoria while they concocted their plans for widespread reductions in wages were playing with dynamite, and dynamite infinitely more dangerous, both to the capitalists and to the public, than all the May Day bombs of the Anarchists.

American labor, whether organized or unorganized, will bitterly and effectively resist any such attempt to reduce wages until the price level has dropped far lower than it is today. Labor knows its advantages and it knows now, as it has never known before, its stupendous power. All intelligent labor leaders know, even if the manufacturers appear not to know, that for the next generation there is to be a world wide labor shortage and that this shortage is almost certain to be greatest in America. They know that more than seven million men were killed in the war and that even a greater number were incapacitated. They know that the ravages of disease and starvation have killed at least thirty million people. They know that there has been virtually no immigration to the United States since July, 1914, and that there is likely to be little in the years to come. They know that emigrants are leaving the United States in such great numbers that the American Bankers' Association has passed resolutions directing national attention to this phenomenon.

Wise men know also that the labor movement has greatly increased its strength in recent years. At least two million men have been added to the ranks of organized labor in America during the war. A million have been organized on the railroads alone and more than a million have been added to the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in other branches of industry.

Labor's New Status

American labor is more conscious than ever before of its power and of its rights. It will demand the abolition of age old injustices. Labor has been in the harness for untold centuries. The harness has become heavy and galling, but labor does not now ask that the harness be lightened or that the share of oats and hay be enlarged. Labor now demands the right to climb into the driver's seat and help control the machinery which drives the lumbering chariot of modern industry.

The president of the United States and all other enlightened citizens recognize that this new status which labor is demanding will either be granted graciously or will be won after industrial battles of a severity and extent which wise men seek to avoid. But individual employers and financiers are still unenlightened. They believe that what has been will be and that there is no new thing under the sun. In a recent issue of *Law and Labor*, the organ of the American Anti-Boycott Association, it is shown that one-third of its membership of American manufacturers are opposed to any form of collective dealing with their own employes, even though they are unorganized and have no assistance from outside trade unions or labor leaders. The National Association of Manufacturers apparently expects

to return to antebellum standards. The slave owners of the South might just as well have expected to have their slaves back after the Civil War as for American employers to expect to return to the position of industrial absolutism which the majority of them occupied before the world war.

There is an active minority of powerful capitalists and employers intent upon establishing in the United States a dictatorship of the plutocracy. There is an equally active and even more determined minority on the labor side intent upon establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat. Neither can succeed except by wrecking the existing industrial and social structure of the United States. We cannot have either a dictatorship of the plutocracy or a dictatorship of the proletariat except upon the ruins of American industry. If we are to save ourselves—if we are to save American productive industry and American social life from disaster, we must find a method and a means of orderly progress to the new status and new conditions which the workers of America have been promised and now demand.

No Hope for Progress Through Congress

This does not seem to be possible through our existing political institutions. There is no hope for orderly industrial and social progress through the present Congress. The 66th Congress of the United States is the least enlightened, the most reactionary Congress that this generation has known. I do not except even the dark days of Cannonism and the Payne-Aldrich tariff. The present Congress contains as many hard-shelled fossils as Cannon and Aldrich numbered among their supporters. But this Congress has no group of young, hard hitting progressives such as threatened to depose Cannon from the speaker's chair and all but defeated Aldrich in the Senate. The progressives now in Congress are relatively old men, tired with twenty years of hard fighting. They have not quit fighting and they have not lost their ideals, but they have lost their old punch and aggressiveness.

There is another reason why we can hope for nothing through the ordinary political machinery. That is the Espionage Law, which has terrorized countless thousands into ignominious silence. The Espionage Act was bad enough under war conditions. It is infinitely worse to continue it on the statute books since the signing of the armistice. It will be an outrageous invasion of the most sacred rights of Americans to enact any such legislation to apply to peace times. But I am informed that a majority of the reactionaries of the House and Senate are intent upon the enactment of statutes of suppression and oppression more stringent even than the war-time Espionage Act. I have faith that President Wilson will veto any such Federal legislation. But I see, with equally great alarm, that some of the states have already enacted vicious legislation of this character and I am informed that the predatory interests are determined and have the power to put such bills through the legislatures of perhaps a majority of the states and to secure their approval by the governors of those states.

The suppression of free discussion during a critical period such as we are now entering upon is of the greatest danger to the very life of the nation. There must be a safety valve of free speech and free assemblage if we are to escape the destructive explosions which a policy of suppression and coercion will render inevitable. The present Espionage Act should be immediately repealed and every state should purge its statute books of every such act limiting the rights of its citizens.

A National Industrial Conference

Although the possibility of orderly industrial and social progress through our political institutions thus seems to be remote, it is nevertheless possible that we will find other means of reaching the same end. What we need

is a national understanding, not of politicians but of people. There is no reason why such an understanding as is necessary to avert the catastrophe which seems to be impending cannot be reached by those leaders who much more directly and truly represent the people than the men who sit in Congress. I mean that through a national conference of the representatives of labor and of capital, with proper representation of those public groups which have no direct affiliation with or dependence upon either labor or capital, an effective understanding can be reached which will provide the means for orderly progress toward better conditions and better relations between all groups of American society.

This is the method which England was forced to adopt when, according to Frank A. Vanderlip, she was threatened with impending revolution. Lloyd-George did not then go to Parliament for a solution. Instead he summoned an industrial parliament made up of several hundred leaders of British industry. They reached an understanding and the British revolution was averted.

Some weeks ago the cables carried an intimation that President Wilson contemplated the adoption of some such method of dealing with the industrial situation in the United States. It is true that this was not specifically confirmed by the President's message to Congress, but a message to Congress was obviously no place for the President to reveal any plans which he might have for such an extra-legal method of procedure.

I do not doubt, therefore, that when the President returns and finds the nation confronted, as it seems now inevitable that it will be, with actual or impending industrial controversies which threaten national stagnation, he will turn to the device which has proved so effective in England and summon, first, a small conference of the outstanding leaders of American labor and capital and then a great industrial congress embracing leaders from all industries and from all sections of the country.

We are told by pessimists that such conferences and such a congress would result only in endless talk and final disagreement. I cannot accept that view. I cannot believe that the great American financiers are such fools that they will risk the possible destruction of all that they possess and control rather than make concessions which will satisfy the fair-minded majority who form the strength of the American labor movement. Nor do I believe that the leaders of American labor will put forward such unreasonable demands that an agreement will be impossible. If this congress were to be made up of provincial labor leaders and of employers whose knowledge and interest does not extend beyond the front doors of their own small shops, agreement might be difficult, if not impossible, but if the conference and congress are made up, as I trust they will be, of men accustomed to deal with large affairs in a large way, I am confident that the result will be an understanding and an enunciation of principles and policies far more effective for orderly progress than any legislation.

I love America. I foresee troublous times confronting her, but I have faith in the American people and am confident that out of the turmoil and dissension which are ahead will come a better understanding among all groups and all classes, from which will be evolved a life of greater comfort and happiness for all the people of America and an enduring basis for that citizenship which alone makes a nation truly great.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Others who took part in this feature of the discussion were: Henry Richmond, Detroit; Prof. Francis Tyson, Pittsburgh; H. H. Jacobs of Milwaukee, and Mr. Manly.

THE NEGRO IN INDUSTRY

Eugene Kinckle Jones, General Secretary, National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, New York

America's greatest problem is again staring the American people in the face! Temporarily, during the war period, through sheer necessity and because of the great emergency, it was overshadowed by the greatest acute problem, we as a people had been forced to tackle—that is how most effectively to destroy German militarism.

"The Greatest American Problem" is called the Negro problem, but in reality it is the problems of the Negro—problems which are difficult, but no more difficult of solution than the same problems among the white people of America, except for the attitude of the public mind towards them.

Of these many questions called problems that demand thought and action, there is none that is more significant, more fundamental, in fact, more important than that of employment! In seeking a job or looking forward to advancement in one's job, the Negro must always consider one element—that is the fact that he happens to be blessed with a pigment and physiological peculiarities adapted by nature to the peculiar climatic conditions of the original habitat of his forefathers. Any discussion of the Negro in industry, must in the beginning take this into account.

We all will admit readily, that the most serious problem that American people are actually facing and attempting to solve, is that of the proper adjustment of labor in its relation to capital.

It is not the mere fact that men must work or do work, that makes the problem; all men should work; most men must work. The problem is serious because men are beginning to exercise some choice as to the kind of work they wish to do—the amount of compensation they expect—the advancement they feel they should be assured—the hours during which they are required to work and the conditions generally under which they are employed.

Negro in a Vicious Circle

With the Negro in industry, these *also* are the important factors with special emphasis on his ability to exercise some choice as to the kind of work he will do; in his own particular case the task ever before him is that of extending the variety of occupations which he is permitted to enter. Industrially, his affliction is a "vicious circle." He is afraid to prepare himself for more skilled and selected work for fear he will not get it—and is told that he cannot get it because he is not equal to it.

There are a few fundamental facts that I should like for you to keep in mind during the discussion of this subject:

First. Negroes are listed as engaged in gainful occupations in a larger proportion than the white population, because fewer of them, especially women, have sufficient incomes to remain idle.

Second. They are usually employed in the most unskilled and menial labor and are considered "fresh" when they succeed in getting into a superior type of work or aspire to advancement.

Third: When given an opportunity, they can "make good" and, in fact, have "made good" in every line of work they have been allowed to attempt, whether semi-skilled or skilled, professional or highly specialized.

Fourth: They secure this opportunity once in a great while; occasionally because employers wish to be fair and just to their men regardless of color. More often it comes because of a scarcity of white labor and when the pocketbook of the employer is threatened either with a loss or a reduction of profits.

War Gives Negro Chance

During the war, Negro men (and women, too) have had their largest opportunities in the big industrial plants of the north, due to the departure of immigrant labor, many of whom went into the service of their mother country or were drawn into the more skilled work which was opened up during the war. The testimony of many of the employers was to the effect that they found the Negroes rather inexperienced, frequently undependable, of a roaming nature—easily tempted to change their places of employment on account of such inducement as small increases in wages, shorter hours and easier work. (Very similar to the testimony given throughout the war about white labor.)

On the other hand, however, sufficient testimony is available to prove conclusively that the Negro labor on the whole was found to be extremely promising. They were loyal to their employers. In fact, they took proprietary interest in their employers' plants. They were *American* to the core, and their great advantage was their ability to speak and understand English. They were not easily inflamed against their employers for imagined grievances, and at least they earned what should not have been necessary for them to go so far to merit—real opportunity!

Further testimony discloses that Negro labor is easily managed. No more easily, I should say, than the average American laborer, but easily managed if a touch of human kindness is mingled with the spirit of justice and fair play, which means that the men are given a reasonable wage, hours and conditions of labor that are human and an opportunity to advance in their work.

Most of the men who proved unreliable did so because they had no *hope on the job*, or had been chosen from a group of idle loafers in some southern city or community where real opportunity for training for the Negro is unknown.

But, you will say, American employers do not readily, in the majority of cases, offer these rewards to white men, unless the men organize and demand through collective bargaining a fairer return from their investment of brain and brawn.

Trade Unions Need Negro Membership

This naturally brings up the question as to the relationship between organized white groups of laborers and colored workingmen. You will say that all men who work have a common cause and should co-operate to the end that as strong and as solid a front as possible may be made before recalcitrant employers. But in order to have a clear understanding of the situation, the following facts should not be ignored.

1. Negroes are not usually welcomed in the highly organized trades; and when they are, through the favor of the circumstances, they are the so-called "scabs" of these trades. The unions have refused to accept them as members and, on the other hand, brand them as scabs for working at a lower wage. Colored men are told that they are disliked because they are scabs and they organize and pass resolutions in the effort to get admission into the unions for the colored men. The national and international councils inform us that there is no discrimination recognized in the constitutions of these great labor organizations, but in the next breath admit that they cannot control their locals and the locals continue in their work of discrimination.

2. Negroes are mainly engaged in the unskilled and semi-skilled trades and in domestic service, which has always proved difficult of organization.

Surely, the plight of the Negro workingman seems impossible, but the hand of Providence is unerring and unexpected forces are at work to bring to the Negro the opportunity he deserves and should have.

I have already mentioned the war situation, through which many opportunities were given to the Negro, and now we have before us the great emigration of foreigners from our shores and the concurrent evidences of the great increase of business and industry of the reconstruction period. We are told that in the very first nine months of the present Federal fiscal year, the emigration from our shores exceeded the immigration by 300,000. We are told by Col. Arthur Woods, who is now working on the employment situation in connection with the War Department, that in the fall there will be a shortage of 7,000,000 men in industry. Perhaps, again, there will be a new demand for Negro labor in lines where his capacities have already equipped him but where the demand has been withheld for reason of prejudice.

Law of Supply and Demand Befriends Race

I am optimistic enough to believe that the Negro is finding and will find in the future many friends who are anxious to give him a fair and square deal in industry. But I believe that the best friend the Negro has is the law of supply and demand, which will run its course regardless of the prejudices of man.

We are often told that the Negro in the south is listless, undependable, worth little and, therefore, paid little for his services. We found during the war that this rumor was mere rumor, for with the reduction in the supply of this so-called unreliable labor, wages went up, less idleness was noticed and Negroes found themselves walking with their heads a little higher and their ambition stimulated. We all know how slow the South has been in the development of industry and in the adoption of improved methods of farming, without which the demands for available labor supply of Negroes in the south could never be raised to its proper point; the result being that before the war many Negroes were employed at seventy-five cents and \$1.00 per day for exactly the same work that men "up north" received from \$2.50 to \$4.00 per day. Men in great numbers are frequently used to do work in the south which one or two men with modern machinery could do more adequately, and thus furnish work for many more in addition.

I feel that there will be an added step towards improvement in this situation with the coming period of prosperity.

A Program for Improvement

Criticisms of the condition, without suggesting possible remedies, would only add to the difficulties of the situation unless by giving the facts to others better qualified to suggest solutions their interest will be stimulated to action.

I suggest, however, the following:

1. That those who know the situation will make it very clear to all persons who entertain the over-emphasized thought that to give the Negro opportunity will advance the so-called desire for social equality for the Negro—that the Negroes are a great deal less concerned about this bug-bear than those who talk about it. In fact, but seldom do I hear Negroes discussing the question one way or the other. I am rather inclined to feel that in most problems where racial and religious and other group antipathies are felt, this underlying thought or subconscious feeling is allowed to go without our daring to mention it—knowing all the time that it is the fundamental cause of so much feeling and misunderstanding.

2. In the second place, our country demands, for its full development, the utilization of the greatest and most effective man power which its citi-

zens can muster. This power should be exacted of them, based upon just and square dealings with all, to the end that their greatest capacities may be developed and used. It is not to the best interest of our country that 11,000,000 of our population are, regardless of capacity or inclination, relegated to the most menial positions in the community. Science, experience and observation have taught us that it is possible, and often does happen, that the best individuals along certain lines may just as well be of one race as of another, be it a pugilist, a musician, a painter, a riveter or a writer.

3. I should think that in order to develop Negro workers to their greatest efficiency in our large industrial plants, Negro welfare workers should be employed who will look after the complaints and grievances of the men; see that they are given decent houses and proper recreation and that their increased efficiency is encouraged by offering them advancement from time to time in their several positions, which positions are guaranteed to them indefinitely, based only upon merit.

4. Again, the U. S. Employment Service and the state employment service, where such exists, should be used to the fullest extent in connecting competent Negroes up with good jobs. And wherever it is possible, private organizations should be organized or encouraged to promote a better understanding of the possibilities of Negro laborers, to the end that larger opportunity and more promising openings are given to them. We should use our influence to encourage employers to back up this most democratic agency that our government has yet developed. (I refer to the U. S. Employment Service.) This practical experiment in democracy will be successful only if the employers, as well as the employees and the examiners of the service believe in the spirit of fair play in which the service was created.

5. Trade unions must understand that they cannot get their full return from their efforts with one-tenth of the country's man power arbitrarily shut out of the movement. Competitors at a lower wage are unavoidably created thereby.

Again, the Negroes have their lesson to learn. No people have risen to positions of respect in the world without determination, study, preparation and hard work. We should not be satisfied with simply the presentation of good reasons why we are not more efficient, more favorably recognized, more advanced in industry. Efficiency will only be recognized when we prepare ourselves in our industrial schools and as apprentices for work which is valued.

If we create for our people the reputation for thrift, reliability, dependability and soberness, we will be in demand. The world reorganized in this "new era" on the basis of peace, good will, hard work, big business, internationalism, is bound to recognize real worth in one race or another regardless of the ravings of the "junkers," and it will not be necessary to depend on a great visionary revolution in the future or a miracle wrought from Heaven for the industrial millennium to come. It will be within the reach of every man if he will but accept it.

This program is being followed by the National Urban League through thirty-two affiliated organizations in as many cities.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Answering interrogation, *Mr. Jones** explained that within the last year almost 20 men and at least 2 women to his knowledge had been employed by industrial concerns. *Mr. William A. Aery* of Hampton Institute said that the prevalent idea about the Negro's habit of squandering money was not justified by the facts, that the great majority of colored people were saving money and putting it into the education of their children and purchasing homes. He pleaded for a right social attitude and for giving the

*Note—Uncorrected by speaker.

Negro a chance to make good. Mr. O. G. Finkelstein of Chicago reported interviewing managers of various industries and finding that most of them claimed that they could not get along with colored workers because they were unstable and unreliable.

Speaking of this point, Mr. Jones explained that this attitude of the colored worker was due to his not having a substantial future ahead of him. He said the most radical labor organizations have been most favorable to the colored worker. Asked whether there might ever be a "Zionist Movement" among the Negroes, the speaker said he hoped not because the Negroes were thoroughly American. The Liberian migration experiment proved that they do not care to migrate.

Others who participated in the informal discussion were: Mrs. Lyman, Chicago; Mary C. Wiggins, Boston; Dr. Griel, New York; Harry L. Lurie, Detroit; Elizabeth R. Adams, Washington; Dorothy C. Paulin, Pittsburgh, and Miss Rexowski, Washington.

HEALTH INSURANCE

John A. Lapp, Managing Editor of Modern Medicine and Specialist for the National Catholic War Council, Formerly Director Ohio Health and Old Age Insurance Commission

Whenever a number of people are subjected to a common risk which may entail loss upon them, the insurance principle may be applied if the risk is measurable. Since most of the risks which people run have been found by experience to be measurable, insurance has come to be applied in many different fields. Insurance is merely a distributor of loss. It is based upon fairly exact calculations. Fire insurance measures the loss from fires and fixes the premium which each dollar's worth of property should be taxed as a premium to cover possible loss. Marine insurance measures the loss from shipping disasters and fixes the premiums that are necessary. Life insurance measures the number of deaths that are going to occur in each age group and fixes the premium to cover the loss. Numerous other forms of insurance have been devised, including insurance against hail, tornadoes, accidents, burglary, plate glass breakage, fidelity and others. Insurance is well established as a business proposition. Very few business men fail to protect themselves against serious loss of property. When insurance is conceived of as a universal matter applying to all people and all losses of a certain kind, it is even simpler of application and more businesslike than the voluntary forms of property insurance with which we are more familiar.

We are coming to recognize the fact that when the people of an entire state are subjected to certain risks which are measurable, it is good business to organize insurance through the instrumentality of the state, measure the risk and pay the losses which happen at random to this individual or that. We have used this principle for many years without recognizing it as social insurance. Nearly every state provides a fund by the taxation of dogs, from which the losses to sheep owners are paid. We have established the principle in insurance of bank deposits now in force in a number of states whereby a fund is collected from the banks in order to pay the losses to depositors through bank failures. Still later, we have applied in some states the same principle by the collection of funds from a tax on agricultural lands to pay the losses from hail. North Dakota and South Dakota have done this on a statewide basis, as have also some of the Canadian northwest provinces.

Lastly, we have recognized that statewide insurance of laborers against accident is a simple, practicable and certain way of distributing the economic shock of accident. In a few states this principle is applied through the creation of a single state fund from which the unfortunate victims of accidents draw a part of their compensation and are provided with medical and surgical care.

These simple statements of the application of the insurance principle voluntarily and also on a social basis are made here for the purpose of clarifying our thinking at the outset on the subject of health insurance. They are too often overlooked. Some folks would make us believe that the

proposal for social health insurance is some new, absurd proposition which has been evolved in fantastic minds, when, as a matter of fact, its coming is nothing but the evolution of sound social and business sense. Health insurance proposes to collect a fund from which the losses of sickness can be partly paid and medical treatment provided on a universal scale. The only problems involved are the measurability of sickness and the organization of the scheme.

Sickness Is Measurable

We have plenty of evidence from every quarter to show that sickness is measurable. We know with fair certainty how much severe sickness will occur in a large group of people every year. We know what that loss entails in the way of lost wages, and we can readily measure what the necessary medical care will cost. In fact, we know far more in these respects about sickness insurance than we knew about accident insurance when workmen's compensation laws were put in force, and we know infinitely more than the people who started fire, life, marine, casualty, fidelity, and burglary insurance ever know about the losses from these causes before they successfully established insurance.

In fact, we have a very good measure of the amount of sickness which occurs in any normal group of working people. All the evidence, which appears to be overwhelming, shows that each worker suffers about nine days' sickness every year and that two and a half ($2\frac{1}{2}$) to three (3) per cent of the people are sick at all times. The findings of the health insurance commissions of Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Connecticut, from a study of 131,000 cases of disability, showed that twenty (20) per cent of the workers suffer a disabling sickness every year, lasting for more than seven (7) days. These figures show that the cases of sickness lasting more than seven (7) days averaged about thirty-five (35) to thirty-seven (37) days each. These figures are borne out by innumerable investigations and particularly by the study of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Society made by the United States Department of Labor Statistics, and the studies of the Federal Industrial Relations Commission and of the United States Public Health Service.

Not only do we know how much sickness occurs in the group, but we know with fair exactness how this sickness falls on the different people in the group. It appears that twenty (20) per cent of a normal group will suffer a disabling sickness lasting more than a week; that about sixty-five (65) per cent of those that are sick will be disabled for less than thirty days; that nearly twenty (20) per cent will be sick for four to eight weeks; that six (6) per cent will be sick from eight to twelve weeks; that three (3) per cent will be sick for more than six months and one and three-tenths ($1\frac{3}{10}$) per cent for more than a year.

We know, further, that sickness varies with age and that it falls more heavily as men grow older. The exact figures, as shown by the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Society, are as follows:

TABLE
Cases of Sickness Lasting More Than Seven Days

Age	Average Compensated days	Length of time each case lasts
20	3.0	22.9
25	3.0	29.4
30	3.7	32.6
35	4.8	39.6
40	4.3	35.0
45	4.5	35.1
50	5.6	39.1
55	7.1	44.0
60	8.6	49.5
65	9.1	49.4
70	15.1	65.2
Total	5.1	38.0

We know, too, that sickness varies according to occupation, in some occupations rising to two and three times the rate of other occupations. We know also that there are some variations according to sex. These facts we know with fair exactness. They are not disputed by any intelligent and honest person.

We have then here the proper basis for the establishment of an insurance system. We know pretty nearly how much sickness there is going to be among a million people. We know very nearly what the sickness will cost. All we need to do is to apply the same principles which we have already applied in other respects and provide for the distribution of the burden of sickness on a communal basis. It is not a leap in the dark. It is not a blind attempt to do the impossible. It is simply the application of well-known and well-established business principles to the solution of the problem which hangs as a cloud over the lives of the people. We know how much sickness there will be in a group, but we do not know upon which individuals the cost of sickness will fall.

The Results of Sickness

What are the plain results of sickness? It hardly seems necessary to repeat them in this presence, and yet there are those who would deny even the simplest truths when those truths are inconvenient to them.

Sickness drives people from a higher to a lower standard of life. It drives people from independence to dependence. It keeps thousands on the brink of poverty and it keeps millions in the fear thereof. When the wage earner is taken sick, his wages stop. Rarely are wages paid beyond the hour when the man quits work. But his expenses do not stop—they go on and increase. To them are added the cost of medical care, if the man does not immediately seek charitable aid. Slender resources are soon used up. Everyone who appears to have the slightest presumption of knowledge is very well aware that the rank and file of working men are only a brief space away from economic distress. Perhaps the man has some personal credit or some helpful friends, but even the benefits of these are soon used up if the man happens to be one of the million and a half who are sick for four to eight weeks, or of the 230,000 who are sick for more than six months.

The next resort is the chattel loan. Here we find that thirty-five to fifty per cent of loans are due to sickness. The next resort is the associated charities. Here again we find that thirty-five to fifty per cent of applications are due to sickness. The last resort is outdoor public relief, of which we have very little satisfactory statistical evidence. We found in Ohio, however, that thirty per cent of the people in county infirmaries had been reduced from independence to dependence by sickness, resulting in their going to the poor house, and that forty per cent of the old people in private homes were there because of the calamity of sickness at some time in their life.

Health insurance merely attempts to stop this steady decline from a higher to a lower status. It is intended to insure people who are now independent and to keep them from going the downward path toward the brink of poverty. It is intended to stabilize society above the poverty line so that from this one cause fewer people shall descend in the scale of life. No one can study the figures on this subject and reflect upon the facts disclosed without being convinced of the necessity of something to prevent the decline of human values and no one can understand insurance principles without being convinced that the solution of the problem rests in social insurance.

Why Compulsory Insurance?

The question is raised at this point: "Why make it compulsory—why organize it on a universal scale?" "Why not leave it to voluntary action?"

The answer is simple. If it is left to voluntary efforts, it will cost far more than it would as a social enterprise. The cost would, in fact, be more than doubled. We have the example before us of the burial insurance companies which have been insuring people against a pauper burial on a voluntary scale. They probably manage their business well—no one has lately charged them with a lack of efficiency. During the last three years they have collected \$448,000,000 and have paid in death claims \$148,000,000, or about thirty-three per cent of the amount collected. The people have paid for the privilege of voluntary burial insurance in the last three years the sum of \$300,000,000 over and above what they paid for burials. The casualty insurance companies on a voluntary basis have collected in the last twenty years \$402,000,000 and have paid in losses \$175,000,000. Nearly fifty-six per cent of this enormous sum goes for the privilege of regaling ourselves with voluntary insurance.

Workmen's compensation insurance companies in the last five years have received \$125,000,000 and have paid \$55,000,000. Mutual workmen's compensation funds have received \$17,000,000 and have paid \$7,000,000. Commercial health insurance companies in fifteen years have received \$74,000,000 and have paid \$33,000,000.

These huge sums of money have been sacrificed to the principal of voluntary insurance. Set over against them is the record of the Ohio Workmen's Compensation Insurance Fund, operated on a statewide compulsory basis, which shows a charge of three and a half ($3\frac{1}{2}$) to five (5) per cent for the conduct of the business. A pencil and a piece of paper will very quickly tell you what we have paid for the privilege of having voluntary insurance. Universal social insurance removes the cost of solicitation, removes the profits of insurance carriers, removes the absurdly high salaries of insurance officials, and in many ways makes the money of the insured go further in providing him the benefits which he needs in a time of calamity.

The extent to which voluntary health insurance is now purchased is the best evidence of its probable failure to meet the need for universal insurance. Only about thirty-three per cent of the workers carry any health insurance. Such insurance as is carried amounts to \$5.00 to \$7.00 a week for about thirteen weeks and practically no medical service. In the United States only about three per cent to five per cent of losses is distributed by health insurance. There is no evidence that outside of the larger establishment funds, medical and cash benefits can ever be so combined and organized as to be effective.

The Responsibility for Sickness

The facts of the case from beginning to end, with scarcely a single exception, point to the desirability of establishing a statewide human depreciation fund by the collection of premiums from those who are responsible for sickness and for its care. We know now who those parties are. It is perfectly clear that industry is responsible for some diseases, the individual is responsible for some, and the community is responsible for some. It is equally clear that two or more of these factors combine in certain other cases to cause sickness. It is perfectly clear that the line cannot be drawn where industrial responsibility stops and individual responsibility begins, or where the community responsibility begins or ends. Tuberculosis, for example, is caused by a combination of two or more of these factors. A study in Cincinnati by the United States Public Health Service indicated that in four hundred and forty-two (442) cases, eighteen (18) per cent were due to industry; thirty-two per cent to heredity; ten and eight-tenths (10.8) per cent to intemperance and vice; nine and seven-tenths (9.7) per cent to housing and the rest to undefined causes. This is merely illustrative of the interrelation of causes of sickness. No one can honestly say or

believe that industry and the community should not share with the individual the cost of sickness. We have heretofore put the principal burden—in fact, practically all of it—on the individual. It is time that our social conscience be awakened from its slumber and, having taken cognizance of the awful consequence of diseases, that we shall join in a large co-operative undertaking for the creation of a fund through the payment collected from causative factors, so that the burden of sickness shall not fall, as it now falls, upon the individuals who happen to be sick and at a time when they are least able to bear the extra burden.

The Cost

It seems almost incredible to believe that anyone would here raise the question of cost. It seems absurd to mention it in this paper. There are men, however, who make the absurd claim that health insurance will be so costly as to overwhelm us. Figures are cited to make this loss appear even more excessive than it is. How child-like the simplicity of such people. If sickness is costing two billion dollars today, somebody is bearing it; and who is that somebody? If the burden is too great for the whole society to bear, it is a pretty fair evidence that it is altogether crushing for the few who must now bear it. If it be true that health insurance would cost too much, then the social order is bankrupt. It is even worse than bankrupt because it compels the weakest portion of society at the time they are weakest to bear the impossible burden which it is claimed cannot be borne without serious disaster by society as a whole. Such arguments reduce to absurdity. Health insurance means the redistribution of a burden which now falls unevenly. It does not cost money, it distributes cost already in existence and it does it without doing harm, as has been shown in all countries, even our own, wherein we distribute certain burdens by means of social insurance. The load of sickness is comparatively easy to carry when it is distributed over the whole body. The soldier who would attempt to carry his burden attached to his feet would not get very far; even if he carried his burden in his two hands, he would soon tire out. Distributed scientifically over his entire body, he carries it with comparative ease. We are carrying our sickness burdens around our feet. It is time that we distribute them scientifically over the entire body.

The Opposition

The opposition to health insurance has made strange bed-fellows. The lions and the lambs are lying down together, but, if I mistake not, the lambs will have to be renewed occasionally. The principal opposition comes from burial insurance companies and from casualty insurance companies. It needs no particular acumen to understand why. The fat sum of one hundred million dollars in expense and profits annually on the part of burial insurance companies alone well accounts for their opposition. The sum of \$40,000,000 of profits and cost of administration in the case of casualty companies might well be taken as an indication of the reason for their opposition. These organizations with money to spend, mostly the money of the policyholders, have attempted to poison the minds of other organizations. They have organized associations with fictitious but high-sounding names and have subsidized others. They have flooded the country with literature, more than seventy-five per cent of which is false in its statement of simple facts. They have attempted to make the doctors believe that health insurance would ruin the profession, at the same time handing out honeyed phrases about sickness prevention, which, when analyzed, indicate that these same companies are attempting to lead the doctors to state medicine, wherein the doctor will become the employe of the state in preference to the or-

ganized scheme of medical practice which would prevail under health insurance. These same forces have tried to lead the great fraternal movement in opposition to social health insurance by making them believe that fraternalism was doomed. As a matter of fact not over two per cent of present losses from sickness are being carried by fraternal insurance orders. Surely, the great body of men whose inspiration is fraternalism would sacrifice, if sacrifice were necessary, the two per cent of sickness insurance which they now carry in favor of a social scheme which would take care of a large part of the rest.

Opposition to health insurance will fail. It is battling against social forces that are everywhere triumphant. In due time health insurance will be enacted in this country as it has been in most of the civilized countries of the world. We will organize it as we have organized other forms of social insurance. We will provide for its organization in an American way. We shall, doubtless, make some mistakes, but as in every line of action, we shall in due course correct those mistakes. We shall overcome the petty opposition to details in favor of the great principle of bearing one another's burdens through the means of insurance.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

The general discussion that ensued related altogether to exposition of details of the leading addresses. Those who participated by questions or otherwise were: Anna Rochester, New York; Mrs. Frank Tyson, Pittsburgh; F. U. Stapleford, Toronto; Mary C. Wiggin, Boston; Burdette G. Lewis, Trenton; J. Howard T. Falk, Montreal; Dr. Josephine Baker, George J. Nelbach and Mrs. Frederick A. Halsey, New York.

TRADE UNIONS IN FEDERAL SERVICE

Florence Etheridge, Vice-President, National Federation of Federal Employees, Vinita, Oklahoma

At a time when government ownership of public utilities has, to all appearances, signally failed, at least for the present, as a practical proposition, however desirable some of us may think it in theory, the questions, "What is wrong with the federal service?" and "What can the government trade unions do about it?" are of immensely increased significance to the general public. Their significance to the federal employee himself can hardly alter; the problem of the adaptation of the individual to the machinery of the federal service has weighed him down from the beginning.

It cannot be overemphasized that the inadequacy of the civil service of the United States is no new condition; the taking over and operation by the government of the railroads, telegraphs, telephones and cables has merely demonstrated to the citizenship of the country what has long been well known to the thousands of persons employed by it.

The restlessness of the Federal employee has long been proverbial; also, the tendency of the most capable individuals in this occupation to leave it at the earliest favorable opportunity; and side by side with this knowledge of facts there has run the old tradition that "a public office is a private snap," and that the worker for his government has a sinecure, which the civil service guarantee of permanent tenure renders a lifetime free from toil and immune from the ordinary anxieties of mankind. The fact is that both of the statements made above are in part correct, but that the modicum of truth which they contain is founded not on any quality of the Federal employee as such, but upon certain defects inherent in the conditions of his employment.

Champ Clark's Classification

About a year ago, during an interview which I had with Champ Clark, he expressed, with his usual forcefulness, an opinion of the Washington federal employee, which, beneath its pungent criticism of the worker, is a definite arraignment of the work. "There are just three classes of Washington government clerks," he said. "The first class goes straight to hell without any brakes on as soon as its gets to Washington; the second settles into a little routine job and vegetates for a lifetime, and the third—a very small class—stays a while, looks around, sees the sights, and then gets out and goes home."

To a very similar purport is former Assistant Secretary Fisher's epigrammatic definition: "Government service is the elimination of the fittest."

Sources of Faults in Civil Service

It is difficult to trace the faults in the system of conducting the public service of the United States to their source; I will, however, suggest provisionally the following:

1. The lack of incentive to individual ambition and endeavor in an employment characterized by a rigid classification of workers in large groups whose duties have been systematized into a definite and not-to-be-departed-from routine.

2. The imposition upon a scheme of federal employment based upon the spoils system of a few so-called civil service rules entirely at variance with this groundwork.

The routine nature of a large proportion of public work, it may be said with some truth, is fundamental and, therefore, cannot be modified; but it is also true that the inflexibility in the classification of employees and the difficulty they experience in passing from one class to another, has been largely imposed from without, by "efficiency commissions" and the like, acting with neither representation by or consultation with the people to be affected by their conclusions, namely, the federal employees, and by Congressional enactment, which is often too hasty, and determined by the local prejudice of the taxpayer against what he considers the support from the public treasury of a parasitic set of hangers-on. In this connection, I would like to invite your attention to a recent and important achievement of the National Federation of Federal Employees in obtaining representation for its members on all departmental and bureau subcommittees of the Reclassification Commission now engaged in reclassifying the Washington federal service according to what we hope and have reason to expect will be a more reasonable and democratic method than any previously employed. But there is much to be accomplished before the recognition of individual merit in the government service will even approach that in private employ, if it ever does. One reason for a certain hopelessness one feels in this matter is that the Federal employee has no real employer; that is to say, no one whose business interests in the concerns of the government are identical with his, so that ingenuity and initiative on his part can be certain of immediate recognition. The department heads?—not at all; while they are charged with the supervision of the employees in their respective departments, it is not from their pockets that the money with which to pay these employees is taken, nor is it always to their advantage, or the advantage of the political party to which they belong (for their own appointments are exclusively due to political services rendered), to adopt or recommend the adoption of innovations suggested by mere underlings, perhaps with no political influence, or to do anything except discourage the would-be innovators. So general is the unwritten law against suggestions by subordinates for improvement of conditions, that it is a truism of the clerical service in Washington, "You

are not paid to think." All this is not to say that department heads are naturally indifferent to the interests of the workers in their departments, but it is to assert that they must, under the present scheme of government employment, acquire such indifference if they are to succeed as administrators from the Congressional point of view. I have personally been told by those who had, theoretically, in the hands the power of promoting and demoting employees that there are cases where a vacancy occurs and one employee clearly deserves the promotion rendered possible by it, while another less deserving makes application for it and procures as indorser of his application a Senator or Representative who is a member of the committee charged with procuring the appropriation for the particular department. Is it not obvious that, at whatever violence to abstract principles of justice, employee number two will receive the promotion? Now, as to Congress: Is Congress the employer of the federal worker? Again, no; it is true that Congress appropriates his salary, but it has no authority to supervise his work. The often stated evil of divided authority can be traced in the case of the federal employee with special force; on the one hand, his department head supervises his work; on the other, Congress pays him; and so long as this is the fact, his political connections will be of far more importance to his advancement than the efficiency of his work.

A glaring and instructive example of the injustice occasioned by this artificial division of the employing power of the government is furnished by the events of the last few days in Congress. In order to meet the needs of the Indian Service of the five civilized tribes of Oklahoma, the Muskogee office in that state needed twenty thousand dollars. This appropriation failed, along with the Urgent Deficiency Bill, on which it was carried, at the last session of Congress, and announcement was made that unless it passed early in the extra session the employees of the Indian Service at Muskogee would be furloughed, losing their present wholly inadequate wages for a period of approximately seven days each.

The bill again came up for consideration at the present extra session of Congress, and one Congressman objected to the twenty-thousand dollar item, which was, in consequence, stricken from the bill.

I went down to the Muskogee office Memorial Day and found the cashier there hard at work on his books. He informed me with justifiable bitterness that he was putting in his holiday working out the number of days it would be necessary to furlough each employee. I was, and am, thoroughly indignant over this episode, which is only one of hundreds happening every day in which, on account of the slack business methods of Congress, actual privation and want are inflicted by it upon the employees of the United States. It is, under the present system as easy, in the cant phrase, as taking candy from a child, and it is as contemptible.

In order to discuss intelligently the second suggestion I have made as to the bases of faults in the government service of the United States, namely, that one of them is the imposition upon a scheme of Federal employment founded on the Spoils system of a few so-called Civil Service rules, entirely at variance with this groundwork, it may be advisable to consider for a few moments the history of the Federal Civil Service; before doing this, however, I would like to remark that while the first point I have commented on can not, on account of the routine character of much government work, be more than partially remedied, this second one is in my opinion wholly unnecessary and artificial, and should receive the earnest attention not only of our Government trade unions but also of all public-minded citizens.

From the institution of the public service of the United States directly following the American Revolution to January 16, 1883, appointments to Federal employment were exclusively political in character, and subject to

the advantages and drawbacks incident to that character. Subsequent to the civil service act of the latter date, there have been from time to time statutes enacted by Congress, and Civil Service rules promulgated by the President, the general purport of which is to safeguard the civil service worker in the continuance of his employment and to debar him from exercising many of his rights as a citizen of his country (but this point will be considered later). The hours of labor of the Federal employee, originally five and one-half, were by Congressional enactment lengthened to six and one-half, and by executive order to seven. An attempt to lengthen them to eight, made in 1916, failed of passage solely because of the opposition of the American Federation of Labor. Under the rules prescribed by the President for the competitive classified service (which, it should be noted, is not synonymous with the civil service, but only with the minor positions therein, the higher ones being filled by nomination of the President and confirmation of the Senate, in other words, by purely political agencies) examination by the Civil Service Commission is a condition precedent to appointment, and under Section 6 of the Act of August 24, 1912, such employees can only be removed for cause, and reasons given in writing; however, no examination of witnesses or trial can be had except in the discretion of the officer making the removal, so that the entire provision becomes farcical from the viewpoint of justice.

The Federal employee who enters the service of his country through the recognized channels of the classified civil service is thus guaranteed indefinite continuance in that service unless he be removed for cause (but if cause for his removal is alleged by his supervisory officer he can be denied any hearing in his own behalf); he can be promoted (but mainly through the exertion of political influence, the provision for examination to effect entrance not extending to examination for promotion except in a very limited class of cases); and he can under no circumstances work into one of the higher positions in the service, because those positions are exclusively filled by political methods from outside the civil service. On this last point, I may quote a friend who occupies a responsible post as assistant chief of a certain bureau of the Federal service. "I have been in the employ of my Government twenty-five years," he told me, "Beginning at the bottom, I have worked my way up, until by leaving the classified service I procured my present position. But what is the result? If the administration changes, I go out, because I am no longer protected by the civil service, and my entire experience is lost to the Government; if it does not, I can go no higher, because the department and bureau heads alike are political appointees, and by my years of work in Washington I have lost my political influence." I agreed with him that the effect of the present system of Government employment in his case as in too many, was to penalize him for remaining in it so long.

Rule Against Political Activity

The worst blunder, however, in my opinion, which the Federal Government has made with regard to its employees has been in the promulgation of Rule No. 1 of those dated April 15, 1903, as follows:

"No person in the executive civil service shall use his official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or affecting the results thereof. Persons who by the provisions of these rules are in the competitive classified service, while retaining their right to vote as they please and to express their opinions on all political subjects, shall take no active part in political management or in political campaigns."

There is, to my mind, a very grave question as to the constitutionality of this rule, under the provision of the Federal Constitution forbidding any denial of the right of free speech. It is less a denial of my right

in that respect to say that I may whisper what I think, at the same time you forbid me to speak it aloud? I think not; and would be glad to see the question tested in the courts; however, as the Federal employee can not sue his Government in matters relative to his employment, it is difficult to understand how any court could acquire the necessary jurisdiction. The reductio ad absurdum of this rule was accomplished when on April 7, 1914, the Civil Service Commission decided that any woman serving as an officer or chairman of a committee of a Suffrage organization was guilty of "pernicious political activity," within its meaning.

The adverse psychological effect of such a rule on the mind of the Federal employee can not be overestimated. He was, he felt, hereafter to be a man without a country, denied by reason of working for it, of any real participation in its activities; and when by Executive Orders not rescinded until 1912, known as the "gag" rule, he was prohibited from approaching any Congressman relative to his interests as an official of the Government his humiliation was complete. But these very two rules which so ground him into the dust were destined to be the means of his now partial, and I believe eventually complete rehabilitation. Let us see how.

Toward the end of February, 1916, there was introduced into the House of Representatives as a "rider" on an appropriation bill a provision that no part of the moneys appropriated thereby be used for the payment of Federal employees working less than eight hours a day, and all indications were that the rider would pass with the bill. The Federal employees were much disturbed by the prospect, but, as they saw it, entirely helpless in the face of the "gag" rule which the majority of them were unaware had been repealed by an addition to the Clayton Act, the passage of which the American Federation of Labor had procured, providing that Federal employees might petition Congress or any member thereof, and the civil service rule against political activity, which they feared would subject anyone venturing to take action against this vicious legislation to dismissal.

Federal Employees Unite with American Federation of Labor

We had, however, a friend, a friend who had long been making overtures to us, but whose counsel we had disregarded, some of us, through doubt of the possibility of effective organization among Government employees, and some, I am sorry to say, because of a fancied superiority to the workingman; the American Federation of Labor let no grass grow under its feet, and on the 26th of February its Executive Council, through President Gompers, filed formal protest against the enactment of the rider with the Speaker of the House and the chairman of the Appropriations Committee. On March 3, 1916, at a mass meeting of Federal employees called by the Central Labor Union of Washington, as a public protest against the enactment of the rider, the Federal Employees' Union of Washington was organized, and within a few days, as soon as the employees became assured that their action in joining the union would not result in their dismissal from the service the membership ran up into the thousands. As the enrolling officer I witnessed many touching incidents of these proceedings, and wish I had time to recount them here. The rider was beaten and eventually its author met defeat at the hands of the labor movement; and with the organization of the Washington Federal Employees' Union there came into being the nucleus of a great public service employees' union which can, and I believe will effect the peaceful revolution of the Government departments which the Government departments so sorely need. The postal employees were a little wider awake than we were, with the result that they were well organized while we were only starting; and it occurs to me that if there is any Government agency which more than another needs

assistance at the hands of its employees it is the Postoffice Department. The four Federations of Government workers, the National Federation of Federal Employees, the National Federation of Postal Employees, the Letter Carriers' Association and the Railway Mail Association, whose presidents are respectively Luther C. Steward, Gilbert Hyatt, Edward J. Gaynor, and E. J. Ryan, and whose combined membership amounts to about 120,000, all affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, are working together in the closest co-operation.

I suppose we all have some one fear about the things that are nearest to our hearts, and I have one and only one for my organization. I fear, on account of the peculiar nature of our Federation of Federal Employees, and the natural timidity of the Federal employee in a minor position to assert himself in any matter adversely to his superiors in office, that we may become a "bosses' union," in other words, that we may allow our activities to be dominated by members in positions of authority—and then there is another fear, akin to that, that we may become a "high brow" union, for the fact is undoubted that we include many scientific and learned members, and we are glad to do so. We can not know too much, but it is possible to be too conscious of our knowledge; and for my own part, when I meet a man or woman who can not let me forget that he or she is a college graduate, I am quite certain that there is a defect somewhere in that person's education. Perhaps, out of my concern for the welfare of my organization, I conjure up phantoms with which to affright myself; in any event, I am relieved when I stop to reflect that after all, we, too, are a part of that organization, bigger, broader than the rest, which includes them all as a sea its waves, and is alone capable of representing adequately all the workers, mental and manual alike—of course I mean the American Federation of Labor.

The National Federation of Federal Employees has accomplished much already. Apart from its work in individual cases, which takes up much of the time of any organization, it has prepared and now has under consideration by the Senate and House, a scientific retirement bill; it has been successful in defeating many measures aimed at the interest of Federal employees, and at least one Congressman who was one of the inveterate introducers of such measures; and I regard as its crowning achievement, so far, representation of its members on all departmental subcommittees of the Congressional Commission on Reclassification of the Federal service.

Much has been done, but infinitely more remains to do. In Government employment, as in all other matters, reform and revolution must be growth from within—they cannot be imposed from without. When our Federal workers agree on a measure to be presented to Congress with favorable recommendation, it means that they have measured it by its effect upon their personal lives, not by the scientific yardstick of some theorist who likes to see the wheels go round. If I seem to speak with some bitterness on this point, it is because we of the Federal service have been peculiarly the victims of such reformers—perhaps for the reason that until recently we had no weapons with which to retaliate. And so we have cast in our lot with the labor movement, definitely and happily, learning from it much that we had need to learn; and we have hopes, because we love our country's service, that we shall be able as an organization, and as an integral part of the American Federation of Labor, to speed the time when the career of a Government employee will be honorable and adequately rewarded, not only in money, but in public esteem, instead of, as in the past, and, though to a less degree, now, a synonym for either amiable mediocrity enjoying an easy life or intellect and character sacrificing itself through the years on the altar of politics.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

The following points were brought out by *Miss Ethridge* in the discussion. The National Federation of Federal Employees is about three years old. The women in the government printing office had an organization of their own previous to the creation of the Federation, but they affiliated themselves with the Federation under a separate charter. The field within which the Federation has to work is found among the 200,000 federal employees not in the postoffice. Of these about 50,000 have already joined the union.

The achievement of equal pay for equal work on the part of men and women is one of the purposes of the federation. This right is already provided for by legislation, but it is necessary to see that the statute is not circumvented by administrative methods. Individual grievances are taken up by the investigators of the union.

The best method for eliminating the vicious separation of the powers of appropriation and supervision seems to be a wise Federal Budget plan. If this does not accomplish results other methods must be tried.

Colored people are admitted to the Federation of Federal Employees, either in locals of their own, or in the white locals. Colored persons are, however, discriminated against in admission to the government service.

On the wisdom of trying to win the right to strike, sentiment among members of the Federation is divided. The act permitting organization prohibits strikes. A recent vote in the union was overwhelmingly against trying to remove this prohibition. No penalty for striking is provided, but it is presumed that a strike might result in the outlawing of the union by Congress, and permanent dismissal of leaders if the strike persisted.

In the absence of the strike weapon the union used political influence. Washington locals have no congressional vote and hence have little political power. They furnish the funds, and the locals in other cities organize the influence when measures need endorsement or opposition. Considerable success has attended this method.

Organization of postal employees preceded that of other federal workers. The post-office has always been a sore spot, possibly because of its close relation to politics. The union of postal employees became a powerful organization shortly after the Clayton Act legalized unionization in 1912. The scattering of these employees throughout the country gives them greater political power. The Federation of Post Office employees now has 120,000 members. This organization co-operates heartily with the Federation of Federal Employees. The postmaster general has declined, however, to recognize the union.

Mr. Solon DeLeon of New York, felt that in view of the drift toward government ownership the surrender of the strike weapon is dangerous. In the New York legislature one member deliberately kept and killed in committee certain bills which he admitted were favored by his constituents, demonstrating the weakness of the political weapon.

A parallel between government employees and social workers as proper fields for unions was drawn by *Prof. Francis Tyson* of Pittsburgh and *Mr. John R. Shillady* of New York. Social workers are among the most timid of employees and they receive less pay than organized skilled laborers do. *Mr. Shillady* stated that the resignation of *Mr. W. Frank Persons* from the Red Cross was the outcome of a clash between the point of view of the financial control and that of the social experts, a conflict in which the social workers' position was defeated. In another case the head of a social organization had his position menaced because of his expression of opinion on an extraneous matter.

Some beginnings analogous to that of the medical associations have been made by the nurses through the National Association of Public Health Nurses. Beginnings of occupational organization have been attempted by the employment managers and by the hospital social workers.

WHAT THE RUSSIAN CO-OPERATIVES DO FOR THE SOCIAL UPLIFT OF THEIR COUNTRY.

A. J. Zelenko, Managing Director, American Committee of Russian Co-operative Unions, New York.

To a traveler entering a Russian village the first sight is the church, built of stone or wood, but always painted white, with green or deep blue cupolas, the schoolhouse and the store, and then row upon row of low, wooden farm huts.

To whom does the store belong? In nine cases out of ten it is a co-operative stores, for there are no fewer than fifty thousand such stores spread over the country. It is not sumptuous in appearance, for it is low, dark, of unpainted logs, and contains no fancy dry goods, no beautifully finished shoes with French heels, no show window or glass cases—but everything which the ordinary peasant farmer needs and likes. There are clothing, dress materials, shoes, canned goods, hardware, notions, tobacco, candies, farmers' supplies and books.

It is significant that books are found in this village grocery store, for those books are printed by the co-operatives.

This Is Our Store

The peasants say, "That is our store," and it is no wonder that the store is a sort of club-house. In the morning farmers, on their way to the cities, stop to purchase something for the trip; in the afternoon the boys and girls, returning from school, laugh and chat over new books, or some cheap ornament to attract the girls; in the evening the housewives gather, and groups of somewhat sinister old men, with long hair and beards, appear in homespun overcoats and heavy boots. Now and then the schoolmaster drops in for school supplies, or the clergyman to see the people, for usually both of these village notables are members of the local Co-operative Board. There politicians spin their small village meshes, radicals throw their heated arguments, conservatives grumble about young soldiers who have brought home so many new ideas from the war front, and new propositions for social uplift are met, discussed and planned.

These people are accustomed to obtain every needed supply from their store. The villager and the industrial worker ask the Co-operative Unions to procure everything needed in their daily life. Probably the coffin alone is still made by intervaluistic enterprise—all other needs of human life are supplied by the "potrobolovka," or "all consumers' market." If an article is not sent by the Wholesale Union, the people grumblingly demand the reason, and the Wholesale Center explains. If the Wholesale Center is not active enough, or charges too much or too little, a printed explanation in the newspapers or magazines is requested. If some radical be dissatisfied with the spirit of progress in his own village, he sends a strongly worded protest to the local co-operative magazine. If the storekeeper attempts to cheat the villager, or his returns show poor profits, or even losses, the people look to the Wholesale Center for help, so that constantly written and printed communications are the channels of keeping alive interest in the village life.

The big city paper is too expensive, and is written in language unintelligible to the peasant mind. It often uses such foreign words as "constitution," "resolution," "solution" and other similar alien words ending in "tion." It too often discusses difficulties and petty disagreements between various political parties. The village peasants not only like to be informed of big problems, but they also want to gain suggestions for cultivation of their fields, better sales of crops, better treatment and care of horses and cattle, none of which is contained in the city paper. It is only in the Co-operative press that they find these aids—and this press is no small affair, for there are no less than fifty newspapers and two hundred magazines printed by the Co-operative Unions.

But the Co-operatives understand that they can get desired growth of the movement only by giving full value to the people. They realize that the sooner the hearty support and social understanding of the people are gained, the better will be the results, and with this end in view they employ quite an army of instructors, lecturers, auditors, bookkeepers and managers to travel through the country.

No Union Has Ever Failed

There are over five hundred Wholesale Unions in Russia, and each has its staff of traveling lecturers, bookkeepers, managers and experts in agricultural and various kinds of local industries, who are constantly going into the country to visit the different societies in their districts.

Altogether there are about five thousand such instructors who are engaged in managing this part of the Co-operatives' plan of business control.

The result is that while there have been failures of small Co-operative societies, there has never been a failure of a Union. Even in the past year, a time when Russia was involved in civil war on five fronts, and at great disadvantage in railway traffic, the Co-operatives were still able to produce an output of over one and a half billion dollars.

The instructors are not satisfied with their lectures and publications, but they are also trying to introduce more intensive social and educational training among their groups. If a local society decides to start a village library, the members ask the District Wholesale Union to send the material, and the latter in turn addresses the Central Wholesale Union which prints its own books, or buys whole editions direct from private firms. Not less than a hundred thousand books and ten million pamphlets have been printed by the Unions during this last year to be resold in the small Co-operative societies.

It is very interesting to see the collection of books in the supply-house of a provincial center. A retail book store, connected with such a supply-house, carries the best progressive books of all kinds. On entering such a store one will often find there an old peasant, a delegate from his society, who has come to buy a collection of books costing from one hundred to three thousand rubles. He looks with hope into the face of the young salesgirl, telling her that she knows better than anyone what kind of books should go into his collection, and that he thinks besides agricultural books, it would be very nice to have some about God, though he doubts whether the young folks in the village will like them. Then there is the school-teacher making a collection for his schoolchildren, a young bookkeeper from the village store, and the chairman of the theatrical club, which is made up of young Co-operators, looking for some interesting social drama. A sturdy, thrifty chairman of a local society, who has come into the city as a delegate to the meeting of the Wholesale Union, has dropped in on his way home to purchase the new forms of book-keeping about which he has been instructed by the Central office of his Union. All of these books have been standardized and published by the Central management so that it is possible to gather statistics for general use. Those book stores play an important part even in the life of the cities, where no less than ten million dollars' worth of books were sold last year. Many pamphlets describing the Co-operative Movement, popular books of the Movement in England, France, Belgium and the Scandinavian countries, have been published for propaganda purposes, but I am sorry to say that as yet nothing has been written in the Russian language about the American Co-operative Movement. The Central bookstore of the All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies carries about ten thousand titles, out of which there are approximately four hundred on foreign co-operation and other educational subjects.

The Union of Siberian Co-operative Unions, "Zakoopsbyt," has undertaken to print for the Siberian local self-government or "Zemstvos," school books worth one million, two hundred thousand rubles.

Beside the books I have previously mentioned, the All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies has written the following: "*Rules for a Village Educational Circle*," "*List of Readings with Lantern Slides for People's Houses*," "*Children's Playgrounds*," "*Children's Literature for Kindergarten*," "*How to Organize a Community Chorus*," and "*Children's Kitchen Gardens*."

Books for Everyone

The instructors try to satisfy the needs of all generations. The older folks gain information regarding agriculture, boot-making, honey-making and the lumber industry. The young people are supplied with material for their literary, social and theatrical clubs. Sometimes the Unions keep special instructors who go into the villages to show the people how to start their dramatic ventures. The Wholesale Center keeps on hand a large stock of theatrical paraphernalia, ranging from scenery and costumes to wigs and other make-up, which they sell or rent at nominal charge. In remote parts of Russia I have found office workers preparing such paraphernalia. The Central office has even gone so far as to employ a professional theatrical group to tour the country and give entertainments. Sometimes I have seen performances given in small villages where old, richly colored Russian shawls were used as the only scenery—quite in the Gordon Craig style. It is an exciting even in the life of a young peasant boy or girl to find himself transferred to represent a foreign courtier, an old Russian knight or boyar, a banker or a merchant. This transformation and experience inspire strange new feelings which enrich their young lives and show the possibilities of becoming more in real life than poor peasants or farmers like their grandparents.

The plays produced are, for the most part, of very good social and cultural value, and with the aid of the instructors the best classical works are introduced.

The older folk often protest against all these "extravagances" brought by the younger generation, but are finally persuaded that theatrical performances were used by the Church in Mediaeval times, and are slowly being won over. Some of the most persistent opposers go so far as to visit those entertainments, insisting that they be allowed free admission in order to act as censors. Having gained an entrance they often pretend that they have already paid their Society fees, or do not care to partake of the refreshments for which the admittance charge is made. In reality they often drink more tea than any other visitors.

Very good guide books for the Peoples' Theatre are written by the Co-operative instructors, and the best dramas and comedies are published in very inexpensive form for from five to fifteen cents apiece.

In very many villages the Russian Co-operatives have established what are called "people's houses," similar to what are known in this country as "social" or "community centers." The idea was first put into effect on a small scale in a roadhouse, where tea was served to travelers and villagers who dropped in to chat and thus had a certain social meeting-place. The Co-operatives then opened teahouses under their own management, taking great care that these were made real social centers. They are now watchful that these places are kept clean and the atmosphere made attractive and congenial. There newspapers are kept, meeting called, now and then a lecture arranged.

Solving the Saloon Problem

When the war broke out and the Russian Central Government prohibited the sale of liquors, many houses run by the liquor dealers were taken over by the Co-operatives, and thus the problem of transforming saloons into clubhouses, of which there is now talk in America, was practically solved in Russia as long as five years ago. I think that no less than three or four thousand teahouses are already in operation in Russia. The All-Russian Central Union of Consumers' Societies, in trying to standardize and systematize the work, has published a book giving descriptions and plans of these houses including an outline of their regular system of book-keeping.

As I have already said, there are many small libraries run by the Co-operatives and when such a library is joined to a teahouse, a hall for meetings and theatrical performances is assured, and soon a regular social center established. Such a social center is managed by a committee of local Co-operative Unions. Separate committees are appointed to have charge of chorus drilling, orchestra practice, agricultural courses, lectures on various social subjects, juvenile club or kindergarten. A remarkable and typical arrangement for a Co-operative commonwealth center consists of a store which is connected with the teahouse, a room for the village bank where the local credit society has its office, another little room where the board may hold its meetings and very often a storehouse for agricultural machinery. The same All-Russian Central Union also printed a book which has already passed its fourth edition, entitled "How to Build and Control People's Houses."

"The City Uncle"

The traveling lecturer very often carries lantern slides with him, or even more often, a projectoscope for illustrated performances. I think about four hundred such moving picture outfits are owned by the Co-operatives. The Central Union have begun to establish their own shops in order to produce films showing the usefulness and advantages of the Co-operative Movement. When an instructor arrives in the village with his lantern and pictures, an army of village boys run through the streets, wildly announcing at every house, "The City Uncle has arrived, and will show us some new pictures!" Gradually the schoolhouse, the social center, or the library building, as the case may be, is filled to overflowing. After crossing himself upon entering, everyone greets his neighbors with a hearty, "Good evening, people!" Children are everywhere, and those who have been unable to crowd inside the building, press their little noses against the window panes in order to see the pictures. The instructor lectures while showing his pictures of agricultural or geographical interests, light comedy, or studies of Co-operative activities and progress which the people in the village have not as yet attained, and thus a feeling of competition is aroused in the community. When the performance is over, everyone realizes that his face is moist from perspiration. The lantern finally begins to darken because of the damp air, and the lecturer is then invited into an adjoining room to partake of a half dozen or more glasses of tea and to talk with the Co-operative chiefs. If the lecturer knows the people, and can express himself to them in their own simple village language, he is able to group at once the relative strength of the conservative and progressive elements of the village Co-operative, and can understand just how much progress he can make at one time, and what he will have to hammer most during his next visit. Thus the contact between the officers and privates of this big Co-operative army is formed. New leaders are constantly being developed, and faithfulness to the cause in time of stress or failure is inspired in the young workers.

The Nucleus of Peasant Intelligentsia

The future generation needs more help—they must be better than their fathers, and receive more education along Co-operative lines; and with this purpose in mind the Unions have established extension courses throughout the country. They gather the people who have already passed the primary schools for short courses during the winter and spring. Each society picks candidates from its membership and sends them to the city where they are supplied with books, board, clothing and entertainment. The ideals of the Commonwealth are developed before their eyes. They work conscientiously during the day on their arithmetic and book-keeping problems, and the theory, practice and history of the Co-operative Movement. In the evening

after the day's work is finished, they sing all the beautiful old Russian songs in chorus to their heart's content. By the end of the course they are all old friends and promise to write one another in the hope of meeting again the following Christmas to talk over their experiences and adventures in the villages. In this way a wider acquaintance is gained, as well as a different horizon and broader view. Thus the nucleus of an intelligent class in the villages, or "peasant intellectuals" as they would be called in Russia, is formed.

Some of the better educated will go into the cities to become book-keepers and take special book-keeping courses, and the most ambitious may even go to universities, for already in five or six different localities special courses in Co-operative Science have been established—some in institutions organized for the purpose, and others affiliated with the universities. At the unique Co-operative institution at Moscow the first known degree of "Doctor of Co-operative Science" is conferred upon graduates.

Russia needs leaders true to Co-operative ideals, and sufficiently educated to meet the already huge sized army of Co-operatives in the country, where no less than twenty million members have joined the Co-operative Movement.

The entire educational activities of the Co-operatives may be divided as follows:

1. Extension courses for the young folk in the country.
2. Summer courses to prepare instructors and lecturers.
3. Short winter courses for the village book-keepers.
4. Regular university courses for higher Co-operative training.

5. Peasant universities. (There are already five or six peasant universities established throughout the country along the lines of the Danish University which peasants may attend during the winter months, and receive instruction in agriculture, farming, house-economics and civics. One of the Unions in the Government of Nijni-Novogorod conducts a special peasant university to prepare leaders for official service in the local municipal governments.)

6. Co-operative Elementary and High Schools. (There is a new movement on foot to establish new types of elementary and high schools for children where the whole system is based upon Co-operative principles. I found in a small town of Mariynsk, in Siberia, a wonderful school of the intermediate type which had been established by the local Union. In this school the book-keeping of the establishment is taken care of by the pupils, and they run a magazine on the Co-operative share-holders' scheme. The discipline of the entire school is maintained on the self-government principle, and the system of training in languages, mathematics, history and geography is based upon the Co-operative idea. They also conduct a Co-operative savings' bank. The school is co-educational, and the children have not only conducted their business successfully, but have included in their working plan the children of all other city schools which are run by the local municipality. In the cities of Charkoff and Chita are other high schools which are run on the same Co-operative basis. Many other Unions have begun to follow the new plea of education which should be introduced in regular municipal schools.)

From this short sketch it may be seen that the cultural life of Russia is now supported mainly through the Co-operative because they not only control to a great extent the productive, consumptive and credit activities of the Russian peasants, industrial workers, small officials in state activities and city folk, but also because they pay so much attention to the social uplift of their people. The twenty million members do not include all that are reached, for behind each member is his family, which in Russia is usually composed of at least four or five members, so that a population of not less than one hundred million is influenced by the Co-operative

Movement. Every day some new activity spreads its network in response to a crying need.

Re-education of War Cripples

During the war period, the Co-operatives undertook to act as a helping hand to invalids and cripples of the war. The bulk of the Russian army was composed of peasant boys accustomed to heavy work requiring great muscular effort. The people in the villages are trained to do very little outside of farm work, and in order not to take the invalids away from their village surroundings and through them, unhappily among the city folk, the Co-operatives have arranged a series of courses for storekeepers, book-keepers, auditors and supervisors in the various Co-operative enterprises. During all this time the Co-operatives have taken charge of the clothing, feeding and housing of thousands of these war victims.

The Co-operatives have recently introduced a system of mutual insurance which will slowly, but steadily, bring into the hands of the Co-operative Unions the money which is now being earned by private insurance companies. They insure their immense real estate holdings and factory goods, and have begun to insure the property of the members.

You may ask where the Co-operative obtains money enough to carry on all this work? First of all, they try to have everything they do based upon business and economic principles in order to receive return from their efforts; and second, they understand that money must be expended in order to develop the growth of the Co-operative Movement.

As a consequence, a certain percentage of each year's profits from the different societies is turned over to social and educational activities. Not only do they spend millions of dollars in paying expenses of courses, theatricals, moving pictures, special Co-operative schools and colleges, but they find it possible to give aid to the local government when taxes run low, or assist poor school teachers or district physicians who are working for the time being without compensation.

At least fifty thousand workers are employed in the factories and industrial enterprises of the Russian Co-operative Unions. There are various flour, paper, soap, milk, and lumber mills, chemical and dye works, refrigerating plants, canneries, fisheries of the North Sea, the Black Sea and the Pacific Ocean, raisin-grape vineyards, tar industries which are greatly developed in the northern regions, and creameries throughout North Russia and Siberia—all of which could be valued in the aggregate at not less than two billion rubles. At very large wholesale plants, where workers pack and sent the goods to provincial Unions, two hundred million rubles worth of coffee, tea, rice, canned goods, hardware and machinery, is handled annually by an army of workers.

It can be seen by this short statistical data that the Co-operative Unions employ labor on a very large scale; and as the Unions are run by Co-operative capital, the people themselves are the real proprietors of these industrial enterprises.

The Socialization of Industry

There must be a certain social understanding established between the employers and the employees, which will give satisfactory labor conditions to the employe, and bring sufficient profit to the employer who is the small shareholder. The policy of the Union toward labor in their own industries has proved very progressive and efficient. This efficiency has been gained not only through the aid of mechanical devices and efficient administration, but also through the attitude of labor toward production. For this purpose the Co-operative Unions have established a separate labor department to look after the welfare of the employees, and bring about conscientious relationship between labor and the administration. As a result,

the Co-operative Unions cannot pay low wages, cannot have long hours or use sweatshop methods.

Collective bargaining has been introduced in most large enterprises, whereby employes are engaged and discharged through a committee composed of representatives of the administration and labor unions, who regulate working conditions, wages and reasons for discharge of employes. Furthermore the labor department endeavors to introduce everywhere possible kindergartens for the children of working women, libraries and clubs for the workers, as well as to arrange choruses and festivals from time to time. They have also encouraged medical benefits, insurance schemes, vacation periods, etc., and are trying in every way possible to improve living conditions by establishing local consumers' societies and building associations among their workers.

It is very interesting to observe the change of attitude of the workers in a factory previously controlled by private ownership, and purchased by Co-operative Unions. How incredulous and suspicious they are at first of the kind words of the new management! They slowly begin to appreciate their own rights and their relationship to the new commonwealth proprietors. Sometimes they try to cheat the administration as they did the old management, but gradually through the committees on labor and arbitration, they begin to understand their rights to discuss common needs, and to realize that the administration does not intend to interfere with, but heartily approves of social welfare work for the employes. Thus a better spirit and better standards of work are gained.

The Co-operatives certainly are not yet doing enough along these lines, but should do a great deal more and spend still more money in developing this work. There is the double process of showing the small Co-operative shareholder (the proprietor in this case), who is often too ignorant and short-sighted to understand that profits should be cut a trifle in order to foster general social progress, and of educating the peasant and industrial worker to understand the mutual interest in his own life and at the same time gain that rapidity of work which is demanded by the more critical members of the Movement.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

In answer to questions *Mr. Zelenko** stated that in Russia membership in co-operative societies is based on a small annual fee, and a low entrance fee, payable often by installments out of the dividends as declared; that dividends are declared on the Rochdale plan; yes and no, to the question whether Russia in its present situation is helping the development of the co-operative movement; that the co-operative movement has been kept out of politics by encouraging every member to ally himself with the party of his own choice, the majority of co-operative societies having voted in their conventions that as a whole they would not join any one political movement.

*Mrs. Eleanor Barton**, of Sheffield, England, stated that in England the co-operative movement had been handicapped all through the war, and was unable to get supplies as good as the private competitors. She asked to what was due the enormous growth of the movement in Russia under the soviet government.

*Mr. Zelenko** replied that the movement grew rapidly during the last years of the czar's regime and during the first two of revolution, but there had not been much increase during the soviet regime because of the destruction of ships and of producing activities.

*Notes uncorrected by speakers.

CO-OPERATION IN BELGIUM

Dr. Rene Sand, Professor of Social and Industrial Medicine, University of Brussels

I am in a painful position because I suppose I have been chosen to speak on Belgian co-operation in order that I shall make a public penance. I am not a co-operator, but I like it. I have already repented. I did so during the war because we had co-operative stores with the army, for at the beginning of the war the prohibitive prices charged by the private merchants caused the French and Belgian governments to start co-operative stores, which did wonderful work.

The Belgian movement was started in Ghent about fifty years ago. They began with breadmaking and selling, and it was wonderful how they were able to make bread ten per cent cheaper than before. The movement spread not only through the whole of Belgium, but it spread in the variety of articles offered. After bread came coal, shoes, clothing, and then other articles of diet, and finally the co-operative stores sell almost everything. They not only have cheapened the cost of living, but they have gone into community center activities.

It is remarkable to see the varieties of activities in the community center. The need for the community center was there, and the co-operative movement met it. Here in America you can make your schoolhouse a community center, or your playground. The Belgian co-operative society became a community center, a real workingmen's club, where they come with their family and dine, or read, or hear music, or dance, or look at the movies; where they gather for politics, trade unionism, art, science or sport; where they find ready advice and help—for instance, financial help to build their own houses.

In the big "Houses of the People" which are the seat of the big co-operatives in Ghent, Brussels and other places every kind of recreational, educational and welfare activity is included. It really moulds more or less the young generation of the working classes, and has manifestly reduced the prevalence of alcoholism. The House of the People in Brussels has been built with money which was borrowed from the national savings bank, and every postoffice in Belgium is at the same time a savings bank.

Banks put money into different kinds of enterprises, among them co-operative stores. Twenty years ago the government loaned a million francs to the socialist co-operators of Brussels. Mr. Solvay, the great inventor, has factories all over the world which have brought him great wealth. He has used the money in the best possible ways, starting institutions and movements in Belgium, and he gave a million francs to the socialist party in order to help the educative movement among its members. Mr. Solvay is not a socialist, but his idea was that it was better for every one to have educated rather than uneducated socialists. Labor and the socialist party in Belgium is the same. The majority are moderate and the fact that so many of them are co-operators gives them a businesslike aspect which gives the socialist party in Belgium more devotion to realities than to dreams.

Co-operators have been very much attacked by the business people and by parties other than the socialist party because the benefits are never given back in money to the co-operators. They are put to their accounts in the bank, or the people can use them for buying new articles out of the co-operative stores, but part of it is taken for the funds of the socialist party. After having fought them for a long time the Catholic party thought the best way was to imitate them, and now we have almost as many Catholic or non-party co-operators as we have socialist co-operators. It is a pity that these three sets of co-operators are separate. The movement did not spread at all among the middle classes; even in war time it had no effect upon them

at all. Perhaps this is because the municipalities opened municipal stores and kitchens and restaurants, and the people did not really need to go to the co-operators.

In answer to questions Dr. Sand stated:

That sickness and death insurance had been developed in every Belgian co-operative, but not accident insurance, since that was compulsorily provided by the employers. Not only is money given when people are sick, but food as well.

That up to six or seven years ago the factories run by the co-operators did not permit their employes to have a share in the decisions concerning their own conditions of work or the management of their factories, but they have given the employes that privilege since a year or two before the war.

That during the war the co-operators were treated by the government exactly the same as were private corporations, and received their share of wheat.

Dr. Sand, in answer to further questions, stated: That each co-operative is managed by the meeting of its own members, but they have regional federation and then national federation; and that in case a retail association becomes dissatisfied with the service it gets from its wholesale, it has the right to purchase anywhere else it chooses.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Mrs. Eleanor Barton of Sheffield, Eng., stated that in one or two societies in England employes have the right to sit on the board of management of the factories, and that in many societies they sit on educational committees, or have the management of those committees. The idea is growing so fast that the next step for progress will be that they shall take care of the management of all industries.

In addition to the foregoing, the following persons participated in informal discussions: Miss Julia C. Lathrop, President of the Conference; William MacFarland, Actuary of the War Risk Insurance Bureau, Washington; Dr. Francis Tyson, Pittsburgh; Mrs. Eleanor Barton, Sheffield, England; Mr. Sidney A. Teller, Pittsburgh; Mr. Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia; Samuel Ely Eliot, Pittsburgh; Alexander M. Bing, New York City; Mr. Jess Perlman, Baltimore; Mr. Humphries, Honolulu; Miss Blanche Renard, St. Louis; Leon G. Ball, Pittsburgh; Mrs. Richard S. Childs, New York; Miss Margaret McNaughton, Jersey City; Marjorie C. Evans, Minneapolis, and Gertrude A. Glick, Cleveland.

LABOR AND POLITICS

One of the leading addresses at this meeting was made by *Sir Arthur Newsholme*, Chief Medical Officer of the Local Government Board, London, England, on the subject of maternity care. *Mr. Paul U. Kellogg*, editor of *The Survey*, then spoke on labor and politics in the United States. This was followed by a description of the Federal Employment Service by *Miss Elizabeth K. Adams*, Chief of the Women's Division.

Those who participated in the informal discussions by question or otherwise were: *Fannie R. Bigelow*, Rochester; *Rev. John O'Grady*, Washington; *Mr. Jess Perlman*, Baltimore, and *Prof. Francis Tyson*, Pittsburgh.

VII.
THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

DIVISION COMMITTEE—1918-19

Chairman, Frances Ingram, Neighborhood House, Louisville.

Vice-Chairman, Howard S. Braucher, Playground and Recreation Association of America, New York.

Secretary, Robert A. Woods, South End House, Boston.

George A. Bellamy.....	Cleveland	George E. Haynes.....	Nashville
Dora Berres.....	Los Angeles	John Ihlder.....	Philadelphia
P. M. Bristol.....	Morgantown, W. Va.	Bessie A. McClenahan.....	Iowa City
Mrs. W. S. Caldwell.....	Omaha	Mary E. McDowell.....	Chicago
John Collier.....	New York	Eleanor McMain.....	New Orleans
Charles C. Cooper.....	Pittsburgh	Fred C. Middleton.....	Winnipeg
Manuel C. Elmer.....	Lawrence, Kan.	Wilbur C. Phillips.....	Cincinnati
Corinne Fonde.....	Houston	Mrs. Robert A. Woods.....	Boston

DIVISION COMMITTEE—1919-20

(Year of expiration of term of office appears in parenthesis after each member's name.)

Chairman, Howard S. Braucher, Playground and Recreation Association of America, New York.

Secretary, Eleanor McMain, Kingsley House, New Orleans.

Dora Berres (1920).....	Los Angeles	Frances Ingram (1922).....	Louisville
H. S. Braucher (1922).....	New York	Bessie A. McClenahan (1921).....	St. Louis
Mrs. W. S. Caldwell (1921).....	Omaha	Mary E. McDowell (1920).....	Chicago
John Collier (1922).....	New York	Eleanor McMain (1921).....	New Orleans
Prof. Manuel C. Elmer (1921).....	Minneapolis	Fred C. Middleton (1921).....	Winnipeg
Mrs. J. S. Fassett (1922).....	Elmira, N. Y.	Wilbur C. Phillips (1920).....	Cincinnati
Corinne Fonde (1921).....	Houston	Graham Taylor (1922).....	Chicago
Prof. George E. Haynes (1920).....	Nashville	W. D. Weatherford (1922).....	Nashville
John Ihlder (1920).....	Philadelphia	Mrs. Robert A. Woods (1921).....	Boston

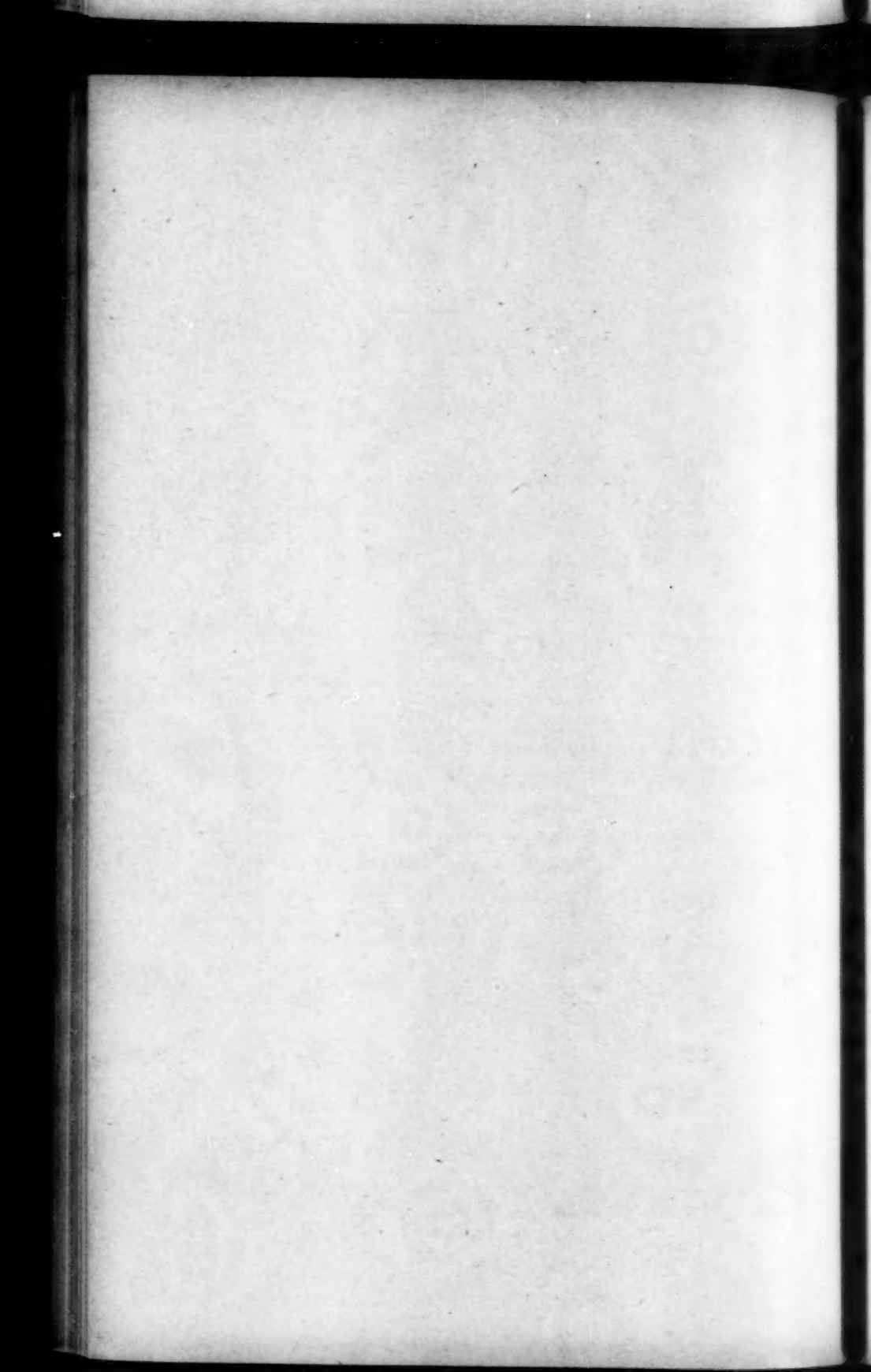
PROGRAM

At the meeting of the National Conference at Atlantic City, June 1-8, 1919, 305 delegates registered as members of this Division. The Division Committee, as elected at the 1918 Conference at Kansas City, is shown on the opposite page.

Nine meetings for discussion were held, as follows:

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June 3, 8:15 P. M. Group Action in Americanization....	729
June 2, 10:00 A. M. The Local Community in the Light of New Housing Ideals.....	467
June 2, 3:00 P. M. The Local Community in the Light of Com- munity Centers.....	473
June 3, 10:00 A. M. Development of Communities Through War Service	485
June 4, 10:00 A. M. Commercial Recreation	502
June 5, 10:00 A. M. The Negro and the Local Community.....	521
June 5, 3:00 P. M. The Rural Community.....	546
June 6, 3:00 P. M. Some Community Problems of the Small City	536
June 7, 3:00 P. M. The Relations of the Community to the Gov- ernment	562

The meeting on June 3, evening, was a joint session with Division X, on Uniting Native and Foreign Born in America.



THE LOCAL COMMUNITY IN THE LIGHT OF THE NEW HOUSING IDEALS

John Ihlder, Secretary, Philadelphia Housing Association, Presiding

Before the war, the word "housing" was so unfamiliar that I have had to explain it to traveling salesmen, the typical "man in the street," in the smoking compartment of trains, and illustrate by the samples of bad housing which every American city so generously places along the railroad right-of-way. As one result of the war, the word has become more familiar, though to a majority of those who have learned it recently it is invariably coupled with the word "shortage."

Of course, there is more than shortage to housing, but today those of us who were in housing work before the war are somewhat appreciative of this first step toward a recognition of the importance of our subject, a subject on which America is one of the backward members of the family of nations. In England, in Germany, housing work has been conducted on a scale that we do not approach and by methods which we as yet mention only tentatively lest we be considered impractical.

To be sure, some of this European work was impractical; experiments do not invariably turn out well and leaders have to experiment. For example, the German attempt to create "model" tenement houses (multiple dwellings) proved impractical. As Dr. Goler, of Rochester, said years ago, "When I see a model boil, I'll begin to believe in a model tenement house."

But the Germans are not to be wholly condemned for their error. Like New Yorkers, they had grown so accustomed to tenement houses that it was perfectly natural for them to think that the line of advance lay in improving tenement houses. Certainly, they are nowhere near so worthy of condemnation as the reformers of a typical American city where single-family houses have been the rule, who seek to improve housing conditions by *introducing* the tenement or multiple dwelling. That was what New York did about three generations ago, and now look at it. The first lesson of housing experience is:

"Whatever type of dwelling you now have in your community, don't exchange it for a lower type, no matter how expedient the exchange may seem." For you can be sure that whatever benefits you hope to secure in the way of lessened rentals or improved sanitation or in any other form will probably prove illusory and will certainly prove temporary. To go from being a city of single-family houses to being one of two-family houses, or from one of two-family houses to one of tenements, apartment houses or multiple dwellings is to step down—and to step down permanently, for recovery is practically impossible.

Fortunately, this was recognized by those who had control of our federal housing policy during the war, and so far as they could, they either maintained or raised standards. Consequently, our government housing projects have an educational value.

But war-time federal housing affected only a few of our cities and has affected them, as yet, only slightly. It has relieved the very serious housing shortage in Philadelphia somewhat; it has been scarcely noticeable in New York. Even in smaller cities like Bridgeport and New London it has not met local needs.

What we are interested in now, however, is not war-time housing, but after the war housing, not the few cities in or near which there are federal developments, but the great number of cities and towns that are facing a very serious housing situation that has become acute because of the virtual cessation of building during the past two years and for which there is no great certainty of adequate relief in the near future.

There are two phases of this situation that call for special notice:

1st. The shortage of houses has brought into use unfit, insanitary dwellings that under normal conditions would and should remain vacant.

2nd. The shortage of houses is affecting the comparatively well-to-do and so is producing very interesting social reactions.

The first promises an increase of sickness and of social problems.

The second promises to arouse us from our conservatism.

Tenants' protective associations spring into being every day, rent strikes—not in the slums, but in comparatively well-to-do neighborhoods—are beginning. Bills are introduced in legislatures to curtail the owner's right to raise rents or evict tenants, governmental commissions put forth—tentatively, to be sure—suggestions on preventing speculative increases in land values and new methods of taxation. In several places proposals for municipal ownership of dwellings have received considerable support and in our state at least a bill authorizing cities to build and manage dwellings has been introduced in the legislature.

So widespread is the interest in housing today, so many people have suddenly awakened to its importance and so many of them are emotionally stirred to the point of demanding action first and thought afterward, that the framers of this morning's program felt there never was a better time to call attention to certain fundamental principles of housing which cannot be violated without danger of disaster.

For this reason, with the air filled with proposals for all sorts of innovations, some good, some bad, some attempting to change our whole attitude toward private ownership of real property, some so superficial that they will change nothing, we have taken this opportunity to present two phases of housing that must be constantly kept in mind no matter what policies we adopt.

One is the necessity for intelligent management. Sound economics, like the law of gravity, will always compel attention.

The other is the necessity for setting minimum standards below which no dwelling shall be permitted to fall. Garden suburbs and villages may multiply, but there will remain during our generation at least a very large proportion of our communities which will be just as bad as we permit them to be.

MANAGEMENT OF WAGE EARNERS' DWELLINGS

Fred C. Feld, Rental Manager, York Ship Village, Camden, N. J.

Because of my lack of knowledge of your experience or connection with the management of wage earners' dwellings, it makes it difficult for me to decide what to discuss with the view of giving you the benefit of whatever experience I may have had in this most important matter.

For the beginner, or the company that is planning the operation and management of dwelling, many detailed questions might be considered with profit, but for those who have been in the work for some time we would not need to consider some of the problems that have come up in their experience.

There are two distinct phases of management which must be recognized in considering this question:

1. If the enterprise of housing wage earners (and, after all, we are all wage earners) is located in or adjoining a large city or town and not tied up with any particular industrial establishment, the problem is not as involved as when—

2. The industrial village is a separate community and houses the employees of a particular plant and is located at some point distant from any established community.

Wage Earners' Houses in Cities

In the housing enterprises located in a large city the element of competition enters in, which is not true in a separate community. We have found in the experience of the Octavia Hill Association in Philadelphia that tenants, especially in the cheaper houses and among the more ignorant classes, will often move from a house having proper sanitary conveniences to a house with practically no conveniences and at the same rent, because of a slight excess in floor space.

Insanitary houses renting at a lower rate will be found occupied whereas, the same size house with conveniences, but at a rental slightly larger, will remain idle. Because of this fact, it is necessary for the persons in charge of the renting of the property to do a certain amount of actual work among the prospective tenants so that they will see and understand that in the end the most expensive houses apparently are really cheaper because of the saving in doctor's bills and loss of work due to bad health of members of the family.

The houses must be kept in the best possible state of repair in order to be more attractive than similar houses in the same neighborhood. One of the greatest losses in the operation of rental properties comes through the constant changing of tenants. You not only lose the rents due to unoccupancy, but frequent moving in and out of the house makes for a large increase in the cost of repairs.

In the enterprise in a large city the question of recreation is not one of importance to the company. All of our cities and towns, as a rule, have well developed recreational opportunities. The moving picture theaters are everywhere and the ice cream parlor will be multiplied many fold after July first.

Wage Earners' Dwellings in Industrial Towns

Most cities and towns are planning, or have, playgrounds and community houses and settlements are found in the poorer residence sections almost anywhere. In the management of the separate industrial town, this problem becomes most important, and if the town be of any size, it will really require a department to plan and provide suitable recreational opportunities.

Yorkship village, although being a portion of Camden, because of its location between two branches of the Newton Creek, is, to a certain extent, a separate community, and in order to bind the community together and promote a real community sense, we are completing, at a cost of \$70,000, a recreation field comprising eighteen acres of land and having a building arranged for a gymnasium, with meeting rooms, shower baths and opportunities for many kinds of clubs.

It is our plan to organize the tenants into a community club, somewhat on the order of a country club. Membership dues and initiation fee will be charged and the management will be vested in an executive committee or board of managers elected by the members of the club.

It is hoped that this will develop a sense of responsibility for the success of the club and will also provide many opportunities for work in various clubs or organizations for the tenants.

The entire management and supervision, of course, will be vested in a recreation supervisor or director and the company owning the houses will have certain veto powers on the work as it may be developed.

In addition to this, it is proposed to erect as part of the same scheme a real community building, with an auditorium, game rooms and opportunities for club work of many kinds. The whole thought being to provide a chance for the residents of Yorkship village to find reasonable kind of recreation that may suit each different club without leaving the village.

For the younger folk—there will be tennis courts, gymnasium classes, dances; for the children, there will be sand piles, swings, and Boy Scouts' and Girl Scouts' clubs, etc. For the older men and women, opportunity for mothers' club, and also a place where the head of the family might join with his fellows in a game of checkers, billiards or shuffle board while he enjoys his evening pipe.

The manager of the housing enterprise in a large city has also the distinct advantage in the opportunities for the bringing into service the many organizations that now exist. For the sick of the poorer families, he can call the visiting nurse; in periods of distress when the head of the family is out of work or is injured and cannot work and the funds of the family are low, the relief society is at hand. For the widow, in many states, the widow's pension fund is ready to help; for the orphan, institutions are at hand to take care of the child. These organizations do not exist in the smaller communities and, therefore, to promote successfully the operation of the industrial village, some such work must be included in the plans for the successful management of the enterprise.

While there are these particular differences existing in each case, however, there are certain features which have to be taken into consideration for the successful operation of every enterprise:

Continued Occupancy

Successful operation depends largely upon the continual occupancy of the houses. By this I mean not necessarily that one tenant should be ready to move in as soon as another tenant moves out, important as that is, but rather that the tenants like the properties and management so well that they never move. Loss through these sources may be so great as to result in the reduction or the actual omitting of the dividends on the investment, and jeopardizing the mortgage interests. Unless the properties pay a reasonable return upon the investment, it cannot be in any sense set up as a model.

Money will not be invested by persons interested in this work in any large sums unless the developments are made to pay. The time is past when the approach to this problem is prompted by the feeling of pity. Everyone should have the opportunity to live decently with reasonable conveniences, but should pay a rental that will permit of a fair return on the investment.

With the proper service to the tenants, prompt attention to repairs, a square deal in all matters, all things being considered, there should be few changes.

Selection of Tenants

It is desirable, also, to be particular in the selection of tenants and to weed out the undesirable, careless and the unclean after every effort has been made to secure their co-operation in proper living. To be successful in our work, we must have tenants who are helpful, and we hope that the time will come when all landlords and owners are so interested in this work that the hopelessly dirty and degraded tenants will no longer be able to live undisturbed in any house, as there will be no more careless landlords. This may mean the millennium, but it is an ideal to which we should always work.

Maintenance

Continued occupancy, securing the co-operation of the tenants in right living, means constant supervising; this begins by the landlord through his agent or supervisor pointing out, in a friendly way, the possibility of better conditions.

The second, one not less important, basis of successful work is dependent upon maintenance. This does not mean the lavish expenditure of

money in repairs, but, to use the words of an advertisement that we see on every hand, "The cost of up-keep must be kept down," not, however, let me emphasize, at the expense of the deterioration of the properties.

Our properties must be kept in such good order as to promote a sense of cleanliness. We must not only say to the tenants that they must co-operate, but we must be so particular in our part of the service as to never fail when repairs are required.

The neglectful landlord who is indifferent to the proper maintenance of the properties produce tenants who live either in constant wrath at him or in discouragement and later fall into habits of carelessness that are almost impossible to overcome. The best precept is the exactness of the owner in prompt attention to all reasonable complaints of tenants.

I will not endeavor to discuss the main opportunities for community service in a small town, through the community building, garden allotments and many clubs and organizations that can be formed, but wish to close, however with a suggestion for your consideration of two elements in the work, and the two, in a measure, are one:

Methods of Collecting Rents

1. How ought the rents to be collected?

Ordinarily and in most places I would recommend the collection of the rent at the home, as it gives an opportunity for cultivation of the confidence of the family and also provides a time when without seeming to interfere with the rights of the tenants you can readily suggest certain ways in which their living conditions may be improved. This is especially true in the case of many of the communities made up entirely of (foreign born). Their standards of living are low and they must be taught in order to be brought up to a higher standard of living.

Then, too, the collector of the rents has an opportunity and can speak more imperatively than the visitor or inspector who may come around at stated intervals. The idea of being inspected has always been detestable. However, in a community where there may be 2,000 families one can understand what a tremendous piece of work it would be to make collections at the house once a week, and when the rents are paid at the office, and so arrangements must be made for periodical inspections.

In many places the rent is deducted from the wages of the men. Personally I am not in favor of this plan, it tends to make a man dependent and destroys his sense of responsibility to pay his debts and meet his obligations at the proper time. In fact, I think, in all work of this character we should constantly bear in mind that nothing should be done to relieve the tenants of their responsibility but rather that this should be emphasized whenever possible.

Women Rent Collectors

The second matter that I may suggest for your consideration is the plan of using women as rent collectors. This is not new in any sense and began when Miss Octavia Hill first started her work in London. The plan is successfully followed by the Octavia Hill Association of Philadelphia, but many of our industrial plants have not realized the advantage to them in placing this work in the hands of women. I believe women would be used more than they are now if some plan were worked out whereby real opportunity for training for this work could be given.

Collecting rents and the management of properties is hard work, and calls for a person with rare tact and judgment coupled with determination that when it is best to say no that they will say no and mean it, and that if it is necessary to do the hard thing in dealing with the family sentiment will have no place. The advantage of the woman collector is apparent.

The housewife is the one at home and responsible for the cleanliness and care of the premises. When the inspector, or collector, calls she will meet the wife and they can discuss the many problems of housekeeping.

A man clothed with authority would become apt to say, "You must do so and so," but a tactful woman would be more apt to take the trouble to show the housewife why they should do differently than they are now doing.

There are certain experiences in household cares that the housewife, once she trusts and has confidence in the collector or inspector, will come to her for help and advice, but would not be apt to come in the same way to the man.

Women have for years had the oversight and responsibility of maintaining the properties and collecting the rents of the Octavia Hill Association in Philadelphia. Our great difficulty, however, is to secure, when any changes occur, women with training to take the place of those who are leaving. It is a job that tries one's patience beyond degree, but to those of us who have been in the work for a number of years there is the pleasure of seeing families who were careless and indifferent constantly moving toward better things.

There can be no lady bountiful rent collectors, but there can be people who can give, not money, but suggestions and help to inspire in the hearts of the tenants the desire for right living.

Let us give first the opportunity to live right. Let us give second the suggestions and helpfulness that will inspire right living. And all these things will make for better tenants. Better tenants will be regular in payments of rents. Better tenants will require less expense for repairs and this will show in the acid test of all our work a better balance sheet at the end of the year.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

A third feature of the formal program was an address on "Maintenance of Minimum Housing Standards," by Mr. Lawrence Veiller, of New York, Secretary of the National Housing Association.

In reply to a question, Mr. Feld said that the Octavia Hill Association pays three collectors who give their entire time to this work. Women with experience in social work are not necessarily good collectors. Business standards are needed; also knowledge of costs of minor repairs and of legal requirements.

Mr. John Ihlder of Philadelphia: An old house to be repaired must be sound in structure. An old frame house that has been neglected is likely to require so many repairs that rehabilitation will not pay.

Miss Harriet Vittum of Chicago: There should be a special housekeeping committee of the National Housing Association.

*Mrs. Eleanor Barton** of Sheffield, England: Women have had no say. Architects don't want women's advice. English working women are organizing so as to compel a hearing in every government department. There is a women's committee on housing. Women are neat and tidy animals. They have respect for the walls of their rooms. Women architects will help materially with the placing of windows, doors, beds, plumbing. They will think of the help and happiness of the inmates rather than of profit. A national scheme of building is made necessary by high prices. Vermin often result from use of old material and old foundations. The amount of brass, etc., to be cleaned should be kept down. Cities and towns to be made better should begin with individual homes. Millions a day can be spent in war; why not in peace.

Mr. Ihlder: Too clear a line is drawn between working women and others. The same needs and mistakes are found higher up in the scale.

*Note uncorrected by author.

CAN EDUCATION AND RECREATION BE PROVIDED IN SELF-GOVERNING AND SELF-SUPPORTING COMMUNITY HOUSES?

Prof. James Ford, Department of Social Ethics, Harvard University.

The experience of Europe clearly indicates that both education and recreation can be provided on a co-operative basis. In Great Britain the co-operative movement of consumers has for over two generations been fostering educational classes and social centers for its members, in which varied forms of recreation are to be found. Normally their education service supplements that provided by continuation schools, treating either subjects not covered by these schools or subjects which are handled in an imperfect or biased way.

By co-operating with the university extension departments of the British universities, the co-operative societies are also provided with valuable lecture courses. The Co-operative Union, Limited, serves as intermediary as a rule, and arranges for courses of lectures, for examinations and for addresses on special topics. Generally from 1 to 2 percent of the profits of the consumers' co-operative societies in Great Britain are devoted to such educational purposes. Recreation is furnished in the same way, but tends to be haphazard rather than systematic. There is no reason why the recreational needs of the people should not be met as systematically as the educational needs, once the importance of such provision is appreciated.

In France the Universites Populaires were established for the primary purpose of meeting the education needs of the people. They are absolutely self-governing and self-supporting. Like the British co-operative societies, however, they make use of considerable free service on the part of lecturers and entertainers, for the public spirited citizens of any city inevitably interest themselves in a co-operative movement of this character for increased culture, and will gladly give their services without cost. Singers from the Grand Opera and Opera Comique, lecturers or writers of national or international reputation are, therefore, frequently found on the program of these people's universities.

The social clubs, literary clubs and dramatic clubs so frequently found in industrial quarters of our cities are evidence that education and recreation can be combined in self-governing and self-supporting community houses in America. Some of these groups are formed by immigrants of a single race, others are cosmopolitan, but it is clear from this experience that where the people want recreation or education, it can be provided on a co-operative basis.

America has offered abundant examples of community centers which have been organized on a basis of self-government and self-support. This is especially true in New York City. Public School 86 in the Negro district provides a very good example of this practice. But in a large number of communities, both urban and suburban, and among both foreign and native groups, centers have been conducted during the past two years on a basis of self-government, and are self-supporting, except so far as public buildings are provided for their use rent free, and with free heat, light and janitor service. Failure of the municipal government to make appropriations for community centers frequently forces them to self-support.

A good example of the self-governing and self-supporting community center is the Woodlawn Community Center at Hyde Park School, Chicago. They charge fees for each class or club. They have an enrollment of 600 and have a surplus of several hundred dollars and have no difficulty in raising money. The Board of Education furnishes the rent, heat, light, and janitor's

service free of charge, which would represent about \$8 a night for a grade school and \$16 a night for a high school. The principal of the High School is "the representative" only of the Board of Education—the actual government rests with the community. He gives a kind of supervision that is most helpful and which prevents the disorders that sometimes young people, particularly of grade school age, bring into the community center if they are not supervised. The principal or the teacher is the one best fitted to settle this kind of problem and to keep the center free for its purpose of serving the adult during his leisure hours.

The following statement of their organization and activities has been drawn up by Mr. Edward L. Burchard, secretary of the National Community Centers Association:

NEIGHBORHOOD "PAY-AS-YOU-USE" SCHOOL CLUBHOUSE AND COMMUNITY COUNCIL.

"The Woodlawn Center, meeting Friday evenings at the Hyde Park High School opposite Jackson Park, has proven that a school community center can be successfully managed and supported by a community council of the neighborhood and self-governing clubs, with the aid of the school principal. Each club has a director and a secretary-treasurer, and collects its own fees at the door, which it pays into the Center.

"Any active neighborhood in this city, by this method, and on application to the extension department of the Board of Education, can have its own educational and entertainment clubhouse.

"The 600 persons enrolled in the Woodlawn Center at 20 cents an evening, or \$1.20 for eight evenings, pay their own way in eleven clubs that thus support as many classes and instructors, including the use of gymnasiums, swimming pools, and dancing floors. (The woodworking, forging and metal shops will also be offered on demand.)

"Careful chaperonage of social dancing is provided by numerous badged volunteers from neighborhood clubs.

"The classes range from millinery, dramatics and home nursing to modern languages, history and current events (the last, conducted by a University of Chicago professor).

"One noticeable feature is that entire families are attending the center—children and young people entering "gym" or dancing, while their parents attend the more serious Current Events, History, Home Nursing, etc., classes.

"Three years ago this community center was organized under the Board of Education by a group of nine strictly local business clubs and women's clubs of Woodlawn and district, stimulated by Mrs. H. W. Cheney, the present president.

"The presidents of the organizations form the Advisory Committee of the center. Two delegates from each of the classes in the center form a Consulting Committee.

"From this it will be seen that the experiment of self-management of the community center by the committee has proven very successful. This has been done with the closest of co-operation with the representative of the Board of Education, Hiram B. Loomis, principal of the Hyde Park High School. His help in furnishing supervision has aided greatly and in fact, been necessary to the success."

If education and recreation are not supplied on a co-operative basis, that is, a basis of self-support and self-government, they must be supplied through municipalities, through commercial agencies, or through philanthropy. Commercial agencies have invaded the field of education but little, but they are providing a very large percentage of the recreation of our cities. Since the aim of the commercial agencies is primarily money making, they furnish only such amusements as are calculated to bring in large profit. They cater, therefore, to those impulses which are common to all, chiefly the so-called animal impulses and the people's love of sensationalism. Some of the commercialized agencies offer amusements and recreations of a developmental sort, some of them offer recreations which are distinctly harmful, at least to many of their patrons. In the majority of cases their influence is doubtless neither decidedly good nor harmful except so far as they lead people to spend their time without profit to themselves. Few of the most essential forms of education or recreation can be provided on a

profit making basis, hence the constructive forms of education and recreation are as a rule untouched by commercialized agencies.

The primary function of philanthropic agencies is to experiment with new services to try out new methods of meeting the needs of the people with an interest primarily in their welfare and with little or no thought of monetary return. Philanthropic agencies are needed to start new movements and to fill in gaps in imperfect programs for public education or recreation. But the danger of the philanthropic agency is that it will try to impose a philosophy of life, that it will try to mold lives to a pattern, or that it will try to continue its operations after the need for it has passed. Experimentation by philanthropic agencies is desirable, but it is important that the public should watch such agencies closely to see that they do not provide substitutes for democracy and to insure that their functions are taken over by society in a democratic way as soon as the public is convinced of the usefulness of these functions.

Of the governmental agencies the one most concerned with education and recreation is naturally the municipality. It is proper that the local governmental unit should provide services of both kinds. The local government is our traditional and basic resource, and where it can be made responsive to the will and to the higher aspirations of the people it will meet the problem adequately. But the danger of municipal operation, both of education and of recreation as almost universally displayed, is a tendency to undue standardization, or crystallization of function. It is difficult in municipalities through municipal agents to adapt any program to local needs, and yet the needs of one district may be very different from those of another. The Italian quarter may need certain things, the Jewish quarter may require service of a very different sort, the Negro quarter may offer in many particulars a still different problem. The needs of the well-to-do sections differ from those of the slum districts, or from the intermediate economic groups. The suburbs have different needs from the city, yet the municipal program is with great difficulty, if at all, adapted to these local peculiarities.

A further difficulty of municipal control of all recreation and education lies in the tendency of school and recreation boards to Philistinism. It is very common for small groups of public functionaries to attempt to impose their own narrow conceptions of education or recreation upon the entire community. If we want progress we must, therefore, resort to supplementary means of meeting these needs until the public agencies can be convinced of their importance. If we want new forms of education, art, recreation, drama; if we want public forums or classes dealing with economic problems or aesthetic dancing, we may first try to persuade the municipality of the importance of providing that which we want. But if we fail we are forced to provide the services on a self-governing and self-supporting basis.

This is far from being unfortunate, because the co-operative form of social organization provides for an equal distribution of responsibility, and for a more intimate sense of responsibility than the citizen generally feels for municipal institutions. Though we should unquestionably attempt to put a co-operative spirit into the municipal service, pending our achievement of that extremely important result, we should at least attempt to keep a live and warm sense of responsibility on the part of all citizens for the provision of the vital things of life. This can be done through co-operative organization.

Co-operative organization, however, is advantageous also, in that it provides for the fulfillment of a wide range of interests. It provides abundant opportunities for the exercise of choice in the fields of education and recreation and for control on the part of a democratically organized group. The passive recipient of the bounty of a municipal government does not

appreciate the values received, but where such values are co-operatively provided and at a sacrifice of time, money and thought, they become vital and significant, and much more fully enrichen the life of the individual served.

COMMUNITY COUNCILS—WHAT HAVE THEY DONE AND WHAT IS THEIR FUTURE?

John Collier, Director, Training School for Community Workers, New York

I want to insist at once that Community Councils are independent, self-operating neighborhood organizations. As such they were instituted through President Wilson's call issued by the Council of National Defense. As such they remain, now that the war is over, to help in the work of reconstruction and in the upbuilding of a useful and beautiful leisure life. Even in war time, the self-supporting and self-governing character of Community Councils was insisted on by the Council of National Defense. The clear vision of Edward L. Burchard and Elliot Dunlap Smith are to be thanked for this, but it was in the spirit of Secretary Baker, chairman of the council, and of the President.

Self-supporting and self-governing institutions, though federated on a metropolitan scale, are the Community Councils of New York. Such they are, with varying types of organization, in California, in Oklahoma, in Illinois, in North Carolina. I stress this fact because if it is lost sight of, the meaning of Community Councils is completely missed, and because if through any cause, in months to come, it should cease to be the fact, Community Councils will have perished.

Abraham Lincoln said: "It is no child's play to save the principles of Jefferson from total overthrow in this country." The community movement, of which Community Councils are the most ambitious phase, is one of the efforts to save American democracy. I shall be brief now, and shall speak only of urban democracy. Rural democracy, in the great West anyhow, is in no present danger of overthrow. But urban democracy was tottering when James Bryce described America forty years ago. It is tottering still—tottering forward, but will it ever arise and walk? Municipal efficiency has not brought municipal democracy and there are thinking men who believe democracy has no place in the intricate doings of a municipal government. "It is the citizen's business not to say: What shall I do, but whom shall I trust!" A competent thinker intoned this dirge of free government the other day, and did not even know he was chanting a dirge. He was chanting the dirge of efficient government as well as democratic government, he was singing the prelude to municipal Bolshevism. For the prestige of the good, of the rich, of the upper class reformer is nearly ended, Demos is contra-suggestible to that sort of prestige, Demos votes men out of office, not into office when politics become a business of trusting not of doing.

Plain Men and City Governments

I am not "casting off" on commission government, on the executive budget or city manager or any device for getting public work efficiently done. But every city faces one identical problem, the problem of getting its real policies thought about, its technical processes understood and valued by the plain man. How the average citizen can develop a feeling of proprietorship toward, of informed enthusiasm for, the work of our health departments and school boards and correction boards and city planning commissions—is this not a first-class question and a neglected question in every city? The Community Council, the modernized town meeting, seeks among other things to answer this question.

Let us glance at the history of Community Councils. New York City

will provide an example. First we were troubled up there about the recreation problem. We had "farmed out" the people's leisure to commercial movie managers and theatrical syndicates and dance hall proprietors. We had even "farmed out" our public lakes to grasping concessionaires. We discovered that this meant we had "farmed out" to commercial enterprise the psychic and largely the moral and civic life of our boys and girls and men and women. We spent, not very effectually, three million dollars a year on public and philanthropic recreation, which we gave away. The merchants collected twelve million odd dollars a month through shabby recreation enterprise which the people paid for, the people's conscious motive being thrills, and the motive of the enterprise being the sale of tickets. My figures are taken from the books of the Collector of Internal Revenue, and the twelve millions a month does not include the expenditure in saloons.

Leisure is Civic Opportunity

So we said in New York: "Leisure is life itself, in a great city of specialized industrial activity. Leisure is citizenship, it is continuous education, it is the family's opportunity to strengthen its ties. Can it be likewise established, that leisure is the people's opportunity to engage in co-operative enterprise, to escape from that most crass and cynical of all profiteering, recreation profiteering? Democracy in industry must come slowly, perhaps. Democracy in expert government may have to be gradual. But in recreation, in leisure, may there not be a democracy at once?"

The new type of school community center was established. Mr. Gibney has told you what the community center has done, where it has arrived. It is a people's clubhouse where the participants run the enterprise and pay the bills, but it is carried out in public properties in partnership with the state. The community center succeeded, in New York as in other places. New York has a hundred of these centers now, the nation has thousands. The community center brought people young and old together in groups, it gave varied opportunity for careless joy and creative effort as well, it necessitated parliamentary action and restored to the individual a crumb of that loaf of power to control his own destiny which had been taken away from him by the specialization of work, the integration of business and all the other power-building soul-corroding things incidental to our latter nineteenth century evolution.

The community center was a first step. The second step, in New York City, was represented by the Health Districts and the Community Clearing House. These institutions were methods, official or quasi-official, for decentralizing the complicated human work of the city government and of private welfare agencies, in such a manner as to make this work understandable by laymen, to facilitate the co-operation of specialists with each other and with the people; and yet to conserve the expertness and standardization which has been realized through centralized efficiency. Both Health District Number One and the Community Clearing House in New York were affiliated with community centers in their neighborhoods, and they were consciously designed to make possible a give-and-take between the people organized in groups, on the one side, and the expertness of society, embodied in public departments and private agencies and occupational groups, on the other side.

Community Centers and Councils

Now we come to the Community Council. War-time saw an intensified social impulse among the people. It taxed heavily the existing departments of government and the established social agencies. It brought a sudden multiplication of agencies—specialized agencies created to meet war requirements. How could the voluntary effort of each citizen be enlisted, how could intelligibility be brought about in the labyrinth of public and private social

work, in order that citizens might enlist for home service in the war? How could morale be sustained? One answer was the Community Council of National Defense. In New York, the Community Councils were promoted by the same workers who had for years had promoted community centers and who had administered or observed the Health Districts and the Community Clearing House. The Community Clearing House was bodily incorporated in the new movement, and was transported to the Municipal Building as the nucleus of that overhead service which was charged with the promotion and the discreet guidance of Community Councils. I mention this continuity of effort in order to bring it out, that Community Councils are not sudden impulses that arose with the war to end when it ended, but are part of that work which has gathered momentum for eight years past, which has developed a varied technique, which has made its blunders and profited by them. And in the Community Council movement, this experience and purpose can be stated with almost dogmatic clarity.

First. Community organization must be both geographical and functional. The individuals living within districts; the interest-groups having a stake within districts. Together they make up the Community Council. The interest-groups include the departments of government, the welfare agencies and churches, labor, corporate industry, political societies, and any group whatsoever that has, or claims to have, an interest in the common weal.

Local Self-Determination

Second. Local Councils must work out their own adjustments with regard to internal affairs, but subject to the condition that their self-government is inalienable and that they meet their local costs through local means.

Third. A bundle of faggots is strong, a hundred separate twigs is weak. The Councils must federate, their central parliament must be a living thing, it must provide for mass action and for interchange of experience, of talent, of every asset of each Council.

Let me say here that New York City has eighty-two local Community Councils at present, and that the City Parliament of Councils, meeting at City Hall, is a most living force, acting downward through each Council, controlled wholly by the local Councils.

Fourth. The functional as distinct from the geographical part of the Community Council organization must have city-wide embodiment as well. This result is harder to attain than the city-wide federation of the popular Councils, and fortunately, I think, is proceeding more slowly than the unification of the Councils. But it is proceeding; sections of the city-wide advisory committee of the Councils are already functioning and are delivering important results in New York.

Fifth. A recreation program is basic to the enduring popularity and vitality of a Community Council. It is true that citizenship becomes recreation as the Council goes forward in civic service, but immediately and permanently there are needed the dance and song, the forum and co-operative dramatic enterprise, the street rostrum and theatre on wheels. So manifold, so profound are the advantages of recreation, abundant, continuous, hospitable recreation, that I can't pause to give detail, but I want to emphasize this point and to add that the principle of self-government, self-activity, self-support, and the peril of unwise subsidy, are nowhere so apparent as they are in the development of community recreation.

Overhead Service is Required

Finally. Community Councils—therefore, the community movement—need overhead service. In due time the local units will pay for this service just as they now pay their local costs. But they cannot pay for all needed overhead service from the start, still less can they pay for the extension work

which is needed to make this movement city-wide for New York, nation-wide for America. What relation shall this overhead service bear to the developing movement?

New York has given an answer. An executive committee on Community Councils promotes the movement there, at a monthly cost of about \$6,000. No larger budget is needed for the organization of the whole four hundred Council areas, of which eighty-two are now organized. This executive committee controls no Council in any detail. It controls the City Parliament of Councils in no manner. It has irrevocably declared its purpose to transfer all functions, all moneys to the City Parliament of Councils or to its chosen representatives, wherever the Parliament is ready to assume the responsibilities. No subsidy of money or of permanent executive service is offered to local councils. The executive committee sends organizers into the field, advises in technical matters of recreation, health and other problems of the councils, and in co-operation with the public libraries maintains the Community Clearing House for all Council areas.

Such service—such leadership in effect—the Councils welcome. They would repudiate and make war upon any effort at domination, any suggestion of invisible government. And what holds good in New York will hold good wherever genuine community organization exists in the country.

My time is exhausted. Let me summarize, saying first, parenthetically, that organized labor has joined with Community Councils centrally and within the local areas in New York.

Be Patient

I said that the modernized town meeting would answer the question—how scientific government, how the social order could be conserved. Not tomorrow, not yet in five years, will this answer be given. We are engaged in no casual, no hurried or easy task, we who in the community movement are trying to restore a half-forgotten Americanism, to achieve a modern democracy. We remember through what generations of effort the beginnings of free parliamentary government were achieved; through what decades of struggle trade unionism had to beat its way. We remember that the European community movement—the vast co-operative movement of present-day Europe—groped and travailed for fifty years before it became an irresistible new life, continent-wide, within the dying chrysalis of European society. If our task has any importance at all, it has a huge importance; we need not hurry; we must not be lured away by any temporary advantage from those principles by which alone a community worker has the right to live. A subsidy which displaced local democratic control would be such a temptation.

Is it important that our world shall not ultimately be Teutonized—but that it shall be a world of free co-operation, of free responsibility, of full-grown human souls? Then the Community Council—the democratic community movement—is entitled to our best powers, to our patient study.

COMMUNITY HOUSES AS WAR MEMORIALS

Harold S. Battenheim, Editor, The American City, New York

In a bulletin of The American Civic Association on "War Memorials," the story is told of a member of one of the recent French commissions, who, after he had seen some of our Civil War memorials, said, "Now I know what you Americans mean by the horrors of war."

A horror built of marble or bronze and compounded of good patriotism and bad art is one of the most difficult of all horrors to banish from the earth. It involves a problem of far greater complexity than the disposition of the Kaiser. The present generation may or may not take the advice of the jurist who demanded that the Kaiser be hanged after a fair trial. In any event, time will see to it that the Kaiser's bodily presence will offer no problem to the next generation; but time will be more sparing of the structures erected to the heroes who wrought the Kaiser's overthrow; and unless architects and artists and civic leaders shall display great skill and courage during the next few years many horrors of war in commemorative form will rise up to plague the American people through ages of peace.

From every city, town and village in America, the flower of our young manhood went forth in 1917 and 1918 to the camps and battlefields of the world war; to every city, town and village they are returning in 1919 to take up the tasks of peace. Of the two million who went overseas more than 90 per cent, thank God, are returning alive. In every city, town and village committees are discussing, or soon will be discussing, the problem of local memorials. As the fundamental basis for such discussions may we not suggest that memorials of the world war in every American community should serve a three-fold purpose: (1) They should commemorate the dead; (2) They should honor the living who served in the great conflict; and (3) They should be an inspiration to the entire community. No time need be consumed, I am sure, in presenting arguments for this three-fold purpose; our differences of opinion, if any exist, will be in the practical application of the principles to the actual memorials. Let us consider this phase of the subject:

(1) We desire to commemorate the dead. How can it best be done? Can we honor them in any way more truly than by erecting structures to their memory which shall advance the principles for which they died? Can we do better than to apply the great doctrine of the Golden Rule—"Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you?" Theodore Roosevelt answered this question in a letter to Dr. H. Holbrook Curtis, vice-president of the National Institute of Social Sciences, written in 1916, in which he said in part:

There is an occasional great public servant to whom it is well to raise a monument—really not for the man himself, but for what he typified. A monument to Lincoln or Farragut is really a great symbolic statue to commemorate such qualities as valor and patriotism and love of mankind, and a willingness to sacrifice everything for the right. There are very few men in a generation who have the character or the widespread reputation which makes a monument to them symbolize all these things. As for the rest of us who, with failure and shortcomings, but according to our lights, have striven to lead decent lives: if any friends of ours wish to commemorate us after death, the way to do it is by some expression of good deeds to those who are still living.

America entered the world war in defense of the cause of liberty and democracy. It was the inspiration for which our dead heroes made the supreme sacrifice. The war is won and the dead are buried; but the cause is a living thing; and it can best be typified not by lifeless memorials but by living structures within whose walls can pulse the lifeblood of the new day now dawning for the world.

(2) We desire to honor the living who took part in the great conflict

Can we honor the living better than by serving them? We rejoice that of the four million men enrolled in the military and naval service at home and abroad, some 3,900,000 are returning alive. Let us show these returning heroes some evidence of our gratitude more substantial than parades and fireworks; let us honor them and their dead comrades by erecting structures which shall help to perpetuate the democracy of the camps and serve as gathering places for fellowship and civic service for all the people.

(3) The third of our three-fold purpose of the ideal memorial is the inspiration of the entire community. I have said little so far about art; it would be presumptuous for a mere layman to argue for the inspirational value of great works of art. But perhaps I may be permitted to suggest one fundamental advantage of a building as compared with a shaft or monument as a source of inspiration. From the shaft or monument inspiration can come only from without; but the memorial building, if properly planned and used, will be an inspiration both from without and from within. The bulletin on war memorials, issued by the American Federation of Arts, recognizes this fact when it says:

A building, devoted to high purposes, educational or humanitarian, whether large or small, costly or inexpensive, would through excellence of design be an example and inspiration to present and future generations, expressive of the refinement and culture which mark the highest order of civilization. It should, however, be understood that a building entirely utilitarian cannot altogether satisfy the desire for a commemorative work of art.

With the plea that buildings wholly utilitarian cannot altogether satisfy the desire for a commemorative work of art, we can all agree; but it was a great joy to us who favor community houses as war memorials to know that Committee on War Memorials of the American Federation of Arts is not in accord with the ultra-conservative view that not so much as a suggestion of the utilitarian may combine with the idealism of the true memorial. It has been said that art is perhaps entitled to be deemed the highest factor in civilized life because it is the most unselfish. Its two chief purposes, I suppose, are to give pleasure and to provide inspiration; and in its highest form its appeal is both to the esthetic and to the moral senses of mankind. All of these objects can be combined most effectively in the community house. Without attempting to propound any principles of design or treatment, perhaps I may offer some observations that will be helpful to architects and sculptors in their relations with local memorial committees. In so doing, I shall quote freely from bulletins of the National Committee on Memorial Buildings in preparing which it has been my privilege to co-operate; from a pamphlet "*Suggestions for a Living Memorial*," published by the War Camp Community Service; and from an article on "*Community Houses as War Memorials*," by Albert S. Bard, president of the Municipal Art Society, published in the National Municipal Review.

A Survey of Local Needs

The purpose of a community house is to meet the unmet needs of community life. A survey of local conditions will determine the character of the community house, the needs it will endeavor to meet, and the facilities it ought properly to furnish. Where a trained director of the survey is not available, or perhaps not needed, a responsible committee might be appointed by the mayor or by the organization initiating the movement for a community house, such committee to secure pertinent facts bearing upon the problem. The amount and character of the data required will differ in every community.

Some of the outstanding facts to be determined are: The existing social institutions, schools, churches, etc., which meet community needs, their facilities, and character and extent of patronage; the commercial recreation centers, theaters, dance halls, bowling alleys, pool rooms, etc.; the character, diversity, and distribution of the population; the financial resources of the community; the city statutes governing building and control of social institutions, etc., etc.

Bulletin No. 3 of the National Committee on Memorial Buildings contains an outline of such a survey.

Memorial Features

The form, size, plan and purpose of such a building will vary widely, if it is to meet real, not fancied needs. There are several common factors which must enter into every such structure and mark it indisputably as a memorial. Mr. Bard emphasizes them in his article as follows:

Most obviously of all, opportunity must be afforded for appropriate inscription of names, military units, and the like, as the case may be. The building is somehow, whatever form it takes, a record of our love and reverence for certain men or women or groups and celebrates their deeds. It is a neighborhood memorial or celebration of them, and their individual or collective names should somewhere appear. It may be upon tablets in the vestibule, or by inscriptions upon the walls, but in one way or another, whether by paint, mosaic, carving, bronze or stained glass, the particularization and historical evidence should find a dignified place.

The building should provide for the preservation of relics and records of the war, especially those having local significance. Trophies, flags and souvenirs must be exhibited and kept safe. Documents, manuscripts, maps, books, illustrations and other memorabilia and historical records should be properly housed in every community not provided with a fireproof library. Some communities will be able to afford a war museum and war library.

Almost equally obviously the building should be made precious in some way, not only to the present generation that has a personal and immediate interest in the individuals and events celebrated, but to those that are to come. Only so can it be a true memorial. The one thing that can do this is beauty. Expense without beauty is as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal; it is nothing and will profit the community nothing; indeed, it is worse than mere futility; ridicule or contempt will be its portion; men will laugh or groan over it, depending upon their mood and disposition; and worst of all, it will fail of its primary purpose as a real memorial. Here at least beauty and use are interchangeable terms.

A Meeting Place and Social Center

The memorial building should provide a meeting place and social center for the returned soldiers and sailors of the community. They have a prior claim. But, continues Mr. Bard, as the war was not waged or won exclusively by the men at the front; as behind them strove the diverse classes of a highly complex society, all for the same end, and as that end was the winning of a democratic freedom, so the social body, in its various voluntary associations, should be accorded opportunity in the building to exercise its democratic aspirations. Meeting places of various sizes will undoubtedly be needed more and more. The local board of trade or chamber of commerce, the grange, the Red Cross, patriotic, historical and defense societies, local charities, rotarians, boy scouts, the improvement society, literary and musical societies, civic organizations, women's clubs, boys' and girls' clubs, may all claim consideration, with any other volunteer groups who need for success not only walls, roofs and benches, but also an atmosphere of culture, a touch of human grace as well as the physician presence of neighbors.

Provision for Art, Music and Drama

This subject was covered admirably in an article written by Mrs. Christine Wetherill Stevenson for *The American City* and in Mr. Bard's article, both of which have been reprinted by the National Committee on Memorial Buildings.

Says Mr. Bard:

Few committees have opportunity to see, still fewer to enjoy, anything of the myriad forms of beauty which man has made, is making, and will make more and more. To a large number of people "art" means paintings, mostly in oils. But were there places to show them, there would undoubtedly be hundreds of traveling exhibitions of architecture, sculpture and the graphic arts, of textiles, ceramics, wood carving, metal work, jewelry, bookbinding and other industrial arts, in addition to the many exhibitions of paintings that can be had at the art centers almost for the asking. America has been very blind to her need and opportunity to wed art to industry and make both joy and money out of the union. Fortunately she is waking up. The community-house can hardly find a more essential basis to get people together on than the art basis.

There should then be a place where all the things just mentioned may be shown, under proper conditions of lighting and safety. If they can be shown in a living room, they will add to the pleasure of being in the room, but the room should be carefully designed for this double function. This method of exhibition has an advantage over the museum method in that it relates art to daily life, and demonstrates how beauty is simply a better way to live.

Let me also lay special emphasis upon the need of provision for music, dancing and drama as healthy stimuli of community activity and enjoyment. The flat floor of the gallery—or combined gallery and living room—may take care of the dancing. But if the community is large or can afford it, a special theatre for music, plays and lectures will be found desirable. With suitable provision, many a local amateur dramatic or musical society will be stimulated into new life. As with the traveling art exhibitions, professional actors and musicians, playing the principal characters and carrying the solo parts, would circulate from town to town, co-operating with the local talent and creating opportunities for amateurs in the minor roles.

The stage must be carefully planned for its various functions, whether it be a part of a specially designed theatre, or an adjunct of an assembly room. Space fails for a discussion of what is here essential. But those in charge of the planning of any stage, however modest in dimensions or character, should consult those who have made a business of producing artistic stage effects. It is a matter calling for the most expert and specialized advice if mistakes are to be avoided.

Other Forms of Recreation

One of the War Camp Community Service Bulletins points out the importance, in planning the recreational activities of a memorial building, to consider the needs of all the groups of the community—children, young people and adults—as well as the existing facilities offered by schools, churches, clubs and kindred organizations. While no groups should be neglected, duplication of effort naturally is to be avoided.

Among the recreational facilities appropriate to a community building are gymnasium, swimming pool, rooms for quiet games, bowling and billiards. Provision should be made for serving refreshments, thus permitting the use of the building for community receptions, teas and banquets.

Educational Activities

Among other educational activities for which a memorial building might be used are:

(1) In co-operation with the local School Board, programs of university extension lectures, lyceum, Chautauqua and special study courses, and educational moving pictures.

(2) Branch or department of the Public Library; or a reading room, making provision for the state travelling libraries.

(3) An open forum, under wise direction, perpetuating the spirit of the old town meeting; a popular tribunal before which public questions may be freely argued; and unconsciously create a school of community thought and expression.

(4) Re-education program for wounded soldiers and sailors.

(5) Handwork classes.

(6) Exhibition of arts.

(7) Conservation programs.

(8) Demonstration of domestic arts and sciences.

(9) Physical educational service.

Administration and Maintenance

The kind of organization best adapted to the needs of each individual community must be determined by local conditions, by the type of building and the uses to which it will be put.

In those advanced communities where partisan politics have been largely eliminated from local governments, as under the commission-manager form, title to the building, regardless of how construction funds have been raised, may well be vested in the municipality and its operation become a function of the Public Welfare Department, with a citizen advisory board co-operating. Such a plan does not necessitate the raising of all maintenance funds by taxation, as annual "drives" and other methods of voluntary popular support may be utilized.

Where the building has been erected by municipal funds, and where a non-partisan department of welfare does not exist, a representative commission, or board of trustees, chosen by the City Council, may administer the affairs of the community building.

The erection of memorials by taxation is not advocated by the National Committee on Memorial Buildings, and where such a method is employed, provision for some form of free-will contribution should be made and the non-partisan character of the building emphasized.

Where it seems advisable to conduct the memorial building as an independent community enterprise three forms of organization are proposed in Bulletin No. 3 of the National Committee on Memorial Buildings. All three provide for a board of trustees or directors. In the first two, these trustees are chosen by a direct vote of a membership composed of those who have contributed. The third calls for an association made up of representatives of various existing local organizations. The Bulletin gives the exact wording of proposed Constitution and By-Laws.

The Site of the Building

Many architects and sculptors are missing a great opportunity for service to the public and to their own professions by lack of interest in city planning. Too often their skill is devoted entirely to the design of the building or the modelling of the statue, while the site is left to the whim of a local committee innocent of any real knowledge of civic art or perhaps to the blandishments of a real estate speculator. It is a hopeful sign of the times that in some cities which are planning memorial buildings, the city planner and the architect are co-operating to the end not only that the building be properly designed, but that it shall be properly placed. A community house can best serve its community only if it is readily accessible to the greatest number; and it can be a real work of art only if it has an adequate setting. As the Wisconsin War History Committee points out in its bulletin "Concerning War Memorials:"

If the memorial decided upon is to take the form of a building or other similar structure the question of its location should not be treated as an isolated one. Rather it should be determined with reference to a general city which takes into consideration not only the present state of development of the city but also its probable lines of future growth. If the memorial is to be a building, due consideration should be given the question of the possible needs of future additions to it, with respect to choice both of grounds and of building plans.

In this paper I have attempted to present the case for the Memorial Community House as a civilian sees it. But it may properly be asked, What do the soldiers think of the idea? What kind of memorial do they favor? This question is answered by General Pershing in a letter to Mr. Paul D. Cravath, chairman of the National Committee on Memorial Buildings. General Pershing says:

It gives me great pleasure to indorse the movement which you outlined to me in your letter of February 28th, for the erection of useful community buildings throughout the country as living tributes to those who served in the war. This sort of monument appeals very strongly to me, as it should have a great effect on the future lives of our citizens. The idea of the construction of these community houses for this purpose is indeed a happy one.

To summarize, then: Memorials of the world war in every American city should serve a three-fold purpose: They should commemorate the dead; they should honor the living who served in the great conflict; and they should be an inspiration to the entire community. The dead can best be commemorated by a structure which shall advance the cause of democracy and liberty, for which the war was fought; those who are returning alive can best be honored by a structure which shall perpetuate the fellowship of the camps and which shall be a constant reminder to them of the substantial gratitude of their fellow citizens; the entire community can best be inspired,

not by a lifeless memorial but by a structure whose exterior shall inspire as truly as can any arch or monument and within whose walls can pulse the life blood of the new day now dawning for the world. Such a structure is the Memorial Community House—the ideal living tribute to an immortal cause.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

A fourth feature of the formal program was an address by Mr. Eugene C. Gibney, Director of Community and Recreation Centers of the Board of Education of New York City, on "Methods of Uniting the School with Its Neighborhood Through Community Organization."

Those participating in informal discussions were: John Daniels, New York; David I. Kelley, Trenton, New Jersey; Mr. Collier.

NEW COMMUNITY SERVICE UNDERTAKINGS EXEMPLIFIED IN CHESTER, PENNSYLVANIA

Charles Frederick Weller, Executive Secretary, "Community Service for Chester and Vicinity," Associate Secretary, Playground and Recreation Association of America

With the babies whom they took care of, a group of young girls frequented the back yard of Neighborhood House in Washington, D. C., in 1902. They brought old burlap and clothes line to make hammocks in which to swing the babies. That was the first suggestion of the need for playgrounds in the national capital.

Soon eleven home-made playgrounds were developed. Dr. Henry S. Curtis was called to supervise them. He organized in 1906 the Playground Association of America; Theodore Roosevelt, honorary president; Jacob Riis, honorary vice-president; Dr. Luther Gulick, president; Dr. Curtis, secretary. Later the name became Playground and Recreation Association of America. Joseph Lee succeeded Dr. Gulick as president and there came into the movement as its secretary our present leader, Howard S. Braucher, modest, unassuming but wonderfully efficient, inspired and inspiring, a man of vision with real genius for progressive social service.

By leaps and bounds the movement grew until, in 1918, 403 American cities maintained 3,871 playgrounds and recreation centers with employed supervision.

War Service

War called into being in America the Commission on Training Camp Activities, Raymond Fosdick, chairman. This commission mobilized the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Knights of Columbus, Hebrew Welfare Association, Salvation Army, Library Association and leaders in social hygiene, law enforcement and protective work. Under three great idealists, President Wilson, Secretary Baker and Secretary Daniels, social service in many fields of war work demonstrated that it is statesmanlike and essential to human efficiency.

To the Playground and Recreation Association of America came the Government's call to discover and develop what members of the visiting British Commission are said to have recognized as America's most original and most constructive contribution to the war. For, hitherto, civilian communities had always and everywhere preyed upon and weakened armies. Now America undertook to transform the soldier's leisure hours from liabilities to assets by organizing community activities and community relationships

so that the city's best instead of its worst influences should welcome the soldier when he left his training camp to come to town. In over six hundred towns and cities "War Camp Community Service" was thus developed—an organizing agency rather than an institution; a movement, not a machine; means not end; eager to lose itself in service; co-operative; promoting and co-ordinating the social-serving forces of each community in a new great spirit of democracy and brotherhood.

Following the sudden armistice came the danger of selfish reaction. Came also America's clear need that to the average man beneath the honored uniform, to industrial workers especially and to all the average folks of average communities, there should be applied the new methods of community organization, using leisure and the play spirit to develop such community activities and community relationships as war had proven to be essential to efficient human life.

Chester, Pa.

To the oldest city in the conservative state of Pennsylvania in October, 1918, a community organizer was sent who was experienced in War Camp Community Service and in the fundamental method and spirit of the Playground and Recreation Association of America. Not criticising Chester, Pa., nor suggesting that it is worse than a sad multitude of undeveloped American communities, the needs and difficulties in which it typifies many cities may be summarized by quoting a local citizen to the effect that: "If Community Service can be established in Chester it can be established anywhere this side of —" well, a difficult place where conservatives and reactionaries are popularly supposed to prevail.

Community Service is not yet established in Chester in the sense of being locally financed. Our challenging adventure is still on. But six months of path-finding demonstration, from December to June first, have yielded inspiring glimpses of some methods of reconstruction and social advance which it is believed that America must soon apply generally to avoid reaction, disorders and the sad postponement of that democracy and fraternalism for which the hearts of many men are hungry.

Music.

"Community Singing," first of the ten departments of "Community Service for Chester and Vicinity," was inaugurated early in December by the employment of an experienced leader, Mr. William B. Kelsey. Forty-four thousand song sheets have been put in use. Community singing has been introduced into movies, several churches, women's and men's clubs, fraternal organizations, granges in outlying rural regions; into industries, seven public school centers, and special gatherings such as Red Cross, Victory Loan, Soldiers Welcome, Boy Scouts and various patriotic assemblies. Neighborhood rallies for the "Demobilization of Service Flags" at outdoor sings are spreading throughout Chester under the Community Music Committees forming in each of the city's eleven wards. A Community Service Chorus, 66 competent singers, has been drilling twice weekly. A Community Band and a Community Orchestra are proposed. Five Community Music Committees have been established with 135 local members while six committees approximating 200 members are yet to be formed.

Americanization.

"Chester's League of Nations," March 23, with 3,000 people attending and 4,000 turned away, is said to have been reported in 6,000 newspapers. Eight foreign-born groups in native costumes with their national flags flying marched in turn upon the stage, where the leader of each group said to the

woman impersonating Chester: "I bring you some of my people; their loyalty, art and labor." Chester replied: "Welcome, Italia; we need your loyalty, art and labor." Passing through the city's gates each group was then received by the mayor and other representative citizens. Subsequently, each group presented their national anthem and other characteristic music. Chester's League of Nations Reception and Ball followed, May 12, in the same spirit of appreciation and fraternal co-operation, which was further expressed, May 29, in Chester's League of Nations Supper and Social Evening. More than a few foreigners who had felt "sore" over public indifference or actual injustice and hundreds who had felt sadly neglected are now enthusiastic workers for the community, because the community has been interpreted to them in new, acceptable ways. Ten committees comprising 116 men and women, native and foreign born, under the inspiration of Miss Elizabeth Burchenal, department director, are now, in this new method and spirit, promoting the better "Americanization" of both foreign and native born.

Colored Organization

Bloody race riots which occurred in Chester not very long ago lend the emphasis of contrast to the "Colored Organization" department of Community Service under the leadership of Mrs. Sarah Collins Fernandis, a colored social worker. Three public schools are in use every week as community service centers, where neighbors discuss their civic needs and responsibilities; where they enjoy community singing, dramatics, addresses by their returning soldiers and preparations for the "New Era Week," June 8 to 14, when the colored people of Chester, estimated at from twelve to twenty thousand, will interpret to their fellow citizens the progressive development of America's colored people and their faithful contributions to industry, music, education and community service. Seven large groups of the leading colored people, with white leaders co-operating, have been organized into working committees totaling 257 members.

School Centers

Existing properties estimated to have cost the people over \$700,000 have been redeemed from uselessness during evening hours by the development of six community service centers in public schools and one in a parochial school, four centers for whites and three for colored people. "Family gatherings" are held weekly in each of the seven centers. Activities include community singing, popular talks on timely subjects, music, recitations, folk dances, games, dramas, English classes for foreigners, committee meetings, Belgian and French groups, discussions and increasingly that "spontaneous combustion" through which the neighbors present their own programs and shape their own activities. And still there remains unstated the great communal spirit, the manifest good will, the co-operation which in some neighborhoods has replaced keen antagonisms that previously divided the people. Three "school centers" committees, with numerous subcommittees, include ninety-eight men and women under the leadership of Miss Anna M. Vaughan, formerly a school teacher and a leader in games and other school work with foreigners' children.

Italians

An Italian, Mr. Frank Casper, new to social work, has brought unity and a new spirit of community service into the great colony of six to nine thousand Italians who have previously been sadly divided and retarded by keen antagonisms between Catholics and Protestants and by constant suspicion of religious propaganda. Community singing—Italian songs first, leading rapidly to English songs, amateur dramatics of convincing power, classes

in English and in naturalization, frank discussions in many meetings, increasing participation by Italians in all community undertakings and constant friendly visiting by Mr. Casper in the homes and shops of his people, have constituted the successful department of "Italian Organization," in which two committees are at work comprising forty of the leading men and women of this splendid national group.

Hospitality

In a community grown suddenly from about forty thousand inhabitants before the war to some eighty to ninety thousand now, with ten to twenty thousand additional in surrounding boroughs, the "Hospitality" department of community service is important with its friendly slogan, "Here let no one be stranger." Miss Vera A. Laing, the executive, has engineered four great Advisory Council dinners given by ladies of the W. C. T. U., Y. M. C. A., Knights of Columbus and Tall Cedars of Lebanon. She has organized sixteen parlor conferences, a Sunday afternoon musical followed by social hospitality in one of the churches, games and appropriate entertainment on week-day evenings in several churches, home cooking by volunteers at the Community Club, the listing of 750 returned soldiers, sailors and marines, and many acts of friendliness for them, invitations to lawn fetes and receptions in private homes for Community Club members and other strangers, hospitality for girls employed in local industries, community singing and the serving of refreshments to many hundreds of people at Chester's League of Nations reception and ball and at the similar supper and social evening. The hospitality committee includes forty of the leading women of Chester and vicinity; auxiliary committees are also organized from time to time for special undertakings.

Games

Of international fame as a runner and track-team athlete, Melvin W. Sheppard began in April to develop a new department of "Athletics and Physical Education," with special emphasis upon popular games and outdoor sports. On three of the seventy-one available vacant lots discovered in old crowded Chester community recreation centers have been developed, game leaders for evening hours employed, and a new twenty-five dollar box of game equipment devised which other cities are expected to copy eagerly. This new community service box includes a basketball with two goals, a playground baseball with two bats, a medicine ball, a set of quoits and a volley ball and net. With this simple equipment and with leaders employed for evening hours between six and ten P. M., it is expected that many vacant lots and park spaces may be made attractive centers for games played by adults especially and by family groups uniting in neighborly fellowship. This department is also interested in promoting physical education throughout the schools, the strengthening of Chester's admirable Playground Association with its ten summer playgrounds in school yards for children, public baths and swimming pools whenever possible, industrial and church baseball leagues, outdoor sports and contests, field days and festivals. For fifteen weeks preceding Mr. Sheppard's advent, a "Playleaders' Training Class" for sixty-five volunteers, women and men, was conducted voluntarily by the local Boy Scouts executive, Carleton B. Sanford. Among Mr. Sheppard's early achievements was the "Victory Liberty Loan Street Run," May 3rd, the inauguration of Saturday afternoon "hikes" open to everyone and the publication of a twenty-page handbook of practical instructions for games, exercises and physical education. A committee of fourteen representative men is in charge of this department with neighborhood committees and other auxiliaries still to be formed.

Community Clubs

The pioneer coffee house or dry saloon or "Community Club" in the heart of town has been inaugurated and sustained by generous contribu-

tions from local industries, organizations and individuals. Miss Constance Cochrane, a local society leader and an artist, was fortunately persuaded to undertake its management. A house committee, representing the club members themselves, has developed a large and growing sense of responsibility; they have themselves purchased a four hundred and fifty dollar player piano, have voluntarily inaugurated a system of twenty-five cent monthly dues and have given labor and leadership, with splendid unselfishness and efficiency, to the service of their fellows, to such public undertakings as the Victory Loan (they sold eighty-three bonds totaling \$6,800), to Chester's League of Nations and to the promotion of community club activities as substitutes for corner loafing, pool rooms, saloons and gambling. Membership cards have been issued to 431 men, of whom at least 234 are really active members. Club activities include a public canteen serving good plate dinner twice daily, at noon and night, with lighter refreshments between times, a game room, reading and writing room and modest parlor with growing equipment of victrola, records, books, magazines and attractive lounging places where ordinary fellows may smoke and "spit" and enjoy all the free friendly spirit, without the spirits, of a saloon. On the third floor is a lodge room, used for parties, games, boxing, dancing lessons, entertainments, confidential talks on sex hygiene and other health problems and for special spreads and receptions. In this community club we hope public shower baths also may be inaugurated.

In April, Mr. Ray B. Hammond came to head up the "Community Clubs" department, to help promote, advertise and finance the pioneer community club and to establish other clubs in strategic centers, including soon, we hope, a returned soldiers' club for white fighting men and their associates, a similar club for colored returned soldiers and an Italian club. Two of these clubs are now assured. As saloons go out, we hope that better community forces may go into the saloon business extensively in the modified form of self-supporting community clubs.

Office Work

For all ten departments, the necessary stenography, bookkeeping, telephone service, telegrams, printing, postage, office rental and initial furnishings and equipment, developed by Miss Minna H. Jahn as "office manager," has cost, for the first six months, \$4,759. The eight other departments described above have cost, for salaries and all other expenses, \$12,155, making a total of \$16,914, provided through national headquarters.

Chief Executive

The selection and development of department executives, the enlistment of local leaders and appointment of committees, the inspiration of new undertakings, the interpretation of community service locally and nationally, and all the financial adjustments of the entire pathfinding movement have been the work of the chief executive, who has been called a national representative because employed and delegated by national headquarters in Washington and New York. The writer of this report having served in this capacity in Chester and vicinity since October 1, 1918, may be considered to represent general "community organization" as the first of Chester's ten departments of community service.

Controlling Groups

William C. Sproul, Governor of Pennsylvania and first citizen of Chester, is chairman of the governing committee of twenty-eight, including five industrial workers, four women, the mayor, superintendent of schools and local leaders of industry and business. To them will be added elected rep-

representatives of the ten departmental committees, which include thirty-three committees already comprising 454 men and women who represent every phase of community life and a goodly proportion of all local neighborhoods. These 454 workers have been authorized to wear the official insignia, the "Red Circle" of Community Service (Incorporated) made famous by the War Camp Community Service as one of the seven United War Work Agencies.

An "Advisory Council" meeting monthly calls together for conference and mutual help representatives of social service forces such as the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., Knights of Columbus, Hebrew Welfare Association, Salvation Army, libraries, schools, churches, Associated Charities, nursing and health agencies and the service or employment departments of local industries.

National supervision and support come from War Camp Community Service, from Community Service Incorporated and from their parent organization, the Playground and Recreation Association of America—all three intent upon making themselves unnecessary as rapidly as possible by promoting free local initiative, democratic self-government and local self-support.

Theme and Outlook

To put "unity" into "community" is a slogan of Community Service for Chester and Vicinity. To some conservatives it seems impossible that about forty thousand dollars annually shall be secured in such a town as Chester—from state, municipal, educational and industrial authorities and from private organizations and individuals, for the permanent local maintenance of such recreational social service. To many radical reformers, on the other hand, Community Service must appear superficial and unimportant. But millions of average Americans are hoping that reconstruction and industrial advance may be accomplished without revolution; that established social powers will not resist progress until desperation and disorder are enkindled; that steady, rapid social evolution may realize those larger measures of democracy and brotherhood for which human folk are longing.

More significant than the present size and very modest powers of Community Service in Chester is the fact that it has proven to be responsive in new ways, acceptably, to fundamental impulses in the hearts of common people. There is a democratic and fraternal significance in all ten departments similar to that new spirit of better Americanism which many observers felt in Chester's League of Nations.

"Social salvage" is a phrase which has been applied. A truer summary is this: that Community Service is uncovering rich hidden streams of human power; discovering and co-ordinating great groups of worthwhile people who have previously been unregarded and unenlisted; organizing into joyous, helpful community relationships large numbers of men and women whom their neighbors are surprised but glad to recognize as richly individual, public-spirited, worthy comrades.

COMMUNITY SERVICE AS A BUILDER OF MORALE FOR THE INSTITUTIONS OF CIVIL LIFE

L. A. Halbert, District Representative of Community Service, Inc., New York

In using the words "community service" I wish to give them a somewhat more restricted meaning than that which they have in current usage. These two words are part of the title of a national war organization known as War Camp Community Service, and they have come to have a special meaning when used to describe the activities of this organization, although the scope of activities which have been carried on by War Camp Community Service is very wide. These words might be made to include every kind of civic and social betterment activities that could be carried on, if they were taken in their widest sense, and it is quite true that all kinds of social and civic work do make a contribution to the morale of the population.

War Camp Community Service has been known as an agency for building military morale. The organization and many of its war-time activities are to be carried over and continued after the war.

War Camp Community Service was organized for the Government by the Playground and Recreation Association of America to provide wholesome leisure time activities for men in uniform when they visit the cities near the great camps. In executing this work the emphasis has been on recreation for adults, because soldiers and people who must entertain them are adults.

The name and insignia of War Camp Community Service has become well known because of this war activity, and the association has learned certain valuable things in regard to providing for the leisure time of adults. For these two reasons the people responsible for the American Playground and Recreation Association and for War Camp Community Service have now established a national organization under the title of Community Service, Incorporated, which will promote the interests heretofore served by the American Playground and Recreation Association and enlarge them to provide suitable leisure time activities for the whole population.

Peace Time Program

What War Camp Community Service has done for our military organization to make it more efficient in war, Community Service, Incorporated, will do for the institutions of civil life.

1. War Camp Community Service protected the health and morals of the soldiers, so far as that could be done by preoccupying their minds in their leisure hours with wholesome activities. Community Service will undertake to do the same for everybody.

2. War Camp Community Service staved off loneliness and homesickness and the resulting discouragement among soldiers and sailors by providing hospitality and friendly social intercourse. Community Service will provide friendly greetings and companionship for the bashful and the lonely, and hospitality for strangers in the general population.

3. War Camp Community Service undertook to fill the soldier with enthusiasm for his task by emphasizing the esteem in which the community held the man who was enlisted to fight for his country, by heaping upon him public honor and applause.

Community Service will organize the public to pay its respect and express its esteem to every man who does useful work, and especially those who render voluntary public service in behalf of a good cause. It will glorify the path of useful service and discredit the slacker in public service and the shirker in any place. It will give encouragement to those who undertake the world's drudgery and mark for distinction those who render important and faithful public service.

4. The object and effect of honoring these men who rendered military service to the government was to increase their loyalty to it and confidence in it. It is essential that the people of every community should have confidence in all branches of the government in peace as well as in war, and that they should not only have confidence in our political institutions, but in our social, religious and philanthropic institutions, and even in our industrial and commercial institutions, and that everybody should be loyal to our organized life.

Community Service, Incorporated, can promote loyalty to any organized institution that is worthy of loyalty and inspire in local institutions of all sorts a desire to be worthy of the loyalty of their constituents and of the confidence of the public, and assist in formulating the standards of conduct and service that make loyalty and confidence possible.

If good will and good purposes exist in the organized institutions of any community and they are incarnated in good performances, then community service can assist these institutions by devising ways of demonstrating their good will and good character and encouraging public recognition of it. It can arouse pride and a sense of comradeship in the hearts of those who participate in their activities and gratitude in the hearts of those who reap their benefits. This is another way of saying that Community Service can introduce morale into the organized life of any community. It can idealize the community institutions through celebrations, parades and pageants which portray their history and useful achievements.

5. War Camp Community Service has proved out certain workable activities, such as community singing, supervised public dancing, community club houses, amateur theatricals, musical games and folk dancing for adults, public forums, etc., seventy of which have recently been compiled in one classified list.

Community Service, Incorporated, will make these activities which have afforded so much pleasure and benefit to the soldiers and sailors available to all the people in proportion as they are adaptable.

6. In carrying out its program for the soldiers and sailors, War Camp Community Service, through its community organizers, incidentally mobilized the resources of the war camp cities for a great community project, and this process often had a great reflex influence on the life and spirit of the city. It broke down distinctions between social classes. It generated a spirit of good will and forged a working organization that was an object lesson in civic enterprise. Community Service, Incorporated, proposes that this working organization shall be turned to account in rendering to our organized civil life such services as it has rendered to our military forces and that the large number of new recruits that have become interested in community service as a result of the war shall be utilized for this new task.

While one may refer to this as a new task, yet he must recognize that these activities which have been carried on in the interests of the soldiers, practically all of them already exist in some quantity in normal civilian life. What must be new in regard to them is the scale on which they are carried on. It is the plan to quickly achieve their universal application that is new. Just as the old regular army became the nucleus of the new national army and the national guard units were absorbed into it, so is the old recreation army led by play directors, song leaders, club executives, entertainers, etc., is to become the nucleus of the new Community Service, and many social organizations will take their place as companies or even battalions in the new crusade against gloom, hatred, dissipation and discontent.

Community Service, Incorporated, has no military authority by which it can command all the individuals and organizations that are already carrying out parts of the proposed community service program to co-operate, but

plans to universalize the service and make certain simultaneous city-wide campaigns or mass movements, which would be impressive because their size requires co-operation.

The commanding importance of the proposed task and the value of united action demand loyalty to a common organization from all the individuals and agencies concerned. The problem is to get this work done with as little new machinery and added expense as possible.

Our organizers will take the initiative in bringing forward plans and calling the proper people together to carry them out, but it expects those who unite under a common organization to exercise local, democratic control over it. Community Service will act as the original promoter and subsequent adviser, but it proposes that the local organization should have local autonomy and co-operation with the national organization shall be voluntary.

In the past the Playground and the Recreation Association has laid primary stress on the development of parks and playgrounds and given some attention to promoting community center work and, in a limited way, has recommended the censorship of commercial recreations, but it is hard to say what constitutes play or recreation because people engage in all kinds of intellectual and even industrial pursuits, which are aside from their main vocations and which they indulge in primarily because they are interesting and entertaining and these constitute recreation in a certain sense for them. People engaged in religious and philanthropic work without any commercial motive or any thought of compulsion except that they are interested in them are engaged in a leisure time activity. The time which they have to give to any kind of pursuit not connected with making a living or performing the work necessary to their physical or financial welfare, may be considered as leisure time.

Community Service, Incorporated, proposes to concern itself with the proper use of leisure time and with inducing people to engage in constructive leisure time activities. A person may spend his leisure in or about his home, in reading, or visiting, or playing, or music, or gardening, or raising flowers, or any of the various forms of arts and crafts. He may give a considerable portion of his leisure to his lodge, or his church, or his club, or to philanthropic and civic enterprises or to reforms. In making a program of play or recreation in the restricted sense in which these words are generally used, it is desirable to consider this in relation to all the leisure time activities of the individual.

Recreation and Social Advancement

The people who are interested in surveys usually wish to direct recreation so as to combine pleasure with the advancement of moral and social ends. What are these moral and social ends and what kind of recreation is best designed to serve these ends? Perhaps we may state a few principles bearing on these questions.

1. The form of recreation best suited to a given person is one which will draw upon and exercise different faculties than those already fully exercised, or perhaps overexercised, in his daily work. Active recreation involving physical exercise is especially desirable for people whose occupations are not manual or do not involve much physical exercise, and their passive recreation should be such as to take their minds out of their accustomed grooves.

2. A person's recreation should have variety in it and not be found wholly in one form of activity.

3. From the point of view of society it is desirable to bring together in social intercourse, where they can find a common interest in recreation and conversation, people who, in other spheres, have conflicting interests so as to mitigate in a measure any class prejudices that divide the community.

b. Recreation which strengthens family ties and preserves the integrity of the family is useful. Therefore some gatherings which include all the members of the family should be encouraged.

5. Those recreations are best which produce an incidental improvement in character and intellect.

Some occasions should be planned with the deliberate purpose of bringing together in pleasant surroundings, and on a basis where some mutual interest enlivens the contact, people who represent antagonistic classes so that their personal acquaintanceship shall wipe out such antagonism or such degree of antagonism as is based on prejudice only and there is a good deal of predjudice, i. e., groundless antagonism between different classes, as for example between rich and poor, employers and employees, Catholics and Protestants, Americans and foreigners, and this groundless antagonism or senseless prejudice can be wiped out by mere acquaintance.

The leaders of institutions or organizations or classes which are rivals for membership or support, or which fight each other for any reason, nearly all use some propaganda of deceit as a weapon of warfare. Their adherents are fed up on ready-made colored views of their own side and the adherents of the other side are systematically misrepresented; and ideas which suit the purposes of propaganda are proclaimed as true whether they are true or not. The product of this form of institutional warfare is groundless prejudice. This helps to make a fight, but is an obstacle to peace. If we want internal peace and justice between classes we want to let the rank and file know the truth and let guilt, if there be any, fall where it may.

People who have been fighting a straw man should be permitted to see the real one at close range. Friendly social intercourse might even tend to reveal such actual facts of injustice as would lead to the removal not only of prejudice and baseless antagonism, but of the wrongs that constitute a just cause for resentment.

The Initiative in Social Betterment

Now, then, how are we to devise activities which will make such combinations of people on special occasions. I am frank to say that I think the responsibility and initiative for doing this rests with the privileged classes rather than the others.

The rich must make the first advances toward the poor, in a way break into the society of the poor because the poor cannot break into the society of the rich. The employers must devise ways to meet their employees in friendly intercourse away from their places of business and in relationships that have no connection whatever with labor problems or with their relative positions as employers and employees. If employers have trouble in getting working men to come to meetings devised by them, then let them go to any meetings devised by the workers which are open to the public, or better still let meeting opportunities be devised by people who do not represent either employers or employees, such as teachers and professional men or other neighbors whose connections or proposals have no direct bearing on labor problems. It is not very practical to advise workers to seek to meet employers and get acquainted with them socially, but it is intensely practical to have a regular campaign to get employers to meet working men in relationships not connected with industry. This will combat unreasonable agitators faster than any campaign of education carried on from interested motives.

If we are to assimilate our foreign neighbors into American life it is the American who must be asked to take the initiative in getting acquainted with the foreigner. This is his privilege, but the foreigner cannot approach the American of the best type as a rule, not only because he is a foreigner, but because in most cases he is a man of less education and social standing.

It is of no use to shout at him to become Americanized and assimilated into American life unless he can absorb Americanism from those who best embody it.

If it is true that Protestants and Catholics cannot co-operate as they should in moral and civic reforms or even confer on religious matters at all, the first requisite is for them to get acquainted as they have been doing in our great war activities.

A central correlating agency of recreation and social life should constantly devise ways of bringing the prejudiced classes of the city together. This program for the assimilation of classes is an essential part of a good city program. This will make the background if not the backbone of all community co-operation.

The homeless men of the large cities who congregate in a cheap lodging house district, usually consist of casual laborers, such as men the logging camps, comprise the railroad construction gangs and do the harvesting. They are the most lacking in opportunities for wholesome leisure time activities of any groups in the community and they furnish the largest number of irresponsible agitators. They sleep in dormitories which cannot be frequented by them in the day time and eat at restaurants where they are not supposed to loiter. There is no place where they have a recognized right to spend their idle hours, except at some saloon or pool hall where they spend some money as patrons.

If the lodging houses which furnish the sleeping accommodations for these men could be made to adequately provide for the social needs it would be a great gain. They should be required to have certain amount of sitting room or lobby space in proportion to the number of their lodgers, just as much as they are required to have a given quantity of toilet facilities. If they had the same social spirit as the soldiers and sailors clubs, they would abound with such signs as these,

"Make appointment to meet your friends in our parlors,"

"Use the game facilities and get acquainted,"

"Our writing tables are for your convenience,"

"Public toilet and wash rooms this way,"

"Showers baths ten cents,"

"Free concert in the lobby tonight."

Such a lodging house with a cafeteria attached would constitute a good clubhouse for this class of men. If a traveling representative of community service made friendly contacts with these men out in the camps and brightened up camp life and directed each man to have his mail sent to the clubhouse where he could always have a sort of headquarters through which he and his pals could always get in touch with each other, where he could get a bath, change and wash his clothes, shave, shine his shoes, write letters, use the telephone, leave his valuables and check his surplus baggage, there is no question that he would use such a club. If his human needs were met he would have less cause for dissipation or discontent.

I have already said that we should emphasize the universality of wholesome leisure time activities. How are we to know to what extent we are bringing the people to participate in the joys and benefits of recreation, and how many participate in the right kind of activities.

This question could be answered accurately by any city if each district had a good committee that could take a list of all the people in the district, classified by age and sex, and check them against the list of participants in each socialized recreational activity in the city. This would show exactly the possible constituency and the actual constituency.

It is practical to maintain a complete registry of the population of the city and post on each person's card the record of membership participation

in those recreational activities which are supported by the public in a spirit of service.

The city directory registers all the heads of families, isolated adults, and people employed in any business concern every year. School censuses are taken periodically. Assessors canvass the city annually and list all property owners. A registry of voters is already in existence. A practically complete running card registry of the population could be compiled and kept up to date by taking the data from these sources as fast as it was available and checking it against existing registry. The enrollment in socialized leisure time activities could be checked against this and an accurate knowledge of how many remain to be reached with wholesome social contacts could be determined.

Out of the contacts we make in our leisure time will be developed in a large measure the proper attitude of mind and the right social spirit which constitute public morale. Of course, the first requisite in order to have morale in the working forces of our civil institutions is to have just and useful civil institutions, but even when this requirement is met there will be need of building loyalty and enthusiasm, and these come from friendship and idealism which must be fostered by conscious effort. Definite organized effort to promote joy, friendship and idealism is the field of community service. It not only creates the right spirit toward ideal institutions, but patience with imperfect ones if they show that they are reaching out toward an ideal.

WAR ACTIVITIES AS THEY HAVE AFFECTED HOUSING, HEALTH AND RECREATION

Mrs. Eva W. White, Member, Commission on Living Conditions, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington

The last four years have been a period of paradox. Never was money so carefully saved. Never were such vast outlays made by the governments of the world. All that skill and science could do was done to safeguard the health and well being of people. Never was the individual life so valued and yet there has never been a time when the good of the whole so absolutely swept aside every other consideration. It has been said that the war was a mechanical and engineering feat. Nevertheless, in the history of wars, it will be characterized by certain distinctive factors that entered into the depth of military strategy for the first time and those factors will be found to have had nothing to do with munitions, nothing to do with field tactics, but everything to do with the more subtle elements that make men—men. Take the period from August, 1914, to November, 1918. Steadily the emphasis changed from armament to morale. Great human lessons came to us that will stand for all time and present to us, our gauge progress. The mental make-up of men; their thought life; their spiritual selves; for the first time in the history of the world, ranked side by side in the consideration of army and navy authorities with questions of military science. Men were not taken as so many cogs in the military machine; merely that. Discipline there had to be but each commanding officer was held to treating his men as individuals with personal rights which were to be respected. In no record of previous cataclysms, not even in a work like Buckle's History of England, can there be found any mention of a line-up of armies where men carried into battle not only the protection of every service that mechanical skill could invent but the protection of the ties of civil life.

War Values

For the last two years our citizenship has proved itself fine both in its code of personal action and in its sensitiveness to the ties of group life.

A member of General Pershing's staff is quoted as saying that the American army both in America and in Europe was the most homesick of all the armies. No higher compliment could be paid them. That sensitiveness means finest of fibre. Never again can we say that community life has not been developed in America and, in spite of our desire consistently to raise the standard of the American home and the efficiency of the American public school system—no one could have seen large numbers of our boys together without paying reverent homage to those two great institutions that have made our country. When in our community singing it is found that the most popular songs are first the "mother" song, and second the "home" song (state song), we cannot but be touched by deep inner pride. Never had the community worker such an opportunity as now, for the war has defined our field of action. Much that has been considered elusive has been made definite and the dominating influence of community ties has become accepted. When men were removed from their accustomed surroundings the full force of ties of association was sensed and the returned soldier is today among the keenest advocates for developing and for deepening community possibilities.

They have been brought face to face with the things that really count and those things are not subservient matters to diplomacy, high finance, or industrialism, but demand of those great fields of endeavor certain contributions that shall be gauged in no other terms than in the health and well-being of us all. Public consciousness, too, is ready. The people are determined to bring about results such that standards of living shall not drag down the physical efficiency of the nation, and they recognize that if America is to move on to greater service to the world, our energies can only be increased by making life worth the living. A changed economic order faces us. Note the demand on the legislator! What is the stand on labor adjustment of a given office seeker? This is not new, but the emphasis is somewhat different. Up to now very slow progress has been made in regard to the distribution of wealth because of our timidity. We were afraid to dry up the sources of wealth. Quoted economic law throttled the supplying of human wants. The need of individual incentive has been held as so sacred that nothing less than the opportunity of accumulating millions was supposed to lead to the developing of industrial or commercial initiative. Now, however, a clear cut demand for such conditions as will sacrifice no one to industrialism and will make our future one with fewer minus drags, in terms of exploited children and broken men and women is being made. America has too much faith in her power to be shunted aside by economic shibboleths. She is saying: "There must be a physically perfect race. The environment of the home must be such as to safeguard it. We as a people must be well housed. There must be leisure in which to develop the genius of our citizenship." These three tests will be held up to public procedure as never before and the office seeker will not be permitted to play politics with them; nor the educator to neglect his task of making every student think in applied terms of his responsibility to humanity, not to abstractions or traditional codes; nor the social worker to deal in palliatives. Social work as a profession is doomed unless it is as scientific in working for at least minimum standards as are the members of other professions in working against them.

Community Organization

There is a tremendous amount of power in the American people that was practically untapped until the war brought it out and tremendous needs to be met. It is for us now to focus this power on our difficulties immediately while our reaction to acute situations that were made evident to us during the war is still keen. Some of our lessons of the war came to us by way of shocks. We were amazed that such a large number of men were rejected at the time of the draft as physically unfit. We were aghast at the

percentage of illiterates. The average citizen had no idea of the racial, political situation that existed in many parts of the country. At first there was considerable shouting as to the situation, but to our credit it may be said that we quickly swung away from this attitude of placing the blame to taking advantage of the dominating asset of the American people, namely: a firm faith in the loyalty, the altruism and indomitable purpose of the other fellow—when he is called upon for sacrifice. Recall that in spite of a certain amount of hectic fear over anti-ally propaganda the public consciousness was not greatly ruffled; that the "Hyphenated-American" slogan died down very quickly and was in the main used only by the kind of orator or writer that attempts to whip up response. The American people did not waste time in doing anything other than to stand up squarely to their tasks. They faced the need of greater attention to health; to education; to training for situations as made evident by war demands. An organization of individuals was brought about which was phenomenal considering the length of time that entered into the effort. In three months all over the country an impact from government to individual was constantly being made by a method which it would previously have seemed necessary to have taken years in perfecting. The massed appeal was not relied on. It had its value. It was used, but the organization of central national committees and state, city and town committees and sectional organizations within city and town in order to reach each single unit is a development which is of prime importance to the social worker, not so much because of the practical operation of the so-called "pyramid system" and the balance that was struck between government and local team play as for the range of ability and personal influence that came into given situations for given purposes. National agents did not themselves organize in New York, Baltimore and Philadelphia. New York, Baltimore and Philadelphia citizens were responsible for their respective cities. A district organization was brought about with local committees responsible for their program. Unknown resources of leadership were thereby discovered and persons of unrecognized and undeveloped power worked out the national scheme. Our accepted civic educational method will undoubtedly from now on be that of organizing from group to group; reaching each constituent member through the leaders who can rouse the group consciousness. All the food work that had been done by all the agencies in America during ten years has not done what the Hoover organization did in less than one year. Of course this was partly due to the acute need of the situation, but with our war technique no one escaped;—that is the point. Everything was done to get the crowd reaction. Everything was done to push an idea into individual acceptance. House to house canvasses were made. The press, the poster art, continuously appealed. We were steeped in the presentation of given needs at given times.

Housing a Factor of Efficiency

The nature of us all is such that in times of peace—greater genius is needed to make evident everyday needs, but we are starting plus in several ways. We have our organized lines still ready for use. Hundreds of people have been trained in presentation and appeal. People have been shocked into thinking. These are tremendous assets for the future of community standards. Good committee work is slow of development. We now have thousands of persons who have received training in pooling their forces. Now this organized power is ready for use and it can be used for no better purpose than for maintaining and pushing forward the great question of housing which is fundamental to our effort in working for health, efficiency and happiness. The housing enterprises that were brought into existence by the United States Housing Corporation and the United States Emergency Fleet Corporation have pushed us generations ahead in grappling with the

problem. Now the fifty odd communities that have been brought into existence by agencies of the war period were not constructed to meet humanitarian needs as such. They were constructed to meet emergency business necessity. If a hard-headed argument is needed to support a housing program, the experiences of England and America go to prove certain facts. It is known that when Marshal Joffre came to the United States to ask that at least one regiment of American soldiers march down the streets of Paris in order that the French nation might be encouraged, our military authorities hesitated because we were so unprepared that it was feared that our armies could not be supplied with enough ammunition nor kept supplied with the proper equipment. A series of contracts was signed, however, whereby France agreed to supply our men—up to a certain date—with hand grenades, let us say. After that date France was to stop supplying our troops. We, ourselves, were to assume responsibility for the quantity needed. Now there was a time when things looked serious for us. We were not turning out the amount of product that should have resulted according to the amount of money expended and the number of men engaged in our factories. Everything that could be done was done within the four walls of given establishments. Processes were studied. Men were carefully fitted to tasks and yet—the result was unsatisfactory and the labor turnover anywhere from 600 to 800 per cent in many instances. What was the trouble? With the soldiers it was seen early in the training that the men had to be made comfortable. Something had to mitigate life in barracks. If this were true with the soldier buoyed up by the excitement of the hope of encounter and by the comradeship of camp life—how much more true would it be in the case of the workman doing a far less spectacular task. In place of a soldier's own home—other homes welcomed him. In the cantonment areas something approximating community life was developed. There were club houses, and theatres. Nearby towns did all they could to place their institutions at the disposal of the soldier. We had been maintaining that the makers of munitions or the builders of ships were as important to winning the war as the soldier on the battle field, and yet we had recognized the natural craving for change; the exhilarating effect of a carefully ordered environment on the part of the soldier, but neglected the same needs on the part of workmen—many of whom were asked to work hundreds of miles from their homes. Higher and higher went the wages, and worse and worse became the showing. Then a ray of understanding came into the situation. Agents of the U. S. Government began to insist on decent living conditions—on single men's hotels; on good food well served. Amusements were brought into the war production areas. Communities were asked to welcome the war worker as they did the soldier and make them feel at home. Immediately the labor turnover began to drop. Men were more contented. But there was another step in the program. In July, 1918, the country was planning for a war of from three to five years. Not that it was thought that the fighting would continue as long, but we were taking no chances. Therefore, skilled labor had to be stabilized. The experience up to the time when the housing projects were first thought of had been dramatically in favor of environmental and recreational facilities as the chief factors in increased production. It was recognized that men would not remain for long periods of time away from their families; that the part of high wages could not offset the strength of family ties and ordered community living. Now these facts should be seared into the memory of the American people. Therefore, as a war necessity money was appropriated by Congress for the purpose of home and community development. As a result every citizen in the country is now part owner in areas along the Atlantic and Pacific seaboards in the north and in the south, which stand as examples of the type of housing for which we should work. Some of these communities are worthy of a pilgrimage, so splen-

didly do they combine comfort, healthful surroundings, convenience and beauty. Exactly as much of artistry enters into their development as into the development of our so-called "high toned" suburbs. The houses are single, double, semi-detached broken row homes, situated on delightfully curved streets; surrounded by trees and green. Community life is recognized by the community square, where are to be found the shops, motion picture house, social center which may be freely used to meet the social and recreational needs, the schools and churches. Athletic fields, children's play spaces, also show how far sighted the town planners were. Some of the developments are better than others naturally. All are good. Of great interest should be the fact that at Truxton—just outside Portsmouth, Va.—is a project for negroes, as complete as is Craddock, only a short distance away, for whites. Now these housing enterprises have done more than to strike a new note in industrial housing. The thousands of working men employed in the war production areas have been educated by them, as have all of us who have had anything to do with them. Their story has been told over and over. Therefore, this is the time to push forward a housing program. The American Federation of Labor stands as a man in support of progressive housing legislation and for the study of taxes as they may handicap home owning. Two issues are soon to face the American people through two bills that are to be presented to Congress. The first is a bill to establish a bureau of housing within the Department of Labor, and the second a bill to promote home building by establishing a federal home loan board to have oversight over building and loan associations which may within certain restrictions enable building and loan associations to increase their resources, and aid more effectively the work in their respective localities. A copy of the tentative draft of this bill can be obtained from the U. S. Department of Labor. This draft should be studied carefully by everyone interested in housing which is fundamental to the health of the people. There is no doubt but that we are approaching the time when decentralization of industry or at least a movement to stop the increase of congestion, of the herding of commercial and manufacturing concerns, will be under way. Further, the time is ripe for trying out the co-partnership plan of community development which has been so successful in England. Under this plan tenants enter upon 99-year occupancy of homes at a certain rent subject to such restrictions as the co-partners impose. Each tenant takes a number of shares of stock and is entitled to one vote in the corporation. The profits are distributed, after all expenses are paid, to the shareholders. England has proved that many greater benefits are enjoyed for the same money in co-partnership villages than in the average commercial enterprise. When a man has control over his own home and is an investor in a co-partnership enterprise or has the title to his property, he is living up to a thrift principle. Pride of ownership is a real factor in a man's life. His citizenship becomes rooted. It may not be going too far to maintain that social movements other than those concerned with the wage are "off the top," so to speak, until the question of home standards is solved. Even with the rate of wage one becomes enmeshed in a circle. A man must have an income to get a home. The kind of a home, however, conditions his efficiency on which depends his income. It would not be a bad thing for us all, no matter what our specialty may be, to pool our energies and strike now to see if our war experience in housing may not be crystallized into a great step forward in the physical aspect of the American home.

Family Ties

Exactly as the war has brought housing to the front so has it re-emphasized the values in the field of recreation. Note that in the military training entertainments, sports, activities to fill the leisure time of the men were practically co-equal with the training.

So, with the industrial workers. In order that the men might be refreshed and reinvigorated by changes of thought and change of action, a rich recreational program under skilled leadership was adopted. No one today need argue for recreation, and certainly no one need apologize for the human need of leisure time activities. This need is not a weakness but a strength. Those who know the French nation best are undoubtedly right in affirming that it is the greatly misunderstood lightness of the French that gives them the corresponding power of abandon in a patriotic cause. We Anglo-Saxons have much still to learn from the Latin races in this aspect.

Leisure

There are more profound considerations, however, that enter into a discussion of recreation at the present time than the accepted activities of the usual recreation program, and those questions have to do with the development of the highest qualities of the race and lead us into the heart of the labor problem. Those who think that the working people of the world are demanding more pay and shorter hours for the sake of the extra income or for a greater number of loafing hours are utterly blind to that deeper motive that is swaying the common thought of the time. The human race has turned another corner. It has developed in industrial output and in the application of inventive appliances to an undreamed of point. It is now groping toward the development of those qualities which enlarge the souls of men and are fed through the leisure life and by an organization of society such that the first qualities of men are built up and not the second. During the last two years we have caught a vision of this higher possibility. It is for us now to build toward it. With the desired standard of housing prevailing; with adequate pay the rule; with a margin of free time at the disposal of the individual—what next? Here is your responsibility and mine. Every public avenue must be thrown open for feeding the craving for the inspirational that art satisfies. Beginning with the little child, our nation needs music and more music. Community orchestras and master orchestras; the sing and the choral society. On the playground; in school; after work; in freetime—the best we have to offer. Let us preach and talk beauty until the civic sense responds to something of the sincerity of classic line and the demand for order and neatness. It ought to hurt to live in an ugly home—furnished in a certain kind of way. There is a very pragmatic side to this. Artistic surroundings give a certain kind of peace that has an untold value. Here again we must get this quickening of the artistic sense running through our playground technique, in our schools and art institutes. It must be an individual thing—such that the monotony of the conventional shall not weigh us down but so that there shall be individual daring of design within which shall be the elements of good taste.

In our thought life—we need discussion and more discussion; the chance to interpret; if you will, the chance for meditation to give us virility and to break through crowd response to suggestion which is a democracy is not the ideal. We need our public buildings—museums, endowed theatres, opera and drama. Art will never pay; our community houses must be offered as a privilege of American citizenship in charge of persons who are proved leaders of men in their respective spheres. Part of this program is already started. There is no more popular movement before the people than the community center idea. Our difficulty is the difficulty of finding the people who can carry on the community scheme involved to the satisfaction of the people. It is in its beginnings. Soon there is no doubt but that it will attract to itself the best talent we have. The community center created by the people; supported by them; developed by them, is undoubtedly destined to make great contributions to our life. The well rounded life carries within itself inner resource. Its poise comes from work well done; from a

delight in physical activity with the appreciation of the out-of-doors; from a mind with great depths of research within itself—the whole blended with affection for one's own and general good will. This must culminate in a sense of public service if our citizenship is to make steady gains toward the ultimate democracy it has undertaken to establish. I take it this is the type of man or woman to whom we wish to entrust the destiny of our country. If so, every one of us is obligated to stand by the need of free time so men may control themselves and have the opportunity of giving of that time to public movements and to the family circle. The shorter working day must be. Longer vacations must be the rule in the working world. Let us take the lessons from the lives of men who have been our leaders. The creative needs—freedom; it must be unhampered. There is a reason why the poet dreams and does not write until the impelling force of thought and rhythm goad him on. J. Pierpont Morgan was not always in his banking house. Theodore Roosevelt led a strenuous life indeed, and yet his fondness for sports and his life in the open undoubtedly developed that dynamic power which certainly was his. Greater leisure will tend to stimulate the creature; to add zest to life; to bring into existence something more than humdrum monotony. This war was a war for establishing principles of freedom—political and economic—and in terms of the personal life.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Mrs. H. L. Cochran of Chester, president of the Y. W. C. A., spoke in commendation of the work of Mr. Weller and his staff.

Others who participated in the informal discussion were: Sherman Conrad, Pittsburgh; Lieut.-Col. Emil Marcusson, with the Salvation Army, Chicago; Cyrus W. Stimson, New York, and W. H. Dennings, Portsmouth, Va.

THE MORAL DECAY OF THE MODERN STAGE

William Burgess, Director of the Illinois Vigilance Association, Chicago

The Illinois Vigilance Association has for more than eleven years conducted a vigorous war on all forms of the social evil and its consequences. We have had a foremost place in the national uprising and successful struggle against the white-slave traffic (so-called) and the segregated zones of brothels which were the principal markets and distributing depots of that traffic. As a part of this national awakening we have resisted the lawless and false assumption of "necessity" and have routed the open house of ill fame, through the agency of the abatement and injunction laws of many states and the federal law of the White Slave Traffic Act.

We, in Chicago, started in 1906 to agitate and educate against the infamy of the white slave traffic and the doctrine that red light district is indigenous and necessary to a city of civilization. In 1908 a mere handful of us organized a war on the system. In 1911 the report of the vice commission of Chicago made such a deep impression with its awful revelations that fifty other cities followed and then states and the nation began to act by law.

From the beginning of this campaign we have supported all measures that seemed to be wise and true for better conditions and during our nation's share in the great war we responded to the wish of our government that our army and navy might be made efficient for service and at numerous requests from army and navy officers of all ranks, from Y. M. C. A.'s, Salvation Army, Red Cross and other units of the service, we furnished for distribution about ten million pages of the best authentic information on venereal diseases, their causes, prevention and cure.

Continued Vigilance Needed

There is still peremptory need of vigilant watching and active operation on these lines. But we observe that in pursuing these measures there is a growing tendency to forget the fundamental moral principles without which all our activities must fail in their desired end.

To preserve the nation, its foundation must rest upon true domestic life and a higher and more equal public conscience. It must resist the decay which has always marked the downfall of ancient nations and must learn to respect and observe the law that "whatsoever a (nation) sows that shall it also reap." Whatever destroys home life, whatever poisons the womb of human generation, or depraves the rising and coming life of the race is treason and destruction against the nation.

The appeal, therefore, is now made to the church and all agencies of social and moral regeneration. I take it that in speaking at the congress of welfare workers of the United States, I am appealing to groups of men and women whose souls are quickened by a sense of the supreme value of morals.

As, in the interests of gain, human appetites and passions have been exploited by commercial greed, so the equally important and extremely sensitive elements of play or amusements have become fields of conscienceless exploitation.

"Play is one-quarter of life," says Dr. Richard C. Cabot. But, since we are emancipating labor and its drudgery and slavery, the masses of our people have a good one-third of their life for recreation, amusement and play.

No single agency needs directing with more care than those which trade upon the amusements of the people. It reaches all classes—young and old—in their most responsive and susceptible moods and circumstances. Nor is there any interest which can be directed for good or evil with greater facility. All the best and all the worst in human thought, imagination, and passion are wide open to the influences of play and the suggestions of amusement. The best in a child may thus be developed or the worst, in youth or adult life, finds in them suggestion, temptation and seduction. We are familiar with the demoralizing effects of commercial gambling, dance-halls, horse-racing, pool-rooms and pugilism.

Moving Pictures

The moving picture interests have in a few short years become a great financial enterprise, and it is already one of the agencies which calls loudly for regulation in the interests of morals and good conduct.

Here is an instrument of infinite possibilities for the education and legitimate amusement of the people. But it has already been seen that uncontrolled commercialism of this art proves a serious danger to the morals, safety and good conduct of our youth.

The Modern Stage

In Chicago we have made investigations which reveal conditions of the theatrical stage of increasingly vile character. Evidence was given and published by the vice commission of Chicago that many of the theaters were schools of degeneracy. I quote from that report:

"The investigations of dance halls, cheap theatres, amusement parks and lake steamers, show that these places are surrounded by vicious dangers and temptations which result in sending many young girls into lives of immorality, professional, and clandestine." (Page 246.)

"The immoral influences back of the stage are very bad. I know of one case where two girls and two fellows simply shut the doors of one of the dressing rooms, and stayed there for a long while, and step by step the downfall of the girls was brought about."

"Many theatres have little dressing rooms, and many of the girls stay there over night. Many girls sell themselves in order to get on the stage before

the public. Then they find they can make easy money. Their one idea is to get before the public. I think it is one of the worst things ever invented." (Page 248.)

Our recent investigations show that the modern theatrical stage is set for hell. With a few worthy and notable exceptions of legitimate drama, the stage now reeks with moral filth and sensual exhibits. Art, music, beauty, dress, gross and grotesque ugliness, are all woven into scandalous revels of diabolic movements—libels upon the very name of dance or ballet.

Only a few years ago the Parisian can-can was tabooed and the so-called burlesque was the resort only of men whose baser desires found response there, and a few women whose character was only too well understood.

Now, no hug-step or wriggling monstrosity is too vile for the stage of so-called burlesque and vaudeville. Chorus girls parade the stage, down the aisles and on raised platforms, over the heads of men in their seats. The chief attraction, not only of this class of shows, but of many of the more expensive-priced theatres are, not the sprinkling of really clever and worthy acts one finds on the program, but displays of fleshly debauch of semi-nudeness, more repulsively lewd than the naked form can ever be and these are employed chiefly as setting, for sensual song, filthy story, dialogue, or action, all of which is it libel to call "comedy."

Evidence taken from private interviewers and secret investigation shows that for foulness of suggestion, for display of downright vice, for intimate relation with forms of sex perversion, for participation in unspeakable vices of stage managers and employees, for chorus-girl slavery (despicable and cruel as anything in the records of white slavery itself) nothing can exceed this testimony. If published as evidence, for appeal or for courts of justice, like the reports of vice commissions, much of it must appear in cipher.

Not only are the conditions becoming more and more suggestive and indecent, but they are multiplying and becoming the accepted substitute for the legitimate drama and decent amusement in hundreds of theaters.

In Chicago, for instance, there were in the center of the city three "burlesque" theaters which were well known as disreputable places where decent men and no women attended, except a few whose unfortunate character was taken for granted.

Now these are everywhere. Wherever a new residence district opens up, some speculative manager starts a show of this character. By actual count of one of our investigators—a woman of intelligence—reports twenty-three large houses of this character in Chicago with two performances daily and a total seating capacity of 36,500. The matinees are largely attended by women and young girls, not infrequently mothers with little children.

The utmost audacity of immoral display is often seen in what are regarded as the best theaters. The investigator already alluded to says:

"Some of the so-called best people in the profession are using the shimmy shake in song, dance and pantomime. Barefoot dancing with naked limbs being shown through transparent nets, abbreviated skirts with flesh colored tights emphasizing the form and contour of the body by effective colored lights, are all a part of the nefarious business which escapes the ban under the guise of art.

"The Passing Show" appeals to the baser desire of the sexes. Even the advertising is full of nasty, dirty, ugly meaning. Posters of women partly in the nude, with boldly displayed titles such as "Twin Beds," "The Virgin Widow" and "French Frolics," are placed in every conceivable space where they will attract men, young and old. Very often the programs in the higher grade houses contain advertising that carries a double meaning."

These conditions are not peculiar to Chicago or New York. The class of theater known as burlesque is furnished by circuits of troupes or companies. There are fifty of these troupes traveling all over the country. They consist of two, three or more comedians, one or two vaudeville stunts,

and a score or more of chorous girls of varied ages from about 16 to 60. Their performances, songs, dances and dialogues are usually attended with vulgar and obscene suggestions. They make fun of drunkenness and gambling—exhibit the tricks of robbery as cute, smart and commendable; cheating at cards is shown as a mild amusement; plunder and robbery as bravery and profitable; and their heroes are highwaymen or bank robbers and the man who cannot flourish a gun is the coward.

We in America have spent millions of dollars during the last two years to protect the boys of the American army and navy against the seductions and evil consequences of resorts of drink and vice; we have kept the soldier and sailor away from haunts of sin and have driven the tempter from the zone of the camps. But now, as they are returning we throw upon these vile seductive theaters—each with a group of chorus girls who publicly proclaim their own shame and whose managers often openly and deliberately call attention to the seductive features and half-naked forms of these girls as qualities for an open market.

I am asked, "What is the remedy?" Within the limits of a short address I can only outline very briefly one or two of the needful things.

First. Sharpen the edge of the sword of law. Various suggestions may come under this head. But I think the most effective would be to let the authorities who license these places in our cities understand that all licenses carry conditions. Every license for a theatrical performance should hold the management responsible for its character. For every breach of decency or immoral display the license should be endorsed and the third such endorsement should vacate the license.

Second: Encourage the legitimate stage. Join hands with the true dramatist in every effort to substantiate the true for the false—the good for the vicious. Our investigators report the sentiments of actors and singers whom they have met who openly denounced the present stage as immoral and dangerous. A well known burlesque actor of twenty-eight years' standing has three children—all girls. The question was put to him:

"I suppose you are beginning to think about planning a career for your daughters. Will you give them burlesque?"

"No, indeed, the life is too hard. It is hard in every way and it is full of temptation. Just now girls are very hard to get."

Mr. Donald Robertson, the well-known actor of the legitimate stage, was asked whether in his opinion "burlesque is the coming show," to which he answered:

"God forbid! Burlesque is not comedy. It is the reaction of tragedy.

"Those shows are conceived and executed for the sole purpose of mental and spiritual debauchery. They are indecent and sensual shows. They are not burlesque."

Similar testimony comes from others calling loudly for the alliance of good people with the legitimate and clean business of the stage. We must protest with no uncertain voice that to poison the human hunger for amusement is more to be condemned even than the manufacture and sale of poisoned food or candy.

Third: Use the Press: Let us remember that press support depends chiefly on revenue for advertising, and yet there is a religious and moral press that will aid us if we call for their support. Some of the daily newspapers also are occasionally sounding a true note on this matter.

Percy Hammond, dramatic critic of the *Chicago Tribune*, speaking of "The Passing Show" now in Chicago, said:

"The Messrs. Shubert are not disposed to tolerate Shenanigan from the reviewers and the penalty they impose upon offenders is exile from their dramas."

A campaign of letters to the press vigorously protesting vicious innovations in the realm of amusement would have a great effect upon the mind and action of the press.

Fourth: Another suggestion is to furnish good amusement through church, school, clubs, and welfare organizations everywhere. Rauschenbusch says:

"The institutions of pleasure maintained by the people for their own use, such as parks, playgrounds, museums, libraries, concerts, dance-halls, etc., are always cleaner than corresponding ventures of capitalization."

By all means, encourage dramatic art, not only by positive patronage, but even more by encouraging the moral tone of the stage and by suppressing every attempt to exploit the female form in song, dance, gesture or play.

Fifth: A wide appeal must be made to church, school and library. A great English brewer once said:

"The struggle of the school, the library and the Church all united against the beer house and gin palace is but one development of the war between heaven and hell."

In the United States we have won this war. But let us apply the same thought against the immoral dance house, the vicious cabaret, the suggestive and wrongly directed moving picture and against the house of ill-fame which exists under the name and seduction of a place of amusement. The school, the library and the law, all united, are powerless in this war without a moral public conscience. This is the appeal to the church and to every other interest of moral uplift. Such appeal is made. We seek a correspondence with all good men and women that we may awaken in them a spirit of protest, a fitting, forceful ally of the national victory against the saloon. We desire an endless chain of correspondence and action throughout the country.

But in this appeal for "a new moral conscience" we must not be divided by extremes of sentimentality. We shall differ, of course, as to certain forms of thought and expression, but we must be a unit in our protest against the exploiting of sex for purposes of gain. It is not a question of dress merely, but essentially of exciting sex passions under the guise and mask of amusement.

But above all, raise the moral note to a song of purity, and give to the coming generation a house of play which cannot be a blot upon its life nor a stain upon its character.

Standing here in the midst of a few hundred souls whose vision and light are above the dazzling glitter of gold and pleasure, I seem to hear a warning voice as of an ancient prophet saying: "This glorious Republic, the fairest this old world has seen and the nearest to the 'city of four-square,' has not yet passed the most alluring and dangerous of the rocks upon which nations have been destroyed. The spectacles of a drunken Nero, fiddling while the city burns, or of a mad Kaiser pouring out upon a startled world the lava of a mighty military volcano, suggest no fear of the possible wreck of this nation. But the wealth, luxury and leisure of our democracy are the rocks upon which the ship may go to pieces unless we add to our conquest over autocracy and alcohol, a war and a victory over commercialized sensualism.

Is not this, indeed, the supreme test of our right and power to live as a nation that we strangle the ancient evil which in increasing volume is poisoning the well-springs of life at their source, visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children of the generations yet unborn?

THE PUBLIC DANCE HALL

Frances Ingram, Neighborhood House, Louisville, Chairman of the Division on the Local Community.

During the summer of 1917, the Board of the War Camp Community Service was organized in Louisville, and it was during the following winter that an effort was made, through this board, to standardize the public dance halls of Louisville. This effort was made possible through the assistance of the Law Enforcement Division of the Fosdick Commission. It was my privilege to serve as a member of the board of the War Camp Community Service and to bring to this board a knowledge of the dance hall situation in Louisville. As a resident of Neighborhood House, a social settlement in Louisville, I had gained an intimate knowledge of the dance halls of the city through the dance hall of Neighborhood House which was the only dance hall in Louisville competing in any way with the public halls of the city.

Relation of Settlement to Commercial Dance Halls.

The Neighborhood House dance hall was planned originally for the pleasure of the young men and young women living in the neighborhood. The young men paid an admission fee of ten cents to the dances while the young women came free. A custom prevails in Louisville of admitting all girls to public dance halls free of charge. This custom, inaugurated at one time by an enterprising proprietor to induce girls to attend the dances in his hall was followed later by every dance hall proprietor in the city. Although in the beginning the Neighborhood House dance hall was opened primarily for the use of young people in the neighborhood, in time it came to be patronized by young people from all parts of the city. At that time there were no dance halls open continuously every night in the week, but a number were open either one or two nights during the week. This led to the practice on the part of the young people desiring frequent opportunities of dancing of going from hall to hall. Consequently, Neighborhood House was often patronized by these young people when no other dance hall was open. Many of these young people lacking in proper discrimination, naturally attempted the irregular dancing in vogue in the commercial halls. This led to a continual war with the dance hall world, as it were, on the part of the residents of the settlement. A resident would say to a new couple dancing irregularly, "You can't dance that way in this hall." The couple in self-defense would answer, "I can dance that way in every other hall in the city."

The situation was bad and those interested in bettering it sought in vain for an opportunity until they found it through the War Camp Community Service.

The Survey.

The first step in improving the dance hall situation was to bring our facts bearing on it up to date. For this purpose, a hall was selected for a visit. I made the visit accompanied by a young man engaged in social work.

On our entrance to the hall, I saw both a boy and girl from my own neighborhood. The boy said to my escort, "You do not know what kind of a place you have brought Miss Ingram to." That boy was dull. The girl was wiser. She said, "Miss Ingram, what are you doing here? You know you have come to investigate this place. This is the first time I ever came here and to think you should catch me!" In the dance hall lobby where many young men were standing around gossiping, my escort learned that there were fifteen professional prostitutes present and that most of the other girls were "loose characters."

Following this visit, a survey was made which proved conclusively that

the dance halls of the city were a menace to the soldiers on account of the opportunities they offered for vice.

Minimum Requirements.

A committee waited on the chief of police and revealed to him the facts gathered in the dance hall survey. He was urged to take hold of the situation himself rather than have the federal authorities do so. He was asked to endorse a plan embodying the following four provisions:

1. That every hall pay a chaperon representing the War Camp Community Service.
2. That a supervisor paid by the War Camp Community Service go into the different halls and show the correct method of dancing.
3. That there be no breaking.
4. That no dance hall admit children under sixteen years of age unless accompanied by an adult.

The first provision, that every hall pay a chaperon representing the War Camp Community Service, would insure maintaining a proper standard in each hall.

The second provision, that a demonstrator, paid by the War Camp Community Service Board, go into the different halls and show the correct method of dancing was considered necessary on account of the generally bad dancing prevalent in the city. Many of the holds were not only grotesque but vulgar in their significance. A particular style, more or less, characterized each hall. In one, it was a stiff kneed walk no matter what music was played. In another hall it was whirling. This often caused many skirts to flare above the knees. Many of the irregular dances grew out of a desire for a variety in dancing.

Although the work in demonstration was continued only a comparatively short time, it was justified in that it corrected the general tone of dancing in the Louisville halls.

The third provision in reference to no breaking relates to an old southern custom in which a man steps up to a couple who is dancing, touches the man on the shoulder to gain his permission to take the girl away from him and then dances away with her himself. At a ball where the guests are invited and are acquainted, a girl's popularity is often evidenced by the number of partners she has during a dance.

In the public dance hall, breaking is quite another matter. The committee disapproved of it because it was used as a method of becoming acquainted. They also disapproved of it because it afforded nice girls no protection on the dance hall floor from men by whom they were broken and with whom they did not care to dance. They must either endure a man until the end of the dance or run the risk of precipitating a quarrel by refusing.

The chief of police needed no urging to prohibit breaking because breaking was the chief source of fights in public dance halls. This was especially true where either man had been drinking—the one man resented having his girl taken from him and the other resented not having her turned over to him at his suggestion—the outcome of which was a fight. Every dance hall manager abominates a fight. A fight means not only giving his hall a bad name but probably having it closed on the spot. I believe the only crime in the eyes of a dance hall manager is a fight. No matter how low the standard of the hall; the manager blandly asserts "My hall is all right, because I never have a fight in it." Such a claim was made by a manager whose hall was frequented only by denizens of the underworld and the walls of whose hall were well dotted with policemen late in the evening, these policemen serving as safe escort to the street car when necessary.

The fourth provision which prohibited children under sixteen from being admitted to dances unless accompanied by an adult was specifically aimed at young girls between fourteen and sixteen who drift into the dance hall world.

Police Co-operation.

The chief of police approved these recommendations himself and submitted them to the Board of Public Safety who also approved them. Shortly after this action on the part of the Board of Public Safety and the chief of police, the fall election took place, bringing about a complete change in the city administration. The new administration was in sympathy with the movement for bettering the dance halls of the city and gave the War Camp Community Service Board the support it needed for the accomplishment of this project.

Not only did the new chief of police endorse the recommendations for the public dance halls, but he turned over to the War Camp Community Service Board all applications for permits to give dances in the city. This meant the supervision by the War Camp Community Service of all the dances in the city for which a permit was issued.

It was soon discovered that the committee was not coming in touch with one-tenth of the dance halls in the city. Every time a hall was visited, the young man in the party came away with his pocket full of cards bearing an invitation to a dance for which no application had been made. On looking into the matter, it was found that the license for conducting a dance hall in Louisville was a flat rate of \$250.00. This was a state law for cities of the first class. From investigating licenses for dance halls in other cities, it would seem that \$250.00 is a very heavy license to pay unless the dance hall is a large and flourishing one.

Possible Evasions.

For this reason, the ingenious had contrived many methods of evading the law. One method was the formation of a club of three or four young men who called the club by some such entrancing name as the "Good Time Club" or the "Jolly Good Fellows." Such a club issued an invitation to its dances on a small card which was scattered broadcast in all the dance halls of the city, up and down the streets, in stores and factories and amongst groups of any kind where patrons might be found. By calling such a dance "private" and strictly invitational, the club was able to conduct dances without paying for a permit.

The committee then made a list of every hall in the city available for a dance. This list was sent to the chief of police who notified each owner of a hall that no dance could be given until a permit was secured.

Under the new ruling, the so-called clubs were forced to hold permits issued by the War Camp Community Service Board. When this permit was issued the representative of the club was asked to furnish the names and addresses of all the club members, and if it was found not to be a club in good standing, a chaperon was placed in charge by the War Camp Community Service Board at the expense of the so-called club. Where the clubs were in good standing, they were permitted to furnish the names of older people of good repute whom they asked to chaperon at their dances.

Before placing a regular dance hall under supervision, the manager was interviewed and the name of the chaperon who was to represent the War Camp Community Service Board was submitted to him. He agreed to pay her two dollars an evening. A number of prominent women in Louisville gave their support to the movement by serving as volunteer chaperons in the various dance halls.

In one instance on the installation of the chaperon, both paid and volunteer, in one of the halls, the manager showed much concern about their remaining all evening. "Aren't you tired?" he asked. "Are you going to remain any longer?" And so on.

The chaperons assured him they were not tired and that they expected to remain, so despite their presence after a time, the lights went out and an announcement was flashed on a screen in the rear of the hall stating, "This hall is open every Tuesday and Saturday night, gentlemen 35 cents, ladies free. A good time assured to all." This announcement was flashed again and again covering a period of over ten minutes. It caused the hall to be in almost complete darkness. A youth on the floor drew his girl down in the chair next to the chaperon and fondly embraced her. The chaperon leaned over and said, "Is this what happens when the lights go out?" "Yes, they flash many announcements on the screen." "But is *this* what happens?" she asked again. He answered "I reckon you can see many things going on in here." The chaperon talked the matter over with the dance hall manager. He most reluctantly promised to give up flashing announcements. He protested, however, by saying, "If I am forced to take this privilege away from the patrons of my hall, they will go to the Hawaiian Garden because it is so much more beautiful than my hall." I frequently wondered on entering a new hall what the special privilege of that hall was.

The flashing of announcements in a dark room was used as a substitute by this manager for the moon-light dances which the year before had been prohibited in this very hall by the chief of police.

Conditions were particularly bad in this hall. The attendance went down under supervision. The young people said if they couldn't dance as they pleased they would not go to a dance hall. This terrorized this manager who, in order to evade the supervision in Louisville, opened a hall in Jeffersonville, Indiana, across the river from Louisville. He scattered cards broadcast announcing the change. In the upper left hand corner of the card was inscribed "Over there." In the upper right hand corner was inscribed "Over where?" Below was the answer "In the K of P Hall in Jeffersonville where you can break, break, break." The new hall was investigated and found to be worse than the old. The very worst element of this manager's clientele had rallied to his support in this other city in the other state.

The matter was taken up first with the city authorities of Jeffersonville who insisted they always had lovely dances in their K of P hall. Then the Woman's Club of Jeffersonville was appealed to by the War Camp Community Service Board in behalf of their girls. The Jeffersonville Board of Trade was appealed to by the Board of Trade of Louisville with the result that a bad dance hall could not survive the interest and presence of the best citizens of Jeffersonville any more than it could in Louisville.

Good Citizens Responsible.

If the good people in a community are interested enough to see for themselves some of the methods commerce is using in supplying recreation to the young of the community, many of these bad conditions would not exist. One such interested citizen found her nephew in a questionable hall one night. He opened his eyes wide when he saw her and said, "Aunt May, what are you doing here?" She answered, "I have business here, but the point is what are you doing here?"

This dance hall manager who went to Jeffersonville, said afterwards that he had been sure he could make the hall pay in Jeffersonville because he was "buddies with so many fellers" there and that the only mistake he had made was to print that card with "break, break, break" on it. His hall closed and never reopened. It is a significant fact that no bad hall that was closed, opened again.

Supervision Includes All Halls.

In supervising the dance halls of the city, exactly the same attention was given to the Negro halls as to the white. The chairman of the Negro

dance hall committee under the War Camp Community Service Board was a woman of rare tact and discrimination. As soon as her committee was organized she announced that the Negro halls were given to dancing a very bad dance called the "Pythian Pet." The usual formality attended our taking under supervision the first Negro hall. The manager stepped on to the floor and in the hushed room announced, "Ladies and gentlemen, this hall is under the Waration Board of Louisville."

Later he said, "I understand you want to see the "Pythian Pet" danced—the Pythian Pet was a dance that had been originated by the patrons of that hall and named after the hall. The Negroes originate many dances. Where a white hall has a repertoire of four or five dances, the Negro halls have seventy-five.

The name of each dance is announced by placing a placard on the wall. The music begins and the dancers fall in line in beautiful rhythmic dancing. The dancing in Negro halls in Louisville is much more dignified and beautiful than in the white halls. Although never as ordinary and common as in white halls, the two most sensual dances I ever saw were in Negro halls.

In response to my request to see the Pythian Pet, the placard went up, the music began and a hundred couples fell into line, with out-stretched arms the couples danced face to face, then with out-stretched arms, they danced back to back, the tips of the fingers touching in both positions. The back to back part made it an exceedingly vulgar, sensual dance. When the manager returned after this dance, I said, "I don't think this dance should ever be danced in this hall again." He stepped on the floor and said, "Ladies and gentlemen, the Pythian Pet must go. It has been condemned by the War Board."

When the War Camp Community Service Board undertook the supervision of the dance halls, a dance hall was opened at the request of the board, the management co-operating in every way. This hall was decidedly the most successful in the city from the financial standpoint. Because this hall was large and beautiful, it presented many problems. Women of doubtful character came in numbers. The next step was to remove these undesirable women from the hall. This was done through close co-operation with the city police, and the law enforcement division. The well known women were dismissed from the halls. The young girls about whom there was a question were placed under the care of the girls' protective officers of the Law Enforcement Division who solved their problems in many ways.

It was found that when women were asked to give their names, they would either refuse or give fictitious names. This led to the next step which was the installation of a complete registration system. A paid registrar was stationed at the entrance of each dance hall and every woman was asked to fill out a registration card stating her name and address. Below the name and address was printed the significant words, "Any person giving an irregular name or address will forfeit her card and will be denied admission to all the dance halls in the city.

One instance is most significant in this dance hall story, and that is of a manager who had a change of heart when he found that it paid better to run a good hall than a bad one. His hall was so bad that it was one of the first to go out of existence under supervision. He applied to open a bigger hall under supervision and there is every reason to believe he has co-operated in every way. Dance hall managers are in the business for the sake of the money they get out of it, and if it pays to conduct decent dance halls, they will conduct decent halls.

There is every reason to believe from the Louisville experience that a municipality may have as good dance halls as it wants.

Dance Music.

In passing, let me say one word in regard to the music for the dance. It is a most important element in dancing. One manager in Chicago said music was seven-eighths of the dancing. It is impossible to do anything but bad dancing to much of the jazz music that is common in our dance halls today.

The dance hall is the biggest problem related to recreation that any community has. Unless it is controlled, it is the place where men go to find prostitutes. It is also the place where many girls slip into prostitution. It will be a problem, even if well supervised. If it could be brought home to the good people of a community that, no matter how excusive the family circle is, their own children are not safe so long as a bad dance hall is permitted to exist in their community—if this fact could be brought home to them—all the young people of the city could be safe-guarded.

In large cities, the dance hall has come to stay. The only solution is, as medical science demonstrates, that no community is safe if it permits contagious disease to exist in any part of it, so social science demonstrates that no community is safe if it permits a bad social condition to exist in any part of it. No one can tell just when such a disease or condition will strike home.

No Home Immune.

It is significant that a few years ago when the two objectionable dances—the turkey trot and the grizzley bear, one originating in the low dance halls of New York, the other in the lowest dives of San Francisco—swept America they entered the most exclusive drawing rooms in America.

In concluding let me say that what was worth doing to save the soldiers of our country during the war is worth including in a constructive program to save the civilians after the war.

SUBSTITUTES FOR THE SALOON

Raymond Calkins, Cambridge, Massachusetts

In the year 1901 a volume was published by the Committee of Fifty for the Investigation of the Liquor Problem on Substitutes for the Saloon. The conclusion was reached that the American liquor saloon not only furnished an immense opportunity for social relaxation and fellowship for all grades of men in our large cities, but that it was without a serious competitor in this important social function. Practically every kind of liquor saloon from the cheapest and lowest grog-shop to the gilded palaces of the avenues made its appeal to an immense constituency, not only because it satisfied an abnormal craving for drink, but because it satisfied a normal desire for fellowship, social freedom and recreation. And, furthermore, when one searched the community for other agencies which supply the same social opportunity without retailing intoxicating liquors, these were not to be found. The liquor saloon appeared, that is, to have been given the almost exclusive function of supplying the rational need of relaxation of the majority of the men of our great cities. At least, it was the poor man's club.

The rest of the volume was devoted to the study of how such social opportunity could best be provided apart from the dangerous and degrading appeal of intoxicating liquor.

The conclusions reached in this volume on substitutes for the saloon were widely discussed. Divergent views were held. The saloon men and advocates of the liquor interests seized upon this report as an argument for the social necessity of the liquor saloon, the abolition of which would be a form of social injustice. Other public-spirited persons questioned if the saloon ought in all fairness to go until other substitutes for the social

opportunity undoubtedly supplied by the saloon had been discovered and provided; while a third group composed chiefly of those who believed in the immediate and total abolition of the liquor traffic argued that men enter a saloon primarily for drink; that this drink-habit is abnormal and artificial; that the saloon thus "creates an abnormal demand for itself, and that when it is abolished and its abnormal competition removed, the home, in particular, and normal business, recreational and uplift enterprises would soon fill in with sound tissue the cavity in the body politic made by extirpating the saloon cancer."

The Saloon Is Not a Social Necessity

Nearly twenty years have passed since the study was made. And the time has come when a sound judgment can be reached on this subject which has extraordinary social interest and importance. The experience of these years has definitely proved, if any proof were needed, that the saloon is in no sense a social necessity. On the contrary, it is an unmitigated social evil. In spite of all warnings and protests, in the face of an awakened public intelligence and an aroused public indignation, it continued its flagrant abuses, its vicious work, its sinister influence on private and political morality, until at last the conscience of the country has swept it aside and the United States of America is to become in a few weeks' time the first great saloonless nation of the world.

In the next place, the experience of these years has shown that no appreciable progress in the provision of saloon substitutes was possible so long as the saloon remained in any form whatsoever. The hope expressed in the volume of the Committee of Fifty that the saloon might gradually be shorn of its social features, while in the meantime these were provided by the community, by private philanthropy or commercial enterprise, was proved to be without foundation. During the past twenty years much advance was made in the development of the civic conscience and the general recognition of social responsibility. Yet, in spite of this great advance, no appreciable progress was made in combating the social appeal of the saloon. It has been proved beyond peradventure that the problem of providing the needed social opportunity furnished by the saloon can be successfully undertaken only when the saloon itself has ceased to exist.

Liquor Not Needed for Fellowship

Again, the extraordinary social emergency created by the great war has demonstrated beyond doubt that liquor is not a necessary adjunct to social fellowship; that men given right conditions can have the recreation which satisfies under a strictly total abstinence regime. When the history of the great war is written, one of its most glowing chapters will be the wholly unparalleled and successful efforts made to provide for the social recreation of the soldiers overseas and in the camps at home. An amount of energy, of thought, of money and of unified organization has been developed for the accomplishment of this task undreamed of before the war began. All kinds of agencies have joined forces, the most diverse religious communions have united; the Red Cross and the Library Association, the Christian Associations and the Knights of Columbus, the Jewish welfare societies, and the war camp activity branches of the national government, have all been working hand in glove to supply our soldiers at home and abroad with recreational opportunity which will banish the tedium of camp life, and offset the allurements of vice. So successful have these efforts been, in the main, that it is not too much to say that the problem has been solved under war conditions of satisfying the social instinct without the meretricious aid of whiskey and beer. The men themselves would be the first to agree to this. They

have had a "good time" without the degrading appeals of intoxication or of social vice.

Advent of Prohibition

To these results, another, and perhaps the most significant of all, must now be added. Certain great states of the Union have within recent years written prohibition laws into their constitutions. The saloons have been already banished from certain great urban centers for a period long enough to enable us to answer accurately the question of how social substitutes for the saloon have developed in the absence of the saloon itself. It is, I think, quite safe to say that this experience makes it now possible to gauge with some degree of definiteness the course to be pursued all over the country when prohibition becomes a national reality. These results can be summarized as follows: (1) Much saloon property is gradually taken over by philanthropic enterprise, and by business interests which use the premises as soft drink establishments, billiard and pool rooms, and similar resorts; (2) the natural centers of recreation, especially the home, take the place of the saloon when the abnormal appeal to the drink appetite has been removed; (3) the provisions for social comfort and recreation formerly provided by the saloon are easily within the reach of civic and philanthropic enterprise, when once the saloon itself has been abolished.

Philanthropy and Saloon Substitutes

(1) The abolition of the saloon has naturally suggested to public-spirited citizens, to settlements and to other welfare organizations, the possibility of using vacated saloon property for restaurants, temperance bars and social centers for former saloon habitués. The following extract from articles in the daily papers indicate the scope of some of these subjects:

Under the auspices of the Lenox Hill Settlement, the United Community Club is now installed at 404 East Sixty-fourth Street in the premises lately occupied by the Suburban Cafe, which was one of the best-patronized saloons in the neighborhood. The movement of taking over abandoned saloons and turning them into clubs for men and boys has been started and financed by a gentleman who prefers to have his name not mentioned. The work is under the direction and control of Miss Rosalie Manning, head-worker of the settlement.

The club is the third of the kind to be started in a week. The aim of this work is not to do away with the gang spirit, but to establish gathering places where the gang spirit may be led and directed. The rooms have been changed but little since they were bar-rooms.

The bar is in evidence as before, and in the back room are pool and billiard tables.

The boys' club at 321 East Seventy-first Street, was, up to three weeks ago, the Little Bohemian Cafe and the scene of many disorders. Any night now seventy or more boys between the ages of 10 and 21 may be seen there playing pool, billiards, checkers and other games, and boxing and wrestling. E. F. Hanaburgh, organizer and director of all the clubs, said that money had been supplied for a great number of other meeting rooms, and that just as soon as other saloons are abandoned,—for the unidentified philanthropist has stipulated that only barrooms shall be used—more new clubs would be organized throughout the district.

Another movement contemplates taking over the "former functions" of the saloon, according to plans explained by Urbain J. Ledouz, of New York:

A group of practical men are looking over twenty-five conveniently situated saloons on the East Side with a view of taking them over, changing only the beverages, as men's clubs. Only slight changes will be made in the fixtures. The garish combination of glaring lights and superfluous mirrors will be toned down, and homelike lighting and decorations substituted. Sleeping accommodations will be provided, each man to have his own bed. Regular meals will be served when the work is well under way. Arrangements are now under way with the White Rats, the actors' union, to provide high class vaudeville and musical performances, as well as motion pictures, for five cents.

The Salvation Army is proposing to establish temperance saloons, according to plans lately announced by Commander Evangeline Booth:

After July 1, the Salvation Army will endeavor to take over a string of saloons from ocean to ocean and border to border, and a well defined movement in that direction has already been started. In these saloons the Army will retain the bar and brass rail features, but will serve only the most harmless of soft drinks.

In other words, the plan calls for a great chain of soft drink saloons which will be run as far as possible as clubs for working men and women.

Commander Booth declared that there was no reason why the saloon should keep the married man from his home or fireside, especially as under the new regime it would be a place where it would be impossible for him to squander his week's earnings or to become so befuddled that he would be robbed of them by the criminal classes who thrive by taking advantage of the drunkard. In the new type saloon the extravagance of the treating habit cannot flourish.

"The first step of the Salvation Army," she said, "will be to acquire in the City of New York the leases of saloons which have been closed at much frequented corners and to convert them into club rooms."

Business and Substitution

Much more important and permanent results, however, in the utilization of saloon property for social ends will be found in the taking over of this property by business interests, which will operate it for profit. Indeed, it will probably be found in the long run that philanthropy will not need to give over much attention to this aspect of the problem. In an interesting report received by the writer from George F. Cotterill, former mayor of Seattle, the situation with respect to the conversion of saloon property in that city is outlined as follows:

Perhaps a quarter of the whole number of saloons, including the best locations on business thoroughfares, gave way to various forms of mercantile business under entirely new ownership. About half of the saloons "converted" into soft drink resorts, cafes, restaurants, lunch rooms, etc., with game-rooms, pool and billiard tables, bowling alleys, etc., often in connection. Usually the former saloon proprietors remained with tense de-alcoholized resorts. So far as one can observe they seem to fill about the same place as was formerly claimed by the saloons, as the poor man's club—but minus "booze." These places are not as numerously patronized as were the saloons, but they are perhaps as profitable to their owners, as they have not \$1,000 license fee to pay, and the margin on soft drinks, etc., is about as large, to the retailer, as on alcoholic drinks. The other quarter of former saloons, including those in quarters of the city not adapted to retail business, often in old buildings and "rookeries" unfitted for any legitimate occupancy, went out of business altogether. Only in the class of buildings last described were there any continued vacancies resulting from prohibition. In many cases these enforced vacancies resulted in owners tearing down old dilapidated buildings, which had no rentable capacity for other than saloons, and erecting good buildings, suitable and immediately used by some legitimate business or industrial establishment. The saloon, like the alcoholic goods it dispensed, created and expanded its demands for more of itself. People went to it because it was convenient, and when it was not, they forsook about it and went their way. The transition stage from the cumulative social habits of a saloon era is abundantly met by the transformed, de-alcoholized resorts which I have described. These cater commercially to a social opportunity, but their number tends to grow less rather than more. The fact is that the home, the garden patch (these daylight-saving days especially), the lodge, the social gatherings of all sorts, and more than all other forms of entertainment, the moving-picture house,—these have abundantly "substituted" for the saloon everywhere that my observation has covered during three years of prohibition in the Pacific Northwest.

In an interesting article in the Scientific Temperance Journal for September, 1918, these liquorless saloons are thus described:

The former huge saloon halls have been converted into coffee houses, soft drink establishments, with tobacco stands and candy counters. Card tables are provided, as well as pool and billiard tables. Where there used to be the beer mugs and sometimes the schooners, on the tables by the players now one will see milk chocolate, a peanut candy bar, or perhaps a soda or iced drink. Everything is orderly. There is no rough talk permitted. No one needs fear knockout drops or that he may get "rolled" before he gets out. In

order to hold the trade it is necessary for these places to extend comforts, accommodations and conveniences to their patrons or they go elsewhere. They have the money to pay for what they want and they want it put up right and in a satisfactory way.

A similar report comes from Portland, Oregon:

Before prohibition was enacted in Oregon there was a great many meetings to devise schemes to take the place of the saloon if it should be voted out. Now, as a matter of fact, one morning the law went into effect; * * * none of the so-called substitutes seemed to work. Most of the men who loafed in the saloons went to work. Quite a large number of the old saloon places continued as billiard halls and soft drink parlors and supplied all the "workingmen's clubs" ideas that were necessary. The old bartenders, of course, tried to cash their acquaintanceship to continue these places. It is not thought that over ten per cent of these institutions survived. Inside of a month * * * blocks in Portland where practically everything was saloons * * * filled up with various lines of business, and retail merchants in legitimate lines of business, became strong converts for prohibition. (Scientific Temperance Journal, December, 1915.)

This conclusion is confirmed in a note from Mr. Conger of the Anti-Saloon League, who writes:

Saloon locations in Seattle are occupied mostly by high-class business; in second and third rate places, restaurants and soft drinks have been put in, generally run by the former saloon proprietor.

Edith M. Mills, associate editor of the Scientific Temperance Journal (see issue of December, 1918), recently sent questionnaires "to a number of cities in which the saloon had been abolished and which were sufficiently divergent in point of location and interests to be fairly representative," to gather information upon this and other aspects of the problem of saloon substitutes in the prohibition era. She writes that: "every city interrogated reported that although in a number of instances it had been supposed necessary, and, hence, planned, to establish new places specifically intended as saloon substitutes, such as coffee houses and the like, in no instance had it been found necessary. Most of the few attempts having proved complete or near failures. Those mentioned in one or two reports as having prospered were not philanthropic but purely business enterprises."

"The interesting and important point seems then conclusively established, that the 'trade' will take over saloon property as rapidly as possible and convert much of it into what once were called temperance resorts."

Prohibition and the Home

(2) Again, it seems to be definitely established that when the saloon is abolished, its patrons turn naturally to those normal centers of recreation that were neglected because of the abnormal appeal of intoxicating liquors. Chief among these is, of course, the home. In the questionnaire already referred to, the testimony is practically unanimous that men who once frequented the saloons find the true substitute for it in the home, which now has just been permitted to come into its own. The reaction on the home is suggested in the report from Richmond: "Hundreds of men are taking the pay envelope home now and spending their evenings there; men who had not done so before in twenty years. Without doubt, one of the first things that drinking men do when the saloon is no longer open to them is first to move back into their homes, and then to move themselves and their families into better homes." Brockton, Massachusetts, a city long dry, is veritably a city of workingmen's homes. The record of Natick, Mass., showed that in five years of a continued No-License regime, there were several hundred new tax-payers without any special change in the city other than the abolition of the saloons. In the city of Denver, the Gas Company, under the prohibition laws, found that in spite of the loss due to the shutting down of the saloons the business steadily increased. The explanation was that more gas was

being used in the home. The reason why so many homes are sordid and crowded is to be found in the fact in enjoying the amusements of "the poor man's club" so much money has been drained away from the family exchequer that the homes could be nothing else. Investigations made by the Roosevelt Homes Commission and by several other investigators have shown that on the average in a large number of homes studies the amount of money said to be spent for liquor and tobacco was sufficient to add at least one room to the homes admittedly over-crowded.

The fact is, that the home is the natural social center. Let a man get his system free from the demoralizing effects of drink, and he turns to the source and center of human affection and fellowship. Immediately those trades which bear upon the home, the provision and clothing stores, the heating and lighting establishments, reflect this revived interest in home-making. Immense importance is thus given to all the agencies in a community which go to the creation of better housing conditions for the people. Upon this subject the intelligence and conscience of the community needs to be focused as never before. The opportunity is now presented to us to create a finer and better type of American home than we have ever known. And since the home makes the nation, we reach here one of the fundamental contributions that can be made to the permanent welfare of the American people.

Without doubt, also, other natural centers of recreation will be utilized by the former habitue of the saloon. Labor unions, and lodges, pool and billiard rooms, and moving picture theatres, athletic clubs, parks and playgrounds and other centers of recreation and amusement, all of which are now in existence, will feel the beneficial impulse of the renewed interest and attendance of men who used to spend their time in the saloons.

"In some of our Western cities labor unions which for years found it impossible under the license regime to build their labor temples, were able within a year or two to accomplish this result. Of course, these club-houses erected by the men themselves represented special values and will be specially prized by their joint owners." Thus the provision of special substitutes will not be needed. Instead will come the use of those agencies which were neglected so long as the saloons were in existence.

Civic Help Needed

(3) It does not follow, of course, that there is nothing for enlightened sentiment and public spirit to do in making provision of certain facilities which have been offered by the liquor saloons. The importance of working ceaselessly for better housing laws and home conditions has already been mentioned. But attention should also be focused on certain utilities for which provision should be made apart from the saloons. One of these is the public toilet and lavatories of which our American cities have an altogether inadequate supply. It is plainly the duty of each municipality to provide for these physical necessities of all its people, both men and women. The Young People's Civic League of Chicago has made this propaganda a part of its program—an example which should be followed in every American city until these necessities of normal life are provided. Again, the saloons have furnished the returns from baseball and athletic meets, and have thus catered to a natural interest. A plan might well be inaugurated whereby pool rooms, barber shops and fruit stands should be furnished with these reports in every part of the city so as to reach all men who are interested and desire this information. Once more, the saloons have always served the public by being often the only place where a glass of water could be asked for and received without fear of intrusion. Certainly each community should now exercise renewed care in the provision of an ample number of well-placed drinking-fountains. The soft drink establishments are doubtless counting on a greatly increased trade, and their expectations are not likely to be disappointed.

The Coca-Cola concern, for example, is planning on a large addition to its plant and staff, for the era of prohibition is felt to offer wider fields for the substitute. A recent article in the *Saturday Evening Post* (April, 1919), describes the wholesale conversion of large breweries into ice-cream establishments, an enormous increase in the consumption of this product being a practical certainty in the near future. Similarly, cheap restaurants may now be operated on a new basis in providing the wholesome food which once the "free lunch" of the saloon offered its patrons.

The community has a certain responsibility also to furnish public meeting places for its citizens. Chicago has installed municipal club-houses in its parks, an experiment which should be repeated in every city in the country. Portland, Oregon, has its community houses for both men and women which might well be studied as models. Denver has also made large provision for community recreation in her great auditorium. And Portland, Maine, by installing a great municipal organ in her new city hall, with a municipal organist of national reputation giving free public concerts, has opened a new chapter of legitimate effort toward the provision of fine entertainment for the people.

The time has surely come also for a wider use of school buildings. This reform for the use of these great educational and civic plants for the welfare of the people as a whole, can now be no longer delayed. Especially their use for the great Americanization movement now under way all over the country cannot be too strongly urged. Here let our varied radical groups meet, not only for the purpose of acquiring our language and customs, but also for the perpetuation of their own customs and ideals.

Community Recreation Departments

Finally, it seems certain that the provision of proper and wholesome recreation for the people cannot be secured short of the creation in all of our municipalities of a Community Recreation Department of the City Government. The situation especially with regard to the moving picture houses, and to the dance-halls, and to burlesque theatres which now offer the people dramatic entertainment providing dancing, color and music at prices within their reach, but under conditions which are often simply deplorable, cannot adequately be controlled without direct municipal interest and supervision. Commercialized recreation which seeks only money profit cannot do the work which needs to be done. The times call for community recreation departments which shall continue in times of peace the admirable work done during the war by the War Camp Community Service. The city of Cambridge, Massachusetts, has recently organized for this purpose a Community Recreation Association the object of which is to urge the City Government to co-ordinate and improve the recreation facilities in Cambridge. The objects desired are briefly these: (1) to provide recreation and physical development, the year round, for adults as well as for children; (2) to provide community centers where people of all ages may meet for social and educational purposes; (3) to provide our foreign born citizens with opportunities for Americanization in the best and widest sense of the term; (4) to co-ordinate all these activities under the control of a municipal recreation commission with an expert community organizer in charge of the work.

Thus there has been outlined a large area of activities which may well claim the time and attention of all who are interested in providing the people with rightful means to the enjoyment of life. And there is no time to be lost. Soldiers and sailors who have been accustomed to the restraints, the discipline, the moral control of camp life, are being landed on our shores by the thousand. Demobilization from camps at home is proceeding at a rapid rate. Just as rapid is the demobilization of the liquor forces. Liquor dealers are not renewing their licenses because of heavy taxes and in expecta-

tion of prohibition before the year is over. The men already accustomed to sociability without liquor will be ready for its continuance when liquor no longer can be had. The great organizations which have pooled their resources in order to attain these results in time of war, should continue their effective and unified organization in order to secure and perpetuate them in times of peace. Imagine what it would mean for all of our American cities if on the same scale, with the same determination, and with the same outlay of money and energy, a great social program should be adopted having for its object the permanent provision of the social recreation of the American wage-earner which he has heretofore found only within the walls of the liquor saloon! Would not this rightly be looked upon as one of the great moral gains of the war? Never perhaps was such an opportunity and responsibility thrust upon the mind and the conscience of those interested in, and the responsible for, the social welfare of our American manhood. At last we have a real chance to provide social substitutes for the saloon. Will we have the courage, the intelligence and the persistence which will bring these great ends to pass?

THE COMMUNITY, HOME OF LOST TALENTS

Joseph Lee, Boston, President, Community Service, Inc.

When Theseus came as a youth to Athens, one of the dangers he encountered on the road was from Procrustes, whose personal peculiarity it was to put travellers into a bed he had in his castle; if the traveller was too long for the bed, he cut him off to fit it, if he was too short, he stretched him out. It was the first suggestion the future king of Athens had of what the city meant to human life. The story says that Theseus killed Procrustes, but I am afraid he has not stayed dead, or that any city is yet free of him.

The great fight of the coming time will not be that between labor and capital but a deeper conflict which will have to be fought out under any industrial system whatever, whether of capitalism, socialism, or anarchy—the fight, namely, between producer and consumer, or between man and the machine.

Thus far we have to say that the machine has won. Man lives not as he chooses, not as nature intended him to live, but as machinery decrees. The machine today stands for the victory of material results, of securing the outward means of living, over life itself. We have won the whole world—or at least more of it than primitive man suspected there was of it to be won—and in the process we have lost ourselves.

Man is by nature an outdoor animal, a hunter, a fighter and a fisherman. The machine has locked him up in factories and tenement houses where he sickens and dies not from physical disease alone but also from homesickness.

In ancient and medieval times a remedy for this evil, for the upper classes, was found in slavery. The rulers reserved to themselves the ancient and instinctive pursuits of war, of hunting and of government. Industrial work was relegated to the slaves. Out of this form of civilization, with all its evils, came wonderful discoveries in art, in music and in science, and life, for the ruling class, reached a higher level than would have been possible without the advance of the industrial arts.

Our problem ever since has been to conserve those benefits and at the same time to abolish the institution of human slavery that first made them possible. The problem has not yet been solved. Slavery has not been abolished. It has rather been dispersed, shared among the greater proportion of the population, mitigated but not subdued.

The great evil of our industrial civilization is defeated instinct. The restoring of expressive life is the one great problem of the day. It is balked expression, not physical need, that is at the root of all the social disturbances of the present time, and such disturbance is the most hopeful symptom in the situation. It is the pain that nature sends as discipline to all disorders of the social body.

The uneasiness is not peculiar to the so-called working classes, although they are by far the greatest sufferers from it. We none of us can find within the boundaries of a civilized calling a full expression of our higher powers. Even in entering a profession we must bid goodbye to the goddess at the door.

In every one of us there are divine voices unanswered, authoritative mandates unfulfilled. We have refused adventure, renounced the path we might have followed, heard one door after another shutting behind us, and the fading of some accent that had the power to reach our soul.

The loss is not of pleasure. The ways of true expression are austere. Our life has probably been the softer for the stifling of the artistic instincts. It is the spirit that has suffered and the soul. It is as men and women that we fail. We are not as big, as real or as interesting as we promised. There is not as much of us as there should have been. Our loss of utterance has dwarfed our growth and made us less acceptable to God and man.

If it is so with the fortunately placed—with the lucky minority who have found employment in the tasks not yet subdued to the machine—what must be the condition of the great majority? What outlet is there for the life dedicated to the tending of some fool-proof machine? A fool's life indeed, aimed to the inevitable fate of fools—its own destruction.

A partial remedy will some day be found within industry itself. We cannot foresee, nor can I imagine, the coming of a day when industry will be to any great extent Ruskinized, made expressive of the creative instinct. Something, however, will be done by co-operation. That now is certain—that industry shall no longer be carried on as a private matter, but shall be made the business and the expression of all the people and especially of those immediately engaged in each established unit of production. Something will be recovered in expression through the team sense. There will be escape from thralldom, and the sense of personality enlarged.

But do our best, industry will never again I fear be made generally expressive of the creative and artistic instincts. The escape must be found outside if the worker is in any true sense to live at all. The issue is in most literal sense that of life and death.

It is here that the function of the community comes in. It is its business to find the way of the lost talents, the path we might have followed but refused, the expression that the tyranny of the machine has thus far denied to us. Full expression it cannot provide. There is no complete solution of the tragedy, but some alleviation may be reached.

It is the business of the community through the school to educate children not merely to become the fool complement of the fool-proof machine but to be capable of leading in some respects a human life, to teach them the humanities, the methods of expression and appreciation, in song and art and literature, in drama and in sport.

It is the business of the community by other means to find a way for these talents in grown-up life, to open up and guard the avenues of expression, to make space for the expanding life. This it must do by providing occasions and opportunities in theaters, schools, libraries, art museums and social centers and public occasions where community life is expressed in fit and worthy ways.

And in all this social work society must still respect the individual. The spirit of creation is a shy spirit, not to be constrained. The best we can do is to leave the door open and the candle lighted for the visitor.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Mrs. H. L. Cochran, president of the Y. M. C. A. of Chester, Pa., spoke on informal discussion of the advantage which came to that community from the war-time activities of Community Service.

CONDITIONS IN INDUSTRY AS THEY AFFECT NEGRO WOMEN.

Helen Brooks Irvin, Woman in Industry Service, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington.

While the chief source of the wealth of America is agricultural, a large majority of the people of the United States now obtain their living through industrial pursuits; therefore the fact that industry has achieved an entirely new position in the life of the nation is perhaps the most significant development of these early days of reconstruction. The increasing strength of the Labor Party of Great Britain, the inclusion of industrial standards at the Peace Congress, the consideration given to labor problems at Secretary Wilson's recent conference of governors and mayors, the provisions for the care of juvenile workers as outlined by the Child Welfare Conference of the Children's Bureau, the generally-accepted standards for the betterment of working conditions among women, the establishment at conservative Harvard University of a course dealing with medical, physiological and sanitary aspects of industry, are all indicative of the very general trend of thought along this line—a step toward practical democracy.

Now democracy has been described as "the greatest good to the greatest number according to the people's will;" and since the greatest number to be considered is, by large excess, the industrial group, it is the question of the "greatest good" of this particular group that now confronts us. Here the human element in labor rises above the merely commercial aspect. Labor is linked with the needs and desires of the worker and his family—their right to a share in the comforts of life and in the affairs that make for social progress. That these phases may be considered while the industrial needs of the time are being fully met is no longer a matter of surmise. Rather, we are experimenting as to the best means of accomplishing the desired ends, while yet considering the *will* of the masses.

The Present Industrial Situation

Notwithstanding the unemployment situation reported from certain localities, we are aware that in other centers and in specific occupations there is already a shortage of labor. This, of course, is due to the greatly decreased immigration during the period of war, also to the large percentage of emigration contemplated and actually taking place at the present time. A recent bulletin from the Investigation and Inspection Service of the Department of Labor states that from many cities, fully fifty per cent of the alien population intend to return to Europe; while in others, especially since peace table decisions promise to Austro-Hungarians, Poles and Roumanians the so-long-desired independence, the proportion will be much higher. Similar intention among other foreign groups is made evident by consulting the list of requests for passports at various branches of the Emigration Service and the bookings for passage among steamship agencies. Another fact of significance in this matter is that certain regulations concerning border-line immigration have been relaxed, especially as these apply to Mexico and the nearby islands.

These things being true, it remains for us to take stock of our supply of native labor; and in doing so we come face-to-face with the fact that there is one group that has by no means been tested to its industrial capacity. This is the group of women workers.

With the drafting and sending overseas of over two and one-half million young men there was left an industrial shortage that, at first, caused a deal of uneasiness among manufacturers. With some slight hesitation, they replaced the drafted men with women. These, as a whole, succeeded at their new occupations as well as the men had done; and in certain processes the work of women was found to be even more satisfactory. Because of the fact, then, that so many women entered unusual occupations during the war emergency, the attention of the country became focused upon these workers as a heretofore unestimated source of productivity, particularly in the industrial field.

Recognition of Women

That woman is a valuable industrial asset is now quite generally conceded, even to the extent of recognition by the Federal Government, which created, less than a year ago, the Woman in Industry Service of the Department of Labor. The specific functions of this Service are to keep trace of industrial changes and conditions as they affect women; to establish a clearing house for the special problems of women workers; to formulate standards in interest of their industrial advancement; to shape and administer policies and to maintain useful connections between Federal and state authorities, employers and women workers.

Perhaps the most effective piece of work in which the Service has engaged is the formulation of standards governing women in industry. These standards have already been made the basis for the improvement of conditions among workers in many industrial centers of the country as well as in many individual plants, and doubtless they will be of continued use wherever numbers of women are employed. They include provision for a maximum eight-hour day, with no night work; a half day's work on Saturday and one full day's rest in every seven; sufficient time for lunch and for relaxation; protection against undesirable working conditions, including mechanical, sanitary and moral hazards; wages equal to those of men doing the same work, with a minimum that shall include possibilities for decent living, for recreation and for provision against emergency.

Conditions existing throughout the industrial world render it imperative that these standards be applied with absolute impartiality to all groups of working women. Most urgently are they needed where workers are apt to be exploited, as is often the case among Negro women. This almost untried group has become the target for much adverse criticism and for such wide speculation that the unbiased facts concerning their defects and assets must be frankly faced before we can arrive at any decision concerning their value to the world of industry.

Within the last six months, we have found approximately eleven thousand Negro women engaged at the following occupations, chiefly in the north and the middle west:

Achievements of Negro Women

In munition plants, they mixed chemicals, ground out and loaded shells, fitted in the caps and passed the completed articles on to foremen for final inspection and shipment. Such plants, for the most part, suspended operations with the signing of the armistice.

In stockyards they are engaged at nearly all processes, from those that are most objectionable to those requiring notebook, pencil and a quick eye. In department stores there are many stock girls, maids, elevator operators and a few bundle wrappers, clerks and saleswomen.

In hotels and cafeterias they are cooks, waitresses, maids, bell girls, elevator and telephone operators. In steam laundries we find these women occupied in all processes.

In factories they are stripping and packing tobacco, making toys, bed-

springs, brooms, buckets, boxes, hardware, garments, musical records, glassware and many other articles, nearly all of which involve the operation of power machinery.

With a taxicab company they are painting and making simple repairs. In a large mail order house they are working as typists, bookkeepers, time clerks and forewomen.

In several places they are truck-gardening, picking, packing and shipping fruits and vegetables, which products they also can and otherwise preserve at proper seasons.

In one factory of large size and broad spirit, Negro women are given opportunity to test their ability in every department. The largest numbers, naturally, are to be found in sections requiring purely mechanical skill; but beside the many operators on punch and drill presses, there are several forewomen, two typists, a clerk, a messenger, an elevator operator, a mail carrier, a first aid assistant, a cafeteria attendant, and a "chauffeurette;" also there are a Negro Superintendent of Service and a chemist; but these are men. This particular plant is an outstanding example of what may be accomplished under an administrative basis of impartial treatment and equal opportunity.

In a few of the cases cited, the workers have already been dismissed because of the return of men from the army; in a few others, they have been replaced by white women, these in turn having come down from the better jobs surrendered to the returned soldiers; but in a majority of the plants they have made good and will probably be retained.

At present, the widespread shortage of workers in all branches of domestic service is causing great discontent among housewives. Some of these latter appear to have gone to the extent of organizing for the purpose of forcing the emancipated Negro housemaid and laundress out of her new industrial position and back to the dissatisfaction of the other woman's kitchen. There are, however, suggestions being formulated concerning the establishment of standards as to hours, wages and working conditions for domestic as for industrial workers; and these standards, if accepted, may prove a desirable means for the solution of this perplexing problem.

Attitude of Labor Toward the Negro Woman

In a complex industrial situation such as ours, differences and difficulties are bound to arise; so that it is not a matter for surprise that the American labor market meets hardship in the adjustment of its newest group, Negro women, to the requirements of industry. These difficulties, however, when squarely faced, prove to be nothing unusual. They are the sort of problems that one would quite naturally expect to encounter when introducing any group to an entirely new environment—problems involving training, adjustment and opportunity to develop skill, with a modicum of appreciation for the human side of the new worker, as expressed in possibilities for justifiable advancement. Employers that have frankly faced the existing situation and have made intelligent attempts to cope with it report little difficulty with the usual defects charged; namely, tardiness, irregularity and a lack in appreciation of contractual obligation. On the contrary, they report that these workers are efficient, courteous, cheerful, and absolutely loyal when given an equal chance with others.

Now the Negro woman works for the same imperative reasons that confronts any other worker; i. e., to earn a living or to support dependents. She has need of the same essentials—food, clothing, shelter and the ordinary decencies of life, and is frequently confronted by more difficult conditions in securing these essentials than the conditions surrounding other groups of workers. These facts are becoming more and more widely recognized, and adjustment is usually attempted through philanthropic agencies of various

sorts. Such assistance is undoubtedly valuable, but we must admit that unless of unusual character, it touches merely the "fringes" of the situation. The problem is fundamentally economic and must be faced as such.

Present industrial conditions in the United States force us to a consideration of this asset, the Negro woman. Here is a member of the whole labor body that cannot be cut off. Either she must become an integral part of the whole, or she becomes a menace. Shall we, then, maintain the relic of past labor conditions while trying to remake the industrial world in terms of present demand or shall we organize the whole for the protection of the country? Surely (to quote Mary Van Kleeck in a recent address before the Consumers' League), it is possible to find a common basis for action though common interests lie deep while conflicts and divergencies are apparent on the surface. Now surface differences, which are bound to arise when such radical changes occur as those of our present industrial system, should be adjusted by expert agencies; and the basis for this adjustment should be the social interests of the community, even of the democracy. If the Negro woman is allowed to remain inefficient, here remains our problem. We cannot protect one class of labor without protecting all; nor can we exploit one class without causing all to suffer; for industry is a chain of related interests, and one frail link will weaken the whole. Protection of the class most likely to be exploited is the test of the national attitude toward the industrial group.

There is bred, in certain sections where the Negro is not welcomed by organized labor, a tendency to evade the issues at hand; hence opportunities arise for the charge of scabbing, in addition to other unpleasant accusations. However, we know the true situation; we know that it is vital to the entire field of labor that we face this situation frankly and intelligently; that we co-operate in a national program for the best development of the weakest group; that we make public recognition of that fact that underneath the movement of Negro women toward industry there is nothing antagonistic to the common interests of the laboring classes; but on the contrary, there is the certainty that a hitherto unplumbed source of native labor may be developed into a valuable economic asset to the nation. *The industrial problem is fundamental.*

THE CINCINNATI NEGRO SURVEY AND PROGRAM

James H. Robinson, Executive Secretary, Negro Civic Welfare Committee of the Council of Social Agencies, Cincinnati.

Cincinnati is a northern city with a southern exposure, a gateway between North and South used alike by fugitive slave and freedman of yesterday and migrant of today in their quest of Utopia. To the Negro, Utopia is a place where a man is a man, seemingly a much sought but ever fleeting if ever existing Land of Nowhere.

Here for more than a century, North and South have met and discussed, frequently with spirit, what should be done with the Negro, who was usually an innocent bystander. Today the Negro is himself consulted on such matters through the medium of a representative organization of white and colored citizens, the Negro Civic Welfare Committee of the Council of Social Agencies.

During the past two years, this organization has undertaken and completed a survey of the colored population, and its results have proved far-reaching. It may be of interest to know how it was done.

Methods Used in the Survey

The survey was financed by the Council of Social Agencies and endorsed by many important colored organizations in the city. Intelligent groups of

colored people assisted in it, heads of institutions, business men and house-keepers opening their doors alike for investigation. Librarians rendered valuable assistance and every conductor on the four southern railroads converging here kept a daily record of the migrants from the South destined for the city. The work of paid assistants in the house-to-house investigation was supplemented by voluntary services of social workers, and three hundred and fifty-seven teachers in the public schools made twenty thousand telephone interviews, collecting a mass of data which it would have been physically impossible to obtain otherwise.

General Results

Now that the survey has been completed, certain immediate results are discernible. 1. The important problems have been clearly pointed out. 2. The agencies at work and the nature of their work have been made known. 3. City-wide interest has been created. 4. The recognition won by knowing the facts is providing leverage in re-adjusting the situation.

It is obviously a physical impossibility to present in so limited a space a complete statement of the findings, though many important points will be touched upon in the following paragraphs.

Historical Background

Historically, Ohio was never a slave state, but from the earliest days of its statehood there began to grow up a set of laws creating a separate status for the Negro. This "black code" was swept away in 1887 by the so-called Arnett law. The effect, however, was not entirely salutary, for with it disappeared an important by-product of the separate Negro institution, strong Negro leadership.

During the next three decades with the passing of capable leaders and the influx of hordes from the South, white and colored, the one usually hostile and the other too often the less progressive type, conditions went from bad to worse, accounting largely for the present state of affairs.

The Population

There are in the city between thirty and forty thousand colored people. They are, for the most part, of southern birth and the number has increased more than fifty per cent since 1910. It is not a normal social group in that there is a small number of children and old people and an unduly large number of persons in the prime of life. The male floater abounds and to him are traceable many of the ills of the group.

These people live in widely separated communities and face essentially the same handicaps but find themselves unable to join hands in the common cause of self-betterment.

Working Conditions

In my opinion, a most important factor in the life of any American group today is the way that group makes a living. It is a chief determinant of housing conditions, health, standards of living, outlook on life and general development; so with the Negro.

In Cincinnati he is limited almost solely to common labor at common laborers' pay. His work requires that he do but a minimum of reading, writing or thinking. Under such conditions, he does not develop as he would or strive as he should, for much of incentive is lacking. The same necessity that forces him to accept the least desirable jobs at the poorest pay also forces him to eat the poorest food and wear the shabbiest clothes; to live in the most unsanitary houses in the filthiest slums where he meets vice, poverty, disease, despair, death.

Out of 1,764 employers, 81% testify that he is giving satisfactory service where they have tried him and 19% say that he is not. The evidence is at least a good argument for giving him a better chance to make a living.

Housing Conditions and Family Life

The worst features of housing conditions strike at health, morality and stability of family life. To illustrate, in one section of the city, 54% of the houses are without baths and 85% are fire traps. One out of every three toilets is in a bad state of repairs, one out of every four in a filthy condition and one out of every ten is the old-fashioned type of outhouse standing in one of the most congested parts of the city. Add to this situation a few dark, damp and over-crowded rooms and it is clear why the death rate of the Negro of the city is practically twice that of the white people.

Several types of families are found; first, the "individual" is found; second, the "proper" family with husband, wife and sometimes children; third, the "improper" family where illicit relations exist; fourth the family with other persons related by blood or law added, and fifth, the "household" which includes the boarder and lodger.

Approximately two-thirds of the families studied are "proper" blood-kinship families and one-third are not. Is the Negro family in the large city becoming less a group of people who live together because related by blood and bound by common traditions and more an unrelated group forced together by high rents, low wages and the scarcity of houses available to them?

If this is taking place as these facts suggest we have a condition shaking the very foundation of social life—one of the most serious of Negro problems.

A more favorable phase of the housing problem is seen in the tendency to buy homes, an ever-increasing tendency. In greater Cincinnati approximately 1,100 homes valued at \$3,250,000 are owned by colored people, bought as a rule, by the assumption of heavy responsibilities. One real estate dealer states that he has sold 200 homes to colored people and in only a single case has the buyer failed to make good in his payments.

Education, Business and the Professions

Colored children attend all of 59 elementary schools of the city. Two of these schools are colored. During the past six years 74 have graduated from the high schools and while this compares poorly with the record in other cities, many of those who have graduated have taken further training and most of them are engaged in occupations worthy of their training. Those who graduate from the University are few but the number is growing. The correspondence between this number and the increasing demand for teachers is suggestive.

Generally speaking, the colored child finds difficulty in using his education to make a living because of limited opportunities for employment. There is a tendency to drop out as he approaches high school.

There is not a large amount of business and the type which predominates is the petty shop where the keeper usually manages to make a living. A list of such includes undertakers, barbers, tailors, cobblers, beauty parlors, drug stores, insurance companies, a few groceries, caterers, two newspapers, two real estate offices, one print shop and a regalia company.

A professional class of considerable numbers exists including doctors, dentists, lawyers, ministers, teachers and social workers. Various handicaps prevent the development of men of wide reputation.

Among organizations chiefly of the Negro's creation are 54 churches and missions, Baptist and Methodist predominating, 84 fraternal societies,

22 federated clubs, 35 other societies worthy of note and nearly a dozen philanthropic institutions.

These seem to bespeak a powerful instinct for organization which the lack of experience, vision and other handicaps prevent from attaining its fullest expression.

Delinquency and Dependency

Last year more than 6,000 arrests occurred among colored people and this was 23% of the total although the colored population was only 7% of the total. The offenses were, for the most part, petty ones, although the serious crimes were entirely out of proportion. A noticeable factor in this rate is prejudice. The presumption is invariably against the Negro and he is often arrested and sentenced where others would be excused. Another factor is limited recreational facilities. These do not account fully for the excess however.

The Negro criminal class is noticeably younger than the white criminal class. Probation work could be done with good results because of the youth of many of the offenders, yet probation work last year reached only 15 cases. Twelve per cent of the juvenile offenders were colored.

The colored population contributes more than its quota of dependents found in the alms houses of the city and county.

Discriminations

The legal restrictions imposed upon the Negro were removed over thirty years ago, yet they constantly tend to re-assert themselves. Accordingly there exists in reality what the law and many citizens, colored and white, refuse to recognize, a southern racial relationship and this in spite of the fact that the Negro has here a host of friends whose desire to help him is, in many instances, a family tradition.

Discrimination in industry has been referred to. It exists also in the amusements. Not only do hotels, restaurants and soda fountains refuse to serve him, but moving picture houses and private parks refuse to admit him; theatres segregate and often embarrass him. To the self-respecting, this is inconvenient to say the least and leaves the race too few wholesome means of recreation. The result is reflected in petty crime, dissatisfaction and a tendency to leave the city.

In spite of the large death rate there is not a school, hospital or clinic where the nurse or doctor can get training or experience, the limited facilities of the Evangeline Home and the Betts Street Hospital excepted.

The press gives undue publicity to his weaknesses, foibles and crimes but seldom mentions his virtues and worthy efforts "because they lack news value" to a misinformed public opinion.

The Brighter Side

It is well to remember the mass of colored people do their work fairly well, pay their debts, serve their God more or less faithfully and try to love their neighbors. The problems of their race arise from the weaker elements—the poor, the delinquent, the ignorant, the incompetent, the diseased and dying. These classes are unduly large, and the public knows so much of ill and so little of good about them that an unsavory reputation tends to cling to the race like a body of death.

Here lies the secret of racial misunderstanding. The Negro lives by himself, works by himself and when sick suffers by himself in the colored ward; when he dies he is buried by himself whether in a colored cemetery or the colored section of the Potter's Field. Other citizens consequently know little of his life, of its aspirations, handicaps, disappointments. The result is too frequently on the one hand distortion of fact, misunderstanding-

ing of aim and misinterpretation of motive; on the other hand, silent resentment and sullen suspicion.

There is a growth of the professional class in Cincinnati and a slight increase in the number of business establishments which are mostly petty shops. Wages are better since the war, the liquor traffic has been partly suppressed and the vice district wiped out. A large amount of favorable news was published during the war presumably with good effect.

A most hopeful sign is the willingness of social agencies to help in the solution of these problems while a considerable element of the public willingly contributes to its support.

The Work of Social Agencies

A large number of social agencies touch the Negro incidentally. Eleven colored agencies deal with him exclusively and eight white agencies have special departments and workers objectively dealing with his problems. Some of the colored agencies are efficiently managed while others are not so. They have played an important part in the development of business experience, social vision and group consciousness.

Altogether, social agencies have done effectively a large amount of work. That the work has not been perfectly done is attested by the fact that the survey shows a number of the major problems wholly neglected or inadequately provided for. Among them are adult delinquency, juvenile delinquency, the finding and registry of desirable homes, industrial welfare for men and women, traveler's aid, child placement and day nursery.

A close analysis of the social work yields the following criticisms:

1. Most of the work is institutional; the overhead is heavy and extension work almost impossible.
2. Some of the agencies are inefficient and badly need rehabilitating.
3. Some are not clear and definite as to their programs and objectives.
4. Duplication and overlapping are found in a number of instances.
5. There is evidence here and there of lack of harmony of spirit and unity of purpose.
6. There is a maximum of charitable work and a minimum and constructive work; an over-emphasis of alms and insufficient emphasis of the need of opportunities for self-help for colored people.
7. Many of the most serious Negro problems of the city are either inadequately provided for or entirely neglected.
8. The work heads up nowhere.
9. There is no agency at work with executive powers and a city wide interest, view point, purpose or propaganda to make effective any remedial recommendations that are made.

Program Outlined

For these reasons a federation of the forces at work is proposed in order to unify purpose, harmonize spirit and promote efficiency.

The Council of Social Agencies is a financial federation and the Negro Civic Welfare Committee is a department of it. The function of the latter is to co-ordinate the work among colored people and in order to do this it will be enlarged and invested with executive powers. The plan of re-organization is shown by the graph here exhibited.

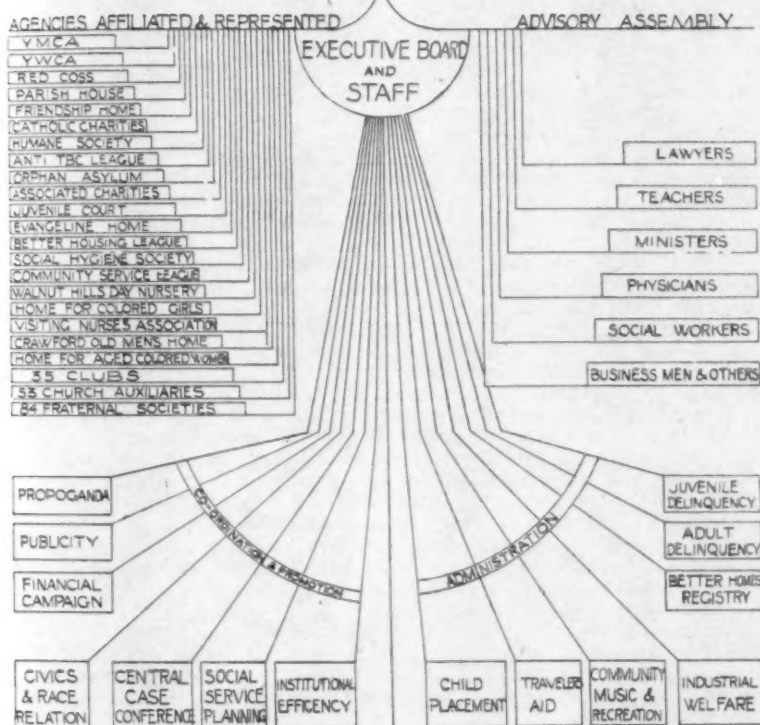
The work, as proposed, will fall in two divisions, first, co-ordination and promotion; and, second, administration.

The administrative division will attack directly the neglected problems mentioned above.

1. Adult delinquency: a worker will take the youthful offenders in the municipal court and try to save them from a life of crime.
2. Juvenile delinquency: the work in the juvenile court will be re-organized; big brother and big sister work will be expanded and another paid worker provided.

COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES

NEGRO CIVIC WELFARE COMMITTEE



3. Industrial welfare: the male and female worker will be followed up in plants and factories with practical advice as to efficiency, punctuality, thrift and attitude toward the job. Industrial opportunities will be opened where possible.

4. The registry of houses will make it possible for the homeless tenant to find a desirable house without the present difficulty which often necessitates months of search. Home buying will be encouraged.

5. Child placement will remedy the duplication in three child-caring agencies and find desirable homes in the community for placeable children.

6. Traveler's aid: the stranger, especially the young woman, will be given reliable information, guidance and hospitality.

7. Two day nurseries will be established probably in the two colored schools; with proper food and medical supervision, not only will the burden of the working mother be lightened but the frightful infant death rate will be lowered.

These activities will be centralized as to place and administrative control but will enjoy the experience and supervision of other agencies interested in the respective fields.

The work of co-ordination and promotion is to be facilitated on two principles: 1. Representation in the central agency of all agencies concerned and, 2. Financial control.

Three child-caring agencies, two homes for the aged, two homes for young women, a Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. will be included in this federation. The colored departments of eight white agencies will be co-ordinated in the same way. Community music and recreation will serve not merely as ends themselves but to stimulate interest in the work-a-day features of this city wide program.

Social service planning, institutional efficiency, financial campaign, publicity, civics and central case conferences are the main features of the co-ordinating division.

Contact and interest will be widened through an advisory group composed divisionally of colored doctors, lawyers, teachers, ministers and social workers as groups ably advised on the Negro problems. Racial co-operation however is an important principle of the organization.

Beyond this a great experiment in Negro organization is planned. Church federation among colored people in Cincinnati has not been a success. Denominationalism is yet rampant and the common interests which really exist have been over-shadowed by smaller differences. No attempt will be made to federate these churches on a religious basis but the aim will be to federate their auxiliary societies or social service departments by a common interest in social service. If this proves reasonably successful the same idea will be proposed to clubs and fraternal societies. The plan, however, makes no pretense at being anything but an experiment.

Fundamentally there is no reason why a group of people with common ills, common interests and a common destiny could not be made to forget small differences and unite, not in religious work or fraternal work as such, but in social and civic work which is our concern. Out of such a relationship all would gain something of wider intelligence, greater efficiency and broader social vision.

Conclusion

What is the value of racial co-operation which, combining the experience of the white race with the Negro's appreciation of his own problems, so divides responsibility as not to pauperize the latter?

Can the Negro's instinct for organization as well as his God-given gift of music be made an asset in the solution of his present day problems?

These are questions which time will answer. Meanwhile a program in-

volutioning the ideas, such as we have in Cincinnati, is at least worthy of close attention.

NEGRO LABOR AND THE NEW ORDER

George E. Haynes, Director of Negro Economics, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington.

It is a well-known fact that the great war has sifted civilization and cleared it of some of its chaff. With the garnered grain that remains we may, if we will, prepare food for the future generations. The old order has changed and given place to the new.

In considering Negro labor in the new order the subject naturally suggests, first, some factors of that new order, and, second, some of the things about Negro labor which will have far-reaching effects upon the Negro worker and upon his relations to white workers and to white employers thus affecting the whole of American life.

Let us then take up some of these factors of the new order and some of the things connected with them that involve the Negro worker.

1. War Advanced the Common Man

In the first place, the war has thrust the common man into the forefront of the world's arena. The war not only dethroned czars and kaisers and kings; the war not only unhorsed knights and discounted dukes and lords and viscounts, but it also gave the common man and woman a place in the sun. It gave them an opportunity to show that they possess potential capacity of intellect, power of constructive imagination, depth of lofty sentiment, and devotion of indomitable will qualities, of which the dominant classes little conceived.

Who thought the French *poilu* would have waded through mud and blood and fire for four years with marvelous power of initiative, of endurance, of genius and of decision of will? Who would have predicted that African natives and East Indian colonials would have readily grasped the significance of the world struggle for liberty and would have thrown themselves with abandon into the holocaust to rescue civilization?

We average Americans, white and black, surprised ourselves by the ready grasp of the lofty vision of the crusade for liberty. We surprised ourselves by the machine-gun like rapidity with which we, the common people, prepared ourselves and went forth to fight for the liberty of the many against the tyranny of the few.

This wonderful revelation of heroism was shown by the working people who stayed at home and served no less than by those who went abroad and fought. There was patriotism on the farm, in the shipyards, in the mines and factories, on the railroads, as well as in the cantonments and camps of the army. This is of special significance when we recall the fact that the routine of daily labor at home has little or none of the excitement of camp and battlefield; that there is thrown around daily toil none of the pomp and splendor of the "glories of war." A French philosopher has said it is easier for a man to die for his country than to make pig iron for his country.

2. Negro Worker's New View

Along with other workers, Negro workers have come to a new view of their place as men among the common men of the day. They feel something of the changed condition in the world, due to the dethroning of czars, kaisers and kings and the growing place of importance of the average man. In response to the draft laws between 300,000 and 400,000 Negro soldiers went

into the army, and into hardest of the work and the hottest of the fight in Northern France. Here Negroes had a chance to share in the heroism of the common American citizen. Negroes showed intellectual capacity, initiative, lofty sentiment and indomitable will. They were a part of the new revelation of the common man.

As Negroes try to find their way out of the consciousness of serfdom and the aftermath of slavery, these changes of war mean a greater realization to them of the meaning of personality of the common man than it probably means to other men. This realization came not only to the Negro men who entered the army but it came as a world of self-revelation to those who migrated to munition centers, to mining camps, to the factories and to other places of employment, where the standards of wages and the opportunities for better living were increased from two to five-fold. The migration from the South to the North (which I shall mention again in a few minutes), the increased wages, the more sympathetic attention from employers and the new notice given to the Negro worker by the federal government, the state governments and municipalities have helped to reveal to the nation and the world a new Negro. It has given a new view of the potential genius of the Negro among the common men of the new day. What a world of significance this new conception will have for the Negro!

3. *Dignity of Ordinary Labor*

As a second factor, the new order brings a new conception of the importance and dignity of ordinary labor. Before the war, general opinion was inclined to overrate the gentleman of leisure. Before the war, we were inclined to overrate the function of gentlemen of title and appearance. When we entered modern warfare we discovered that "food would win the war" and that the ordinary labor of the farmer was essential to raising food; we found that ships were needed to win the war, and ships were built by the labor of ordinary shipbuilders; we realized that coal was needed to run our factories, our munitions plants, our trains and our ships of war, and coal must be dug by the ordinary labor of the coal miner. The army was as much in need of the work of mechanics as of machine guns; stevedores and screwmen to load the ships were as essential to the army as infantry and artillery officers. And so it was all along the line. The old maxim "labor conquers all things" seemed to have a new meaning. The labor that deals with things assumed a new importance.

With this new importance of ordinary labor came a sense of dignity and importance of the laborer. This change of world opinion relative to the importance and dignity of the ordinary laborer has been shown in many ways: The increase of wages, the greater concern of employers about sanitation and safety in the factory, the new plans for giving workmen a voice in management of the plant, the increasing care for the health and housing of workers and many other improvements are now receiving attention by both employers and governments.

This will mean more to the Negro worker in the new order than it does to the white worker. For, let me remind you that only yesterday labor was a badge of servitude to the Negro. Labor was a synonym for slavery and leisure the sign of liberty. To get away from daily toil and to deal only with the intellectual accomplishments and pastimes of life was a natural conclusion of a previous condition of servitude. The working experience of the past fifty years culminated during the war in the conviction among Negroes that through their labor they will achieve an American's chance for full manhood rights and development of character and personality.

War work experience has driven deep into the consciousness of the average Negro worker that his honor or shame does not arise from his

occupation; that no matter what his occupation is, if his work is faithfully and well done, it raises him to a place of influence in the community.

This was brought home especially to Negro workers in the shipyards, on the farms and in places where unskilled and semi-skilled labor was in large demand. Perhaps no one incident carried a greater thrill throughout the rank and file of Negro workers than the honor shown a Negro for the breaking of the world's record for driving rivets into the hull of a steel ship at Sparrows Point, Md., last summer. The champion riveter was so dark that his name was Knight. The story of this exploit was sent to newspapers, white and colored, throughout the land through the channels of the Information and Education Service of the Department of Labor. It was caught up and carried broadcast through the rank and file of the Negro workers. We have evidence that the effect was almost electrical. It helped to create a new sense of importance and of dignity among Negro workingmen.

4. Negro Migration and the New Negro

This new conception of the dignity of labor and the honor of the laborer leads to the conclusion that a new Negro has arrived with the new order. Between 300,000 and 500,000 Negroes, the majority of them adult men, have migrated during the past four years from the Southern communities to Northern centers of industry. The Division of Negro Economics in the office of the Secretary of Labor has recently issued a bulletin fully describing the extent and causes of this migration. This investigation was a first-hand study by Southern men themselves, of the territory from which the largest number of Negroes came, and a study by a Northern man and a Southern man of the principal localities in which they settled in the North. This is not the time or place to discuss the causes and effects of this migration, except in so far as it has resulted in the new Negro who meets the conditions of the new order.

The migration, of course, has changed the relations of Negro wage-earners to white employers, both North and South; it has changed the relation of the Negro wage-earners to white wage-earners; but the most far-reaching changes have come in the Negroes themselves. The migration of Negroes from the South to the North not only moved thousands of them but drove deep into the mind of the Negroes, both in rural districts and city centers, the consciousness that they had the liberty and the opportunity to move freely from place to place, and that wherever they went they might be successful in getting jobs as good as those they left. He came also to the belief that they might better their condition in many ways by making changes.

5. Secretary of Labor Helps

Probably the most far-reaching step in helping to bring the Negro worker to a greater realization of his opportunity for himself and service to the nation, came with the decision of the Secretary of Labor to give especial attention to the problems involving Negro workers and their relations with white workers and white employers. After more than a year of careful consideration and seeking of advice, after listening to the facts as laid before him by various individual citizens, by committees and by letters, acting upon the advice of his war advisory council, the Secretary of Labor decided to have a special Negro adviser and to seek to develop such service as was necessary for the Department to serve Negro wage-earners in the same way as it serves other wage-earners.

In starting this work the Secretary stated that since the Negroes constitute about one-tenth of the total population and about one-seventh of the working population, it seemed wise and reasonable that they should have representation in council when their affairs were being considered and de-

cided. He recognized that the two races are thrown together in their daily work; that a large number of the employers of Negro workmen and a large number of the employees working with Negroes are white persons; and that these conditions give rise to misunderstandings, prejudices, antagonisms, friction and suspicion. Any responsible effort that looks toward adjustment of such questions must, therefore, be a co-operative effort, with the hearty good-will of both races and enlisting the support of the white and colored people in each locality where these problems arise. While the questions which arise are local in origin and must be settled between local persons, they are national in interest and in consequences.

6. *Cooperative Racial-Labor Conferences*

In order to carry out its program of dealing with these local problems, to stimulate the Negro workers to full-time production during the war period and to improve their condition and their relations with white workers and employers, the Department of Labor formed what we called Negro Workers Advisory Committees. Governor T. W. Bickett of North Carolina, last year, called the first state conference of a number of representative white and colored citizens to his office to discuss plans of improving the situation. Similar state conferences were held in five Southern states and five Northern states. Following these conferences Negro workers Advisory Committees were appointed by states, counties and local communities, cities or towns. At present we have nearly 200 local committees in counties, towns and cities in nine states. These committees are made up of representatives of Negro wage-earners with co-operating white members, white employers and, wherever possible, white wage-earners. They have served to link up white employers with the Negro workers through their churches, lodges, women clubs, social service organization. By this means Negro workers are influenced, their efficiency increased, and their conditions improved. To make the practical work of these committees effective the department appointed special agents, competent Negro men, in nine states designated as Supervisors of Negro Economics to investigate Negro affairs, keep oversight of all that was going on and to develop the work of these committees for the purpose of bringing together all the welfare agencies and organizations among Negroes that are doing work in a co-operative spirit and manner for race adjustment.

Last February, in a two-day conference at Washington 150 representatives of 45 agencies, boards and welfare organizations of this kind, national in scope, agreed upon a plan of co-operation among themselves in each locality and of co-operation with the Department of Labor for the removal of duplication of work and co-ordination of their efforts in getting Negro workers into industry, in holding them in industry, in promoting efficiency, for training of workers in both county and city and the advancement of the Negro wage-earners and improving their relations with white wage-earners in this country.

Besides the holding of many state and local conferences that developed better understanding and good will, much other work was accomplished by the committees during the demands for maximum production of the war period. Assistance was given especially to the U. S. Employment Service in the recruiting and placing of Negro wage-earners. A nation-wide educational campaign was successfully conducted to induce them to work six days a week, to reduce "laying out" part of the time, and to induce employers to see the advantage of their making working and living conditions wholesome. Housing, sanitation and improvement of the general conditions were made in many places.

During the past few months since the armistice was signed there has been special need of this work for investigation and other activities of the department that may help Negro workers to protect themselves against the

wide-spread and insidious propaganda of Bolshevism—more insidious and dangerous than German propaganda. The Negro is no Bolshevik. He is 100 per cent American in spite of many handicaps under which he labors when he tries to exercise his American manhood. There is no evidence that Negroes have been effected by such propaganda to any extent but there is evidence that efforts have been and are being made to get their attention. The co-operation of white employers has been sought and continued. During this serious period of unemployment efforts have been made to increase the opportunity for employment of Negro workers, to improve the housing condition of Negro workers in Northern centers and to increase the habits of thrift and to improve the provision for wholesome recreation of Negroes.

It needs to be made clear, however, that this work of the Department of Labor has at no time intended or attempted to replace the services of welfare agencies and organizations. The departmental service through these local Negro Workers Advisory Committees is to gather information for use by the department and other officials and to furnish such information to private organizations for the stimulation of the workers and for the promotion of the co-operative spirit where relations of white workers, white employers and Negro workers are involved. The Negro economics work of the department is advisory to the Secretary and bears a similar relation to Negro affairs that the Children's Bureau does to children's problems, or the Woman-in-Industry Service does to the women's affairs.

7. Abolition of Negro Child Labor

Another important change in the new order will be the abolition of child labor. The loss of man power of the civilized nations through the killing and maiming of 25,000,000 men has so emphasized the importance of human conservation that public opinion will henceforth insist that any line of production which cannot develop without child labor had better go out of existence.

The Negro child in America has crying need of attention in the new order. In 1910, 71 per cent of all Negro persons, male and female, ten years of age and over were gainfully employed. The reason for this large percentage of gainfully employed is the large proportion of women and of children between ten and fifteen years who are at work. With the rapid expansion of industry now upon us there will be strong pressure from both parents and from employers to put these children to work in larger numbers. It was done during the war and many children suffered. There will be strong temptation to send the Negro child prematurely to work. I have counted it a great privilege during the past year to co-operate with the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor in promoting the children's year, the back to the school drive and other efforts. Public opinion and practical effort of the local community in the final analysis must back up the work of the Federal Bureau and must act upon local matters to make national programs effective.

8. Negro Main Source of Surplus Labor

The fourth important factor of the new order which concerns Negro labor is the question of demand and supply of available workers in America during the next five or ten years. According to all our financial and commercial prophets America is on the threshold of the greatest expansion in agriculture, in industry and in commerce that has happened in its history. You recall that Mr. Vanderlip of the National City Bank recently stated that Europe looks to us alone to help rebuild the devastation of the great war and to put her industry and agriculture on a productive footing. Where is the source of labor to produce the coal, iron, steel, food and other materials to say nothing of building and operating the railroads and the ships to carry

them? Recent inquiries of the investigation and Inspection Service of the Department of Labor show that large numbers of aliens are planning to return to Europe as soon as they can get ocean passage. Investigators say that the principal cause for the flow of emigration that has already begun is the desire of aliens here to learn what has befallen their families in their native lands. Many aliens have told investigators that they have not heard from wives and children for four years. They have sent money home but have no means of knowing whether it has been received. Figures from many cities show that fully 50 per cent of the aliens of certain races intend to go back to Europe. One report states:

The clergyman of one foreign church with 1,000 parishioners expected not more than 100 to remain in this country. In an Indiana city with a large Roumanian population, from 40 to 50 per cent want to return to their homeland, Transylvania. Few Poles in the same city expected to return, but 150 of the 600 Serbians wished to go, and it was said that if unemployment became more serious the number would be increased. Already 150 Italians and 100 Greeks have left this city. The numbers are large in view of the size of the Italian and Greek population.

You recall that our immigration of about a million a year was largely cut off by the war. We are, therefore, probably about four millions short of unskilled and semi-skilled labor. There is also agitation for further restriction of immigration.

In view of these facts, where is our needed labor supply to come from? Already several of the southern states and some of the northern industrial centers are reporting a serious shortage of labor.

The Negro people furnish the largest and probably for some time to come our only undeveloped supply of labor in America. And in the new order the old charge of laziness and shiftlessness cannot be upheld. In 1910 71 per cent of the negroes as compared with 51.3 per cent of the whites ten years of age and over were gainfully employed. Colored women show a larger percentage of the gainfully employed than any other women. But the greatest refutation to such a charge was furnished during the war. Hundreds of employers, north and south, have testified with enthusiasm to the industry and faithfulness of their negro employees. Let me quote from just one recently received which is a sample of many:

In a North Carolina tannery the number of colored employees is at least 50 per cent and at times more. An officer of the firm writes: "To say that their work is satisfactory would be putting it mildly, as we have always considered their work equal to the others and have paid them accordingly.

"Of the 52 employees who entered the military service, 22 were colored, of these a number have returned, and the pleasing part of their return was that they immediately came to us and went to work; as we have not only tried to make room for those who were in our employ but a great number who were not in our employ before entering the service.

"There cannot be too much said of the colored man who stayed with us during the War—During the War we purchased at the tannery \$66,000 in Bonds, Notes and Stamps, and when you consider the employment is 50 per cent colored, you can readily see that the colored man stood right back of his colored brother in the Service. As we were 90 per cent Government producers his work was the foundation of Victory and equal credit is due him for his services in the Industrial Field. His contribution to the Red Cross and other War Work Drives was also very creditable, and in the United War Work Drive every man in the tannery donated a day's work, and in the Fourth Liberty Loan every man bought a Bond to the tune of 318 employees."

The Department of Labor is just completing an investigation of experience with negroes in typical industries in five states. It is yet too incomplete to furnish statements for publication, but the indications are that the record made by Negro workers in many plants compares favorably with that of white workers in the same establishments.

9. *What Negro Worker Wants*

But in the new order the Negro worker wants, and every principle of good business and human justice says that he should have, a full opportunity on the same terms as other workers, that he may be able to take a full place in the world's work. What does the Negro worker want as a necessary condition for his meeting successfully the demands of industry and agriculture of the new order?

In the first place he wants to get his job, hold his job and get equal pay for equal work on the same terms as other workers. He not only wants these terms of employment in the first place, but in the second place the Negro worker of today wants the opportunity for more and better training that he may develop his capacity for greater efficiency, which will enable him to take a greater part in the great expansion of American economic life now imminent.

In the third place, the Negro worker wants the removal of discrimination not only from the fields of work but from public courts and public conveyances and from all of the public facilities in city and in country. He wants an opportunity for self-development. He asks that the principle of self-determination shall be applied to him as to other people; that he shall be considered as a part of the people whose government rests upon the consent of the governed.

He is coming, in the fourth place, to a consciousness of himself as a man among men. He is learning more and more to stand upon his own feet, to look the world in the face and to make no apologies because God made his skin black or brown and his hair curly. He is asking the American people not to make a discount on his manhood because of his color. He is asking to be weighed upon the basis of his character, his intelligence and his place of economic importance in the new order.

10. *New Basis of Capital and Labor*

Turning now to the last factor, I shall mention here one of the most far-reaching changes from the old order to the new is the difference in the basis of the relationship of capital and labor. During the war the leaders of the labor world and the leaders among employers generally agreed to an arrangement of co-operation and the settlement of differences by means of conciliation and mediation instead of by the militant methods of strikes and lockouts. The result was that during the period of the war, with the help of the Labor Adjustment Service, the Investigation and Inspection Service and the War Labor Board of the Department of Labor, an unusual number of amicable adjustments of disputes between workers and employers were made and many troubles were nipped in the bud before they reached the point of disagreement.

Since the close of the war there have been efforts on both sides, on the part of labor leaders and on the part of employers, to preserve this spirit of co-operation and conciliation. Last December, at the meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States here in Atlantic City, the representative employers from all parts of the country issued a full statement showing a most liberal attitude. They approved the principle of collective bargaining, standardization of hours, minimum wage, conciliation of employers and employees and a number of other advanced positions.

A few weeks later some of the labor leaders expressed themselves in similar terms. At the present time one of the leading newspapers of Washington is pushing the idea of having a national conference of leaders of labor and capital at Washington to come to a better understanding and agreement on some of our outstanding problems of labor and capital. Many

large establishments have already taken steps to create co-operative committees of employes' representatives to confer regularly with the management on matters affecting the business. In America we have not gone as far as the British with their shop committees, but we are moving in the direction of a better and more democratic understanding between employer and employe.

The attitude of the Negro worker is of special significance here. He does not have the militant attitude of the striker or the strike breaker, nor does he possess the destructive attitude of the anarchist or bolshevist. He has the conciliatory spirit and believes that questions between employer and employe should be settled on a basis of peaceful agreement before the industrial war rather than the patched-up peace after wasteful industrial strife. He knows the power of the capitalist and employer. He also knows the power of organized labor, because he has had to deal with both in his long-drawn struggle to get work, to hold work and to be paid for his work on the same terms as other workers. In a sentence, by temperament and by habit the Negro worker has a distinct contribution to make to the cause of co-operation and conciliation between employers and employes.

May I again refer to the Negro workers' advisory committees started by the Department of Labor. This principle of co-operation of employer and employe, mentioned here, is the spirit and principle that the department has promoted through these committees.

There are a number of other factors that might enter into this discussion of the new order and Negro labor. There are questions of housing, of public health, of accident insurance, sick and old age pensions, conservation of country life, conservation of natural resources and many other questions of the new order that affect the Negro worker. For lack of time these will have to be omitted.

We have considered the new order and the Negro's relationship to it with reference to the coming to greater consciousness of the common man. We have found that the negro has risen in his consciousness with the other toilers of the world. In the second place, he has come with other workers to the new sense of the importance of common labor and the dignity of the laborer. There has been driven deep into his consciousness the meaning of the work of the laborer in his effort to raise his standard of living. The effort of the Department of Labor through its Negro workers' advisory committees and its effort in stimulating negro labor to do more enthusiastic and efficient work have been brought to your attention.

The abolition of child labor and the relation of the Negro child to it is of far-reaching consequence to all children of the nation. The great importance of the undeveloped, potential power of the labor of the Negro worker as our nation faces both a tremendous productive expansion and a shortage of foreign labor emphasizes anew the Negro's desire for opportunity for self-development. These are far-reaching factors influencing not only the welfare of the wage earner but the welfare of the entire nation.

Is it not, therefore, time that every community program for garnering the grain left from the war should contain full arrangements for the participation of the Negro worker that he may contribute his share and receive benefits from the common life? Only in this way can America keep in the van of the new order of freedom for the many who toil.

WHAT DOES THE NEGRO WANT IN OUR DEMOCRACY?

R. R. Wright, Jr., Ph.D., Editor "*Christian Recorder*," President, Colored Protective Association, Philadelphia.

The invitation to speak at the National Conference of social work on this subject, came to me as a great surprise. The subject is not of my choosing. As it came with the ear marks of sincerity, I shall answer as frankly and as clearly as possible.

The Question.

I take it that "our democracy" refers to our country, as it is now in ideal, and as it is hoped it will be as a result of the labors of such good people as make up this conference. As we all strive for that ideal, we should all know what each expects to realize. As the Negro has helped in war and peace, in slavery and freedom with labor and life, to make our country what it now is, and what it shall be, a very proper question to ask is "What Does the Negro Want in Our Democracy?" The answer to this question is as applicable to the local as well as to the national community.

It is not at all improper that I should answer this question on behalf of my people, for I have been elected by the secret ballot of 600 representatives who were themselves elected to represent more than a million Negroes in every state in the Union and in Africa, South America and the West Indies, as a spokesman of the Negroes. I am editor of the *Christian Recorder*, the official organ of the African Methodist Episcopal church, the oldest and largest organization of Negroes in America. I keep in weekly touch with its leaders all over the world, I travel constantly throughout the country and make it my business to know Negro thoughts. I am president of the largest local civic organization among Negroes in America—The Colored Protective Association of Philadelphia, and I entered social work among Negroes only after a thorough course in History, Economics and Sociology, taking A.B. degree in a southern Negro college (Georgia State), the A.M. degree in a western university (The University of Chicago), and the Ph.D. degree in an eastern university (The University of Pennsylvania).

As research fellow in Sociology in the University of Pennsylvania, and under a grant from the Carnegie Institution, and as an investigator for the United States government, I traveled during my student days in various parts of the North and South, and upon my responsibility I compared results by study and observations for more than a year in Europe. Since my student days I have had my heart close to the Negro, for upon them and them alone I depend for my livelihood. I was born in Georgia, and have spent over half my life in the South, and I have been in every state in the South from three times to a dozen times within the past ten years. I make these personal statements that you may see that I have some reason for answering this question on the behalf of my people "What Does the Negro Want in Our Democracy?" I shall answer the question in a few paragraphs as succinctly as possible.

The Negroes' wants in our democracy are simple and fundamental.

The Negro wants a democracy not a "whiteocracy." At present the United States of America is more a "whiteocracy" than a democracy. The Negro wants the sign "*For Whites Only*" erased from the banner and spirit of "our democracy." In other words, all the Negro wants is democracy in the fundamental sense of the term as explained by the immortal Lincoln in "*A government of the people for the people and by the people*" (not white people only). All the Negro wants in our democracy, is for the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, and of the Constitution of the United States to be applied to all citizens without fear or favor. That is not done in the United States today and in so far as it is not, we fall short

of anything like a democracy in America. Some of the fundamental things which "Our Democracy" should hold out to all able-bodied, sound-minded men (and women also) should be the right to help make, interpret and execute the laws of democracy, directly or through the representatives they elect; that is, there should be political equality. There should be the equal opportunity of all children to become educated so as to preserve the democracy; there should be equitable conditions of living, including a just division of the products of capital and labor so that there may be progress in democracy. But these things are so fundamental and elemental that the whole nation accepts them in theory at least—but for whites only.

Let me be more specific. What does the Negro want in "Our Democracy?" I answer specifically as follows:

1. *A chance to vote.*

The right to express opinion as to what laws shall govern the democracy and who shall execute them is fundamental. It is notorious that where nine-tenths of the Negroes live they are denied the right to vote, and in defiance of the spirit of our democracy. When the draft law was applied in the South, there was no distinction on account of color (except in the cases where Negroes were sent to fill the quotas for which whites should have been sent). Why should there be distinction when it comes to applying the election law? The Negro who enrolled over one million strong and went to France over two hundred and fifty thousand strong—the Negro who presented himself in the defense of his country in *larger proportion than the white man of the South—wants to know why he should work and fight for democracy and cannot vote for it?*

And this Negro will not be satisfied until he gets a fair chance to vote. And until that chance is given, "Our Democracy" is merely a sham and a farce. For the Negro is the acid test of our democracy.

2. *Justice in the courts.*

Next to the right to vote, "Our Democracy" should give to all equal justice before the courts. But justice in a large part of America is labeled "for whites only." In cases of Negroes versus Negroes, there is fair enough justice; when a Negro is on one side and a white man is on the other, it is rare, except in trivial cases, for the Negro to get justice. Justice is usually on the side of the voters—in "Our Democracy." Practically every intelligent Negro knows (whether he thinks it politic to state it publicly or not is another matter) that the courts of the South make mockery of justice, so far as the protection of the rights of Negroes against the aggression of lawless whites is concerned. And they forfeit millions of dollars every year because they know the courts are against them. ("What's the use?" is the question of despair so often heard when a Negro knows he is right, but also knows the courts are against him.) So the Negro wants justice in the courts.

3. *Representation on jury.*

The right of trial by one's peers is a cornerstone in "Our Democracy," but the Negro does not have it. Every year in "Our Democracy" hundreds of thousands of Negroes are tried, but no Negro who knows Negro life, social conditions, Negro psychology, etc., is ever called to sit on their cases; but men who never enter a Negro home, who never sit in a Negro church, who have nothing but contempt for Negroes and at the very best are ignorant of Negro soul-life, are their jurors. Do you wonder that so many are condemned? Do you wonder that justice is so often miscarried? Do you wonder that there is growing mistrust of the courts? Do you wonder that a leading and powerful Negro paper refers often to the "Department of Justice" as the "Department of Injustice"?

So the Negro wants to be and ought to be on the juries of "Our Democracy" to preserve justice.

4. *Representation in the Government.*

There are twelve million Negroes in this country. They are about 10.5 per cent of the nation's population. In the states south of the Ohio river there are nearly 10,000,000, who are about thirty per cent of the population. Yet, there is not a single Negro in Congress, there is no representation in any Southern state legislature or city council. In sections where a large majority of the vote is Negro, there is no representation. This not only hurts the Negro, but it hurts "Our Democracy." No government, however powerful it may be, can endure upon a basis of insincerity, subterfuge and fraud. And only upon this basis is the Negro kept out of the law-making bodies of the South. Understand, the Negro does not want to "dominate," he only wants to be heard. If he is to obey the law, he wants the right to express himself about it. And not only in the making of law, but in the administering of law, the Negro wants a share. A great deal of friction of race in the local community is due to the fact that the Negro has no chance to help administer the law—not even to do police duty in Negro neighborhoods. More than one race riot would have been averted if the community had been democratic enough to give the Negro a part in administering the law instead of having people do that duty who feel they should cower the Negro. So I repeat, the Negro wants representation in the legislative and executive branches of our local, state and national governments, which their labor and their valor have helped to create. They want it for themselves; they want it that our democracy, as a democracy, shall not perish from the earth.

5. *Better Living Conditions.*

In every community in the South, notwithstanding Negroes pay comparatively higher rents than whites, and notwithstanding their property is often assessed higher in proportion than the whites, they are shamefully discriminated against in the sharing of public utilities. They are forced to live upon the undrained and unpaved and unlighted streets. They rarely have garbage collection. It is impossible to put sanitary toilets, bath tubs and other improvements their taxes pay for in their homes. They pay higher insurance because the city will not give them water and fire protection. I know the terrible strain many Southern communities are under, but that strain is no excuse for such unfairness which amounts to even robbery in "Our Democracy." Of course, if the Negro had a ballot, he could not be robbed of his proportion of city improvements as he now is. But when the fundamental right to vote is denied in "our Democracy" you may expect any other injustice.

6. *Fairer Wages.*

In a democracy there should be an equitable distribution of the combined products of labor and capital. To the laborer this is usually wages. The Negro does not get fair wages. He pays more for rent, more for food, and more for clothes, comparatively, than the white man, but as in the case of the white woman, as compared with the white man, the Negro does not get for the same work the same wages that the whites get.

7. *Better Educational Advantages.*

Wherever separate schools exist, they exist to the detriment of the Negroes—in the length of term, equipment, preparation and pay of teachers. Notwithstanding the Negroes are largely engaged in agriculture, and agriculture is one of the chief supports, states like Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama, Arkansas and others of the South make almost no provision for the training of Negroes as compared with whites. Not only

do they neglect to do their duty from the funds of their own treasury, some of them actually steal from the Negro the share which the government appropriates for education.

In "our Democracy" there is not a single state which has a separate system of schools which does anything like half-way justice (not ideal justice, but in comparison with what is done for other children) to Negro education. The foreigner who has never done a thing for the country gets for his children opportunities for education which the Negro whose ancestors have given ten generations to help the country is denied. Think of it! For ten millions of Negroes there is not a single full-fledged college or technical school of a higher order, supported by public funds, in the whole Southland, and in all of these states Negroes are denied entrance into those technical schools which the states support. Think of it; there are not ten high schools of equal grade with the whites of the Southern states, and one million five hundred thousand Negro children are out of school today in "Our Democracy." The Negro wants a chance to educate his children.

8. *Protection of Colored Women.*

The Negro wants his women protected. If a Negro commits rape upon a white woman, he is lynched, if a mob can get him. "Our Democracy" has a just horror of the rape of white women, and some have gone so far as to justify lynching for that cause. But the most prevalent form of rape in this country is the rape of Negro women by white men—but as yet the conscience of "Our Democracy" is asleep to the rape of Negro women; one rarely ever hears of a white man being brought to trial for that crime.

The Negro wants fornication and bastardy laws which will make white men support their bastard children and will give a colored woman who is betrayed by a white man some standing in court. Negroes object to anti-intermarriage laws, not because they want to marry white women, but because they know such laws are made purely for the degradation of Negro women and protect white men in their attacks upon our womanhood. I believe every Negro of intelligence would welcome an anti-miscegenation law, which would keep down inter-breeding. Because Negroes have no vote, the white voters permit whorehouses and low dives to thrive in Negro neighborhoods. Indeed, the city council has designated such a district where a Negro school was. In many cities the brothels for white men are in Negro neighborhoods—not by invitation, however, but because a voteless people cannot protect themselves, and a democracy which disfranchises any part of its citizens makes them the logical prey of the vicious ones of the enfranchised group.

9. *Abolition of Lynching.*

There have been over 3,500 in our country; many of them have been for causes more or less trivial; such as "talking back to a white person," disputing about money, theft, resisting arrest, etc., for which the offender would have received a light sentence if convicted in a court by trial. But a democracy which disfranchises a part of its citizens may expect lynching. Sheriffs are slow to protect those who do not vote for them.

10. *Abolition of Special Laws.*

Practically all of the older states, at one time, saw fit to have special laws for the control of Negroes. These laws existed in Ohio, New York and Pennsylvania, as well as Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia. But fortunately, most of them have been abolished. The Negro wants them all abolished, for they do not help the Negro and only harm and degrade the white man. They are instruments to legalize community robbery and oppression. At present the separate car law is not an instrument of justice, but a mere subterfuge to tax Negroes for comforts for whites. Negroes pay

the same as whites for their tickets, but do not get the same accommodation as whites, which is mere robbery. This injustice the Negro wants abolished.

11. *The Use of Public Privileges for Which They Pay.*

Negroes pay taxes, often special assessments for public parks, public libraries, public schools and other public conveniences, even public toilets, from which they are excluded and no provision is made for them. This is not the ideal of democracy and yet there are millions of people today who not only contend against it but think it right.

12. *Negroes Want the Fruits of Victory as Well as the Burdens of War.*

On every hand we have heard the Negro applauded for his loyalty in the war. Only a few days ago a governor of a great Southern state complimented a Negro audience on its loyalty. Said he: "You did everything we asked; you were every bit as loyal as the white people. You showed you were American to the core. When we called for the boys to go to the war, you answered with 26,000; when we called for the Liberty Loan, you gave your hundreds of thousands. You gave to the Red Cross, for the Y. M. C. A., for the Armenian and Syrian Christians. You bought thrift stamps and war savings certificates; your women organized; your churches rallied, and at home you held your own as workers in the home trenches. I say we are proud of your patriotism. And of the 250 boys of this state who gave their lives for our nation, in camp or hospital or transport or in trenches, of these 250 brave boys whom this state and nation must forever honor, you, my splendid colored friends, gave more than one hundred of your boys, your sons, your fathers and brothers to pay the last and greatest price of liberty."

I asked myself as I heard this eloquent governor: "Is this sacrifice not worth the ballot and the privilege of a citizen?" Now that the Negro has helped win the war he wants some of its fruits.

13. *Negroes Want the Church to be Democratic; Particularly Do They Want the Christianity of Jesus as Applied to Social Questions.*

Even though the mass of Negroes are untrained in social science or theology, next to the denial of the right to vote, the greatest resentment is felt toward the organized church, which is regarded as either weak or hypocritical in its attitude towards the social welfare of the Negroes. Somehow, the Negro feels that the church ought to be concerned with the things of earth such as legal justice, protection of womanhood, education and conservation of child life, prevention of crime and disease, training and adequate returns for labor, and equal ballot, fair administration of the law as applied to the Negro. But the church seems to have assumed the position of the priest and the Levite in its relation to the Negro who has fallen among political and economic thesians in "Our Democracy."

14. *The Negro Wants Recognition of Real Negro Leadership?*

In our democracy we shall not be safe if employers or those whom employers pay are the only spokesmen for labor; or if men or those whom men pay represent women; if English or those dependent upon the philanthropy or the politics of the English, represent the Irish. So if white men or those dependent upon the philanthropy of white men are to be the sole spokesmen to the white world for the Negro race, the Negro will not be fairly represented and will distrust our democracy. The democracy needs the Negro as represented by the Negro leadership. The Negro churches, newspapers, business and fraternal organizations are developing Negro leaders. The day of the hand-picked leaders is over. The men and women who sit at the council table for the Negro, who are to represent the Negro point of view, must be a genuine Negro leader, who is put up by Negroes, supported by Negroes and may be taken down by Negroes when he fails to

represent them. Our real leaders are not those gentlemen whose hands are held out for the alms of white people and who live on their "philanthropy."

15. Negroes Want Democracy and Mutual Self-Respect Among the Races Which Make Up Our Great Country.

Negroes do not want to dominate any body; they merely want representation; they do not want to hate white people. They do not want bolshevism. They do not want anarchy. They want to be American citizens in the greatest democracy of the world. They are not aliens—they were born here. Do you think the Negro wants too much?

In 1619, three hundred years ago this year, twenty Negroes were brought to Virginia, and from that day to this the Negro has done his part to develop the country. And it does seem strange that where the Negro has worked most, he gets less. For two hundred and fifty years he was the unpaid labor of the South. At the bottom of the aristocracy of the South was Negro labor. Negro labor cleared the forest, built the roads, made the cotton, laid the railroad tracks, built the houses, cooked the meals, washed the clothes and nursed the children. It was at the bottom of the grace of dignity of the South (be it remember that the Southerner who did not rest his welfare on the shoulders of Negroes, i. e., who had no slaves, did not have wealth or culture or power); and what did the Negro get out of these 250 years of unrequited toil—building the great Southland? He got 100 per cent illiteracy, 100 per cent poverty, a system of law and government in which he was 100 per cent chattel and no per cent citizen when it came to the act of governing.

Now, for fifty years the Negro has aided in improving the South he helped to build. There is no social student who will say he has not put into it more than he has gotten out of it. Still, notwithstanding what the Negro has put into the building of the South, he must come to the North if he wants to vote or to get reasonably fair trial or to get first-class education or to live on paved streets with electric lights and police protection and civic treatment every citizen of a democracy ought to have.

The Negro wants a fair application of the suffrage laws, the school appropriation, etc., because he got a pretty fair application of the draft law; he sent his boys to the camp to more than 100 per cent of its quota. He got a fair application when it came to sending men to France to help win the war. And as in the last, so has it been in every war since the Negro Crispus Attuck shed his first blood of the Revolutionary War, on Boston Common, 150 years ago, to help free this country from the tyranny of England. And when it comes to having their property assessed and to be taxed, the Negro is 100 per cent of the demand of our country for service. The Negroes are not discriminated against. Then should they be discriminated against when it comes to the privilege of the government? What we want is not only responsibilities, but privileges.

Again I repeat, what the Negro wants in "our Democracy" is to simply be an American citizen bearing the burdens and sharing the advantages of American citizenship.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Rev. Alexander Patterson of Pittsburgh made "a friendly protest" against the program because relatively so little time seemed to be given in the Conference to a discussion of questions considered vital to colored people.

Mr. William Anthony Aery, publication secretary of Hampton Institute, made a plea for the more complete utilization of available Negro leadership and for the National recognition of the Negroes' services in times of peace as well as in times of war. "The Negro is in industry to stay," he said. "White people can greatly help or they can greatly hinder Negroes in industry; but, if they wish to act wisely, they will do everything that they can to see that Negroes are adequately educated, properly housed, and amply pro-

ted in all their human rights. Ignorance and injustice breed crime and hatred which all society must carry as burdens."

Mr. Francis Tyson of Pittsburgh declared that the war and migration to the North gave the Negro his first great economic opportunity since emancipation. Other important economic changes have naturally followed in the South. Negroes, in spite of many maladjustments, have learned to feel a new sense of freedom and opportunity in the North. The present labor shortage—one which may grow more serious—will give the Negro chance to work such as he has never had before. The Negro in the North, if need be, must sacrifice himself as an individual so as to win a secure place in the social order for his half man brother of the South. The new attitude of the labor leaders toward Negro laborers should make the Negro leaders appreciate the values of organization and put a premium upon real Negro statesmanship. It would be very unfortunate for Negroes to align themselves at this critical period against the strong existing labor unions. The Negro must capitalize the present economic situation to get what he needs.

Prof. George William Cook of Howard University, Washington, D. C., declared that "the Negro problem is one of the greatest problems now before the country. The housing conditions which colored people almost everywhere have to face are very bad." He spoke on the basis of his knowledge of Negro housing conditions in the District of Columbia. "The colored man has accepted every possible opportunity to move away from bad housing conditions which is evidenced by the attempt through segregation ordinances to prevent his doing so."

Mrs. Robbins Gilman of Minneapolis, representing the Women's Co-operative Alliance, stated that the organization of women representing the eighteen large organizations dealing with children and young women have been responsible for organizing the colored women on exactly the same lines of the Alliance, and that this organization was now affiliated with the Women's Co-operative Alliance and would be absorbed into the Alliance the first of the year; that they had made a survey of the employment into which colored girls go and found it hazardous; that there was now a petition being presented to employers asking them to employ and promote colored girls upon merit. Some employers were acquiescing favorably while others were taking the matter under consideration.

The following results of the Minneapolis study were quoted:

Number included in survey—85.

Survey made of girls between the ages of 16 and 32 years,	
16 to 20 years	37
20 to 25 years	39
25 to 32 years	29

Living conditions:

At home	55
With relatives	8
Rooming	27

Educational qualifications:

College graduates	4
High school graduates	22
Three years high school	5
Two years high school	10
One year high school	2
Vocational high school graduates	3
Completed eighth grade	26
Under eighth grade	11

Preferences stated by girls as to type of work preferred:

Telephone work	53
Candy factory	24
Department store	29
Stenographer	14
Envelope factory	13

Mr. John R. Shillady of New York, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, stated that the details for the New Orleans meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, to be held in 1920, should be carefully thought out in advance of the big annual meeting. Social workers should be thinking about the problems which they would like to have presented and discussed. "Southern people," he said, "do not really know the Negro, but the Negro does know the white people. Both groups must discover a sound basis of adjustment. A benevolent segregation is apt to be put over by the North at the New Orleans meeting."

THE NORTH CAROLINA SCHEME OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT

E. C. Branson, Kenan Professor of Rural Social Science, University of North Carolina

I am not meaning to be impertinent when I say to the Local Community Section of the National Social Work Conference that the welfare problems of forty-four million people in the United States are not industrial and urban, but agricultural and rural. The multitudes that dwell in the vast open spaces of America beyond our city gates have not yet had their day in court. These country multitudes have problems that are of pressing national importance, and they must be fully considered at some early day if we are to keep our town and country civilizations in sane, safe balance. There is no more important problem than that in any land or country. It may not be amiss, therefore, to fix the attention of this conference for a little while upon the country end of our national life.

Our Countryside Social Problems

I have been asked to present to you the North Carolina scheme of rural development. The phrasing of my subject is not my own, which gives you a chance to acquit me, if you will, of what a Cracker friend at home calls "toploftical assumacy."

North Carolina is a rural state, like all the rest in the cotton and tobacco belts of the South. Our industrial bread-winners are a larger portion of the entire population, than in any other Southern state, but in 1910 they were only 133,000 all told, or less than one-seventh of the total number of persons engaged in gainful occupations, and more than half of these live under rural conditions in mill villages of fewer than 2,500 inhabitants. Our welfare problems are, therefore, mainly rural. Which means that for two and a half centuries we have been unaware of social ills and unconcerned about them; or so until our present governor, Thomas W. Bickett, in epoch-making fashion, focused public thought upon their superlative importance.

Nearly exactly four of every five people in North Carolina are dwellers in the open country, outside towns and villages of any sort or size whatsoever, only eight families to the square mile the state over, both races counted. And they dwell not in farm groups or communities as in the old world countries, but in solitary, widely scattered farm homes, fewer than four families per square mile in ten counties, and fewer than seventeen per square mile in our most populous country county. Our country civilization is analyzable in terms of individual farmsteads, settlements, and neighborhoods. Compactly settled country communities conscious of common necessities and organized to secure common advantages are few and rare. Country community is a term that means something in the Middle West, the North and East; it means little as yet anywhere in the South. We have such communities here and there, but they are infrequent, sad to say.

Our ills are not mainly those of congested population centers where, in Rousseau's phrase, the breath of man is fatal to his fellows. We know little of the bewildering, baffling city problems of progress and poverty, magnificence and misery side by side. Our ills are mainly the social consequences of (1) farming as an occupation (2) in sparsely settled areas—the ills of solitariness, remoteness and aloofness. We are far removed from socialism in any sense, good or bad. On the other hand, we have always been but a hair's-breadth away from individualism, raw, raucous and unorganizable. Both the best and the worst of my home state lies in the fact that too long it has been excessively rural and intensely individualistic—in business enterprise, in legislation and civic rule, and, worst of all, in

religious consciousness. Our fundamental ill is social insulation and our fundamental task is local organization for economic and social advantage, for local self-expression and self-regulation in community affairs, and for generous, active civic interest in commonwealth concerns.

Such, in brief, are our problems, and they are the problems of some forty-odd millions of people in countryside America.

A Common Social Menace

In passing, let me call your attention to a social ill of fundamental sort that increasingly menaces our town and country populations alike, namely, the steady decrease in the number of people who live in their own homes and till their own farms, the steady increase of landless, homeless multitudes in both our town and country regions. These homeless people shift from pillar to post under the pressure of necessity or the lure of opportunity. They abide in no place long enough to become identified with community life, to acquire a proprietary interest in schools and churches, and to develop a robust sense of civic and social responsibility. Instable, irresponsible citizenship is a seed bed—a hot bed, if you please—for every sort of irrational impulse.

Already three-fifths of all dwellings in the United States are occupied by tenants and renters; in Boston the ratio rises to 80 per cent and in Greater New York to 89 per cent.* Fifty-five million people in these United States spend their days and nights, like poor Dante, going up and down somebody's else stairs. In general, the fatal law of our civilization seems to be that the more populous and prosperous an area becomes, the fewer are the people who live in their own homes and dwell unmolested and unafraid under their own vines and fig trees. I have yet to hear in this conference the discussion of any social ill that is not sequentially related directly or indirectly to home-ownership by the few and land orphanage for the many. I shall hope to hear this foundational problem threshed out at length at some early day in the National Social Work Conference. It concerns both our city and country civilizations in fundamental sort.

Social Activities in North Carolina

I was drafted into the service, I presume, to give you a modest account—if such a thing is possible—of North Carolina's brave attack upon the social problems of a rural people during the last four years. The story is full of detail, but, briefly, it covers a common-school fund nearly doubled during the war and a fifty per cent salary increase for public school teachers as a legal requirement; an illiteracy commission with a support fund of \$25,000 a year; a compulsory school attendance law, together with a standard child-labor law; three and a half millions of bond money for enlarging and equipping our public institutions of learning and benevolence; nearly \$250,000 a year for public health work, for the medical and dental inspection of schools and the free treatment of indigent school children, and for the defense of our homes against the ravages of social disease; around a million two hundred thousand dollars a year of local, state and federal funds for agricultural education and promotion; a law sanctioning co-operative enterprise in general, and in particular the best co-operative credit-union law in the United States, as a result of which we have more farm credit-unions than all the rest of the states combined; a state-wide cotton warehouse system based on the best law in the South; a public welfare law establishing a state welfare board with ample authority and support, and calling now for county welfare boards and superintendents, not optionally, as in Indiana, Kansas, Minnesota and other states, but

* University of N. C. News Letter, Vol. III, Nos. 36 and 39.

mandatorily; a juvenile court and probation officer in every county, and in every city with 10,000 inhabitants or more; a rural township incorporation law and a state commission charged with rural organization and recreation; a state-wide social service organization, and public welfare courses at the state university.

And so on and on. Thirty-five laws of economic and social import have gone on our statute books in four years, all of them directly or indirectly related to rural social welfare. It is a new kind of legislative activity in North Carolina and we have had more of such legislation during Governor Bickett's administration than can be found in any hundred years of our history heretofore. It has been epoch making legislation and it ushers in a great new era in North Carolina. The valley of humiliation located between two mountains of conceit, as a Tarheel is accustomed to describe his state to Virginians and South Carolinians, has suddenly become the Valley of Decision that the prophet Joel saw in his dreams.

The Rural Township Incorporation Law

So many experiments are recently under way in North Carolina, that I have been at a loss to guess just which one of them the chairman of this section had in mind when phrasing my theme for me.

I have, however, a vague suspicion that she meant for me to discuss in particular our Rural Township Incorporation Law—a law that makes it possible for the people of our country neighborhoods to create by popular vote the civic machinery necessary to self-expression and self-rule. It is the familiar town meeting of New England. It was indigenous to the democracy of a people compactly settled in communities in limited areas.

The idea has been slow to develop in the South because of our vast spaces, and the settlement of our people in early times and at the present day in individual farmsteads. Our counties are large as a rule, many of them larger than the state of Rhode Island. Our townships are large. They are geographical divisions and administrative units in the political scheme of things. They are nowhere economic or social groups.

The net result has been a feeble sense of civic and an almost utter lack of social responsibility in our country counties. A perfectly natural result has been honest but inefficient and wasteful county government in the South, or so as a rule. The remedy for this sad state of affairs, as Thomas Jefferson clearly saw a hundred years ago, lies in organized community life and local discipline in righteous self-rule. It is essential to the perpetuity of American democracy and the lack of it threatens our entire civic structure, said he. Our rural township incorporation law is a tardy recognition of Thomas Jefferson's wisdom.

The law is two years old and, because it rests upon our ancient rights of local option in static farm areas, township organization under this law is slow—so slow that only six communities in the state are so far organized even on paper. It is a hopeful experiment of the right sort, and in time it will head-up into great results.

Legislation and Local Social Welfare

Lest you think me a Bourbon and not a democrat in political philosophy, let me hurry to say that I think of legislation as related to social aspiration and effort about as I think of the steel tubing in a Hudson River tunnel.

The tube of steel is indispensable to permanency. So are law and civic machinery necessary to give form and permanency to social activity. Of course, I believe that true democracy is the outward evidence of inner grace and worth; that it must be developed from within and cannot be imposed from without. But ours is a represented democracy. Our own representa-

tives make our laws and, if they are unfit, sooner or later we freely elect new representatives and repeal obnoxious laws.

Such reform legislation as I have discussed is not dropped down from above like manna; it is grown out of the social soil under the hand of our chosen civic servants.

This I know—a vast deal of the gospel of co-operation, say, has gone to waste in America, because it has lacked fit legal sanction in state legislation. Co-operative credit unions, for instance, are rapidly developing in North Carolina because we have what other states lack—an effective co-operative enterprise law.

Our local welfare problems are being directly attacked by county juvenile courts, county public welfare boards, county probation, parole, and school attendance officers, and county factory inspectors charged with enforcing our new child labor law. There is nothing new to you in these forms of social activity, except perhaps the fact that these county boards and officials have come into existence in North Carolina under state-wide compulsion and not by community choice as in other states.

It is highly significant that a rural individualistic people has at last been willing to lay aside the sacred rights of local option and to choose instead the sacred rights of childhood as an imperious commonwealth concern. A full four-fifths of our children are country children and they have long suffered from the social inactivity of remote rural counties; not more nor worse in North Carolina than in similar counties in other states—say in Clinton and Franklin counties in New York state, or in Fayette county Pennsylvania, or in Windham county, Connecticut, or in Aroostook county, Maine, or in the delta region of South Illinois.

But at last the great common heart of North Carolina has heard the cry of her children, and as a state she has sounded a call to the colors for a grand army attack upon the enemies of childhood—upon poor schools in rural areas, upon bad health conditions, upon the benumbing drudgery and unrelieved loneliness of life in solitary farm homes. Nothing less than this will avail to explain the ground swell of legislative reform in North Carolina. When one stops to think it through, it becomes plainer than a pikestaff that our radical legislative reforms are sourced in a newly awakened, immense concern about the children of North Carolina.

The simple fact is that every really worth while economic and social activity is related to the supreme purpose of making "this dirty little spot in space that men call earth," a safer and happier place for children to be born into and to grow up in. This is the very essence of the mind and message and meaning of Miss Lathrop to this generation of men and women the world around. May God multiply her kind ten thousand times over in every land and country.

MOBILIZING THE RURAL COMMUNITIES FOR RESULTS

E. L. Morgan, National Director, Bureau of Rural Organization, American Red Cross, Washington.

I will assume that you have in mind a fairly definite meaning of the term rural community, at least none of your time will be taken in an effort to define it. It is everywhere agreed that rural progress depends on creating an aggressive conscience on the part of the rural community which will result in a gradual though persistent development of those things by which people live.

Rural progress needs none of the "up-lift" idea. The work to be done is that of straight forward development of forces and agencies which now exist. That is to say we need to have done for the community the same thing that social workers have been doing for families. We might call it community case work. Years ago our cities began to make adjustment to their new needs through study, long term planning and united action. It is well for us to get in mind that the open country has not gone to pieces, it has simply failed to make these adjustments as they have arisen year by year.

Fifty years ago there had been evolved in most parts of the open country a satisfactory balance within the rural community in its industrial, educational, social and general living aspects. There was no cry of abandoned farms, no undue movement toward the cities. The country community presented a very substantial, pure-bred sort of appearance. These things which made up the community comprised a balanced social unit. Many changes of a social and industrial nature which have taken place since that time have left the country community decidedly out of adjustment so that the work to be done is one of mobilizing or in sociological terms, one of organization. Organization consists in adjustments and not in agreement.

When a farmer wishes to organize his farm business the first thing he does is to get clearly in mind the end to be attained, that is, he takes into account markets, soil and climate, together with his own desire, and decides on the type of a farm it should become. He chooses between dairy, fruit, poultry, or general grain farming, or a combination of some of these. He then takes his farm just as it is, together with his available capital and labor supply and works out a detailed long term plan of development. Changes are then made as fast as it is wise for the general welfare of the business. Every improvement is planned in relation to others which are to follow and is a step toward the goal which is a well-balanced farm. This is recognized as the most efficient way to organize a farm business.

The same principle holds when it comes to developing a community. The fact that social instead of mechanical forces are to be dealt with does not alter the case in the least. Experience has shown that it merely requires the application of the best known business principles to the affairs which are of common interest.

Every community is doing one or two good things, but there is lacking a solid front, well-balanced development which can come about only when the long look ahead has been put into the development of affairs. The goal then is the community conscientiously coming together to determine on a program of development based on actual facts which program may be carried out as fast as practicable. This means vastly different things in different sections of the country. There is no stereotype method for developing the rural community which can be expected to work under all conditions. It may be said however, that any community movement to do the things needed, should involve at least the following:

1. A desire on the part of the people to do something. Into this should come the mass-meeting idea. It should be given a large place, for no com-

munity will go any farther or faster than the local people both see and believe.

2. A study of actual facts concerning local conditions on which specific projects can be based. This study should be carried on as far as is possible by the local people with the help and direction of persons equipped to give advice in various fields.

3. The adoption of the practical, comprehensive, workable program made up of projects based on actual local needs.

4. Some sort of local group to direct the carrying out of the program as fast as it is feasible. At this point it is well to recognize the fact that no community will go any further or faster than its own local leaders can take it. They are the only ones who can give adequate, continuous, and permanent direction. The idea of some one coming in from the outside to stir things up is not sound except as it may be applied to institutes, conferences, etc.

Mobilizing of the rural community must be thought of as a part of a large general plan of rural workers. It is exceedingly dangerous to inaugurate community development movements in isolated and detached cases where there can be no follow-up work. The following is needed in every state in order that substantial community development shall be permanent and not sporadic:

1. The coming together of state supported and voluntary organizations, boards and institutions dealing with the various phases of country life. This should be for the purpose of mutual understanding, exchange of plans and projects and definite planning for the contact of field work as well as for a definite state policy in rural affairs as far as that can be worked out.

2. The coming together on the part of county organizations for similar purposes. There are many rural agencies which now employ paid agents within counties. These are working in the various towns of the county and unless there is something of the clearing-house idea there will be overlapping and over-looking, as well as misunderstanding and hard feelings among them. Such a coming together of county agencies should plan for the development of the county town by town. Frequent conferences concerning work in hand will result in great improvement.

3. The same get-together idea on the part of the community as has been dealt with in the early part of this consideration.

In any approach to the rural field by social workers a few things should be kept in mind.

1. The field of work is extremely small. This is both an advantage and disadvantage. Social work loses its impersonal aspects and becomes a thing based on personalities.

2. The people of the country need to be seen in their true light. Their sturdy qualities must not be discounted. The social worker should remember that she is working in a field that is a thing pure-bred, in and of itself and must be built up on its own basis. What we have learned about the city in methods of work we will largely have to readjust as we approach the rural field.

3. Agriculture is a stubborn and exacting industry which takes with it a peculiar and special system of living, all of which needs to be taken into account by the social worker.

4. The country home must be developed on the basis of the needs of life in the country. It is unfair to measure a country home by city home standards and vice versa. The country home is a part of the industry and cannot at the present time be separated from it in any number of cases.

5. There are certain aspects in which the country community must be developed in relation to the city, such as the market and the farm products,

etc. We should not allow these contacts, however, to be the rule when they should be the exception.

There is need for broader thinking in our social work as we approach the future. We must develop the democracy of the new social work which will reach into every avenue of our activities. We must see case work merely as a method of dealing with fields of which there are five, viz: the nation, the state, the county, the community and the family. Let us get the statesmanship-like approach to our work and especially that which pertains to rural progress.

THE UNDERLYING FACTORS OF RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT.

Hermann N. Morse, Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, New York.

As I see it, the distinctly rural elements in the problem of community development go back to a few simple propositions. These need not be argued here, but may be stated arbitrarily. They are the efficiency and economy, under average American conditions, of a one-family farm as a unit of production; that each farm family should own the land it tills and live on the land it owns; the inability of the average farmer to individually cope with modern business conditions and of the average family acting alone to satisfy the complex social needs of modern life; and lastly, the increasing specialization in the business or agriculture which makes necessary the co-operation of the tiller of the land with all those others concerned in the business, as the merchant, the banker, the carrier and others. Since, as Professor Branson has shown in his address, we have in the country no workable social unit with its boundaries and its status fixed by civil law, there must be developed a unit of action which shall be sanctioned by the social law, fixed by custom and articulated in organization, to satisfy all the needs of the situation.

Rural Life Surveys, Made or Projected

There are many signs that we are making hopeful progress in this matter. The experience of the war helped us. The rough urgency shook many a rural community together and provided it temporarily, at least, with some machinery for getting things done. The rural studies carried on for a number of years past by certain church boards and also by state colleges of agriculture, have thrown light on the problem. The recent action of the Department of Agriculture in enlarging the function of the office of farm management and securing Professor C. J. Galpin of the University of Wisconsin to direct the making of farm life studies, should have significant results. There is another practical proposal just now taking definite shape which I wish to discuss.

There has recently been formed an organization representing practically all Protestant denominations known as the Interchurch World Movement of North America. This is definitely a movement of missionary and benevolent agencies of Protestant churches. In order that the constituent bodies might proceed with the development of their work on sound lines, not only of comity but of policy, the Interchurch Movement is preparing to carry through an exhaustive and country-wide study of existing conditions confronting religious organizations. As one part of this study a thorough survey will be made of every habitable rural county in the United States, some 3,000 in number. The organization for this is now being assembled and the work has actually been begun. No such prodigious piece of survey work has ever been undertaken before and there are many difficulties in the way of its accomplishment, but that substantially this result will be obtained in due season we have no doubt. The method of this survey will be to utilize

local forces and local men for the study of all local problems in accordance with uniform methods. The results will be not only concrete programs for the development of local communities, but also the assembling of a vast array of data out of which can be built the underlying policies of social and religious development.

What Is a Community?

The elements in the problem of such a survey are the elements in the problem of community organization and development. The first of them is in the definition of the word community. Professor Morgan's remarks on the baffling character of the word make it appear fool-hardy to attempt a definition. Last year at the meeting of this conference there was a certain amount of discussion as to the unit on which the social organization of the country should proceed. The proposal of the Council of National Defense for the utilization of the school district as the unit occasioned much comment, pro and con. The whole topic now seems exceedingly remote. Surely we have learned that no one unit arbitrarily selected can be made the unit of community organization. The question, it seems very clearly now, is not what unit we would like to use, but what the unit actually is; that is, the unit of territory and population within which people actually do work together. I will do the fool-hardy thing and suggest a tentative definition of a community as the unit of territory and population characterized by common economic and social experiences and interests. That, at least, is the definition which our survey assumes.

The problem here is basic. It is comparatively easy to make a catalogue of those things which need to be done, which can best be done by the united action of the community. It is also comparatively easy to set forth the measures by which we may cure our social and economic ills. The real difficulty is to determine the unit which should actually be concerned in any action required, then to secure within that unit workable organizations. This raises many other problems. If in the country you take the whole of an average group having practically identical economic and social interests and activities, you have probably included some kind of a town or village with a certain amount of open country; not necessarily, but probably. We know far less than we ought to know of the relation of the small town to the open country, but the thing we do know is that whereas they ought to work together in close harmony since they are one in interest, they commonly pull apart and are separated by many real or imaginary grievances. The average small town, while setting its own face toward the city, is apt to assume that the surrounding country owes it a living. Every country merchant takes it as a personal affront if, after he has invested his money in a business, a farmer refuses to patronize him and instead undertakes some form of co-operative purchase or sale. To hear many such men talk, you would think that the farmer had no right to do anything but patronize the village merchant, irrespective of the quality of service rendered or the toll exacted for it. The small town learns slowly that if it would survive in the estimation of the country, it must produce; that is, render real service at a reasonable rate. The farmer, on the other hand, is rather prone to pity himself as being exploited. That is the popular key note to strike in a farmers' meeting. Point out the way in which the retailer, the jobber, the carrier, the wholesaler, the banker, the manufacturer and even the consumer all milk the farmer's cow, and you are sure of a sympathetic hearing. Of course the farmer needs to realize on his part that only one stage in the business of agriculture is the stage of the tilling of the land, and the man who gives time and place value to the farmer's product makes a real economic contribution.

This cannot be discussed in detail here, but obviously there is a big

task involved to discover these units of community interest and activity, to propagate and popularize the idea of that unit as marking the boundaries of the actual commonwealth and then to build a program of social action on that basis.

Dependence of Social Institutions upon Economic Life

The second element in the problem, once the community is discovered, has to do with the economic foundations of its life. So far as this problem is a technical one, it need not concern this conference, though problems of economic justice, of land tenure, of business co-operation and the more primary problems of the methods of production have very great social significance. Let it suffice to say that social, educational and religious institutions are slowly learning the lesson that progress in their particular fields depends upon the creation of an economic margin and its retention within the community for the support of its institutions and social life. We in church boards, for instance, have long since discovered that if we could indicate on a map all the areas in the country which are characterized by thin soil and an unprofitable agriculture, we would be showing at the same time the areas characterized by "thin soil" churches. There are such churches which take root in thin soil and will thrive in no other, which accept a low standard of living and make their appeal on that basis. Institutions which demand a high standard of living can only thrive in such areas as they set in operation movements designed to make such a standard of living possible.

Social Character as a Limiting Factor

The third element in the problem has to do with social character and attitudes. No social or religious work can get far and no task of community organization can get far which does not take into account the question of the social characteristics of the people. Professor Giddings, in his suggestive paper on "Social Self-control," instances certain actions taken by the town meeting of Dorchester, Massachusetts, in the early days of its settlement. Two are in point to the effect that no one who was a member of the meeting could sell his property to any outsider whom the community "might dislike of." The other was that any one elected to an office must perform the duties of that office irrespective of his own inclinations. As Professor Giddings points out, this meeting was aware that it was attempting team work and that in order to do something *for* itself effectively, it must do something *to* itself. The ability of a community to work together was determined largely by its social character. I have been told a story of a certain community which in the early days was in a territory under dispute between Lord Baltimore and William Penn. I have later been informed that it was in some respects apocryphal, but venture it for its homiletic value. William Penn with Quaker shrewdness hurried men into the territory to survey it. Then fearing that his Quakers hadn't the qualities of pugnacity essential in a buffer state, settled the community in question with a colony of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. I was informed, though I do not vouch for the veracity of the statement, that it was on record in the Philadelphia meeting that the only instance in which the Quakers actually engaged in serious combat was with these same Scotch-Irish Presbyterians planted there to protect them from the inroads of Lord Baltimore's minions. However that may be, the community is still there and has a remarkable degree of cohesion, secured, I think very largely because there has always been among these people a high degree of social like-mindedness. Now it seems to me that the ability or willingness of a given group to achieve a real community consciousness determines its possibility of progress, and a community consciousness I define simply as a dominating social point of view, an active recognition of our essential community relationships, that no one can or should play the lone game who lives among neighbors but that

each must share a community of interest and activity. It is simply a controlling community motive. It requires some means of constant social expression, formal and informal, some definite channels of common activities, some form of common pressure which will secure a social leverage on all. It is obvious that there are in every community things which need to be done which everybody knows need to be done, which everybody indeed would like to see done, but which never get done. I remember fording a creek with some little discomfort in northern Alabama, not an unusual necessity in many parts of the south, but made annoying by the fact there was across that creek a splendid bridge, concrete abutments, iron superstructure, complete in everything but one particular. No one could get on it, or having gotten on it, could get off. On inquiry I learned that an agreement had been made between the community and the county that the county would build the bridge if the community would build the approaches. The bridge had stood there for two years. The gravel was in the bottom of the creek that ran under the bridge. I found absolute unanimity of opinion as to the desirability and necessity of providing the approaches, but it hadn't been done. That is an extreme instance of a very common thing.

Elements in the Problem of Social Progress

Now if I were to attempt to chart the way through such problems, I would do it in this fashion. Community progress, as Professor Morgan so clearly indicated to us, has come to be a question of social action. We are definitely emerging from the time when it is possible for the action of philanthropically-minded individuals to solve our community problems. Social action, however, depends on social feeling. We cannot work together without common bonds of sympathy and understanding. Social feeling, I suspect, depends largely on social discipline, a thing which the farmer has largely been without and which he has resented. So every farmer the world over has resented efforts to make him conform to certain standards of production, efforts to make him co-operate with his neighbors for the elimination of some common menace like the cattle tick or the boll weevil. He has resented it in religion. He has insisted on multiplying sects in the country, that he might satisfy his own preferences rather than seek the community's good. Social discipline is expressed through the social order which we must learn how to create in the country. A social order is simply the sum total of our generally accepted disciplinary standards. It is the quintessence of what is being done. We create social standards on the level of our greatest common denominator; so the laggards in the procession tend to set our standards. George Russell, in his brilliant essay on "Co-operation and Nationality," gives a sparkling picture of the way in which the Irish farmer, although persistently resisting attempts to make him sink his own preferences in common standards, nevertheless actually does do pretty much what the social order makes him do. He cites an instance of a friend of his who went down the street in Dublin and in some sixty stores sampled the butter and in all but one instance found it adulterated, the moral of course being that what one did the rest did.

Now, the social order comes back fundamentally to our social philosophy. Do not make the mistake of under-estimating the value of the spiritual side of our rural problem. It is fundamentally a human question and a spiritual question, one which concerns the spirit and temper of the people. There is plenty of knowledge believed by all to solve all of our rural problems, but we do not appropriate it. It is a question of application and that is a question of the spirit.

Lastly, if I have not more than used up my time, I might speak of the part played by community institutions. I only want to mention two things. The place of any given institution in community development is

going to be marked, first, by whether it has a community-wide outlook and a constituency at least potentially community-wide. A church which aspires to community influence must be ready and willing to serve the whole community. The second thing is whether the institution has a genuine community program, that is, whether it has set before it concretely every aspect of the community's life, or whether it limits itself to some small detail, merely a phase of existence.

These are the elements as I see it in the problem of community development, the underlying factors which must be taken into account if we are to make progress at the job of so organizing the country side that every farmer will live within a group large enough to serve all his major interests and yet small enough to let him stand out as an individual in it.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Those who spoke on informal discussion were: Alexander Johnson, Atlanta; Florence Lattimore, New York.

THINK TOGETHER, WORK TOGETHER, PLAY TOGETHER: COMMUNITY CLUBS IN MANITOBA.

Fred C. Middleton, Community Secretary, Social Service Council of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

To usher in the day of the new democracy; to make actual in the life of every community the principles for which the war was fought; to secure liberty, equality and fraternity among all citizens; to so apply these



principles of human brotherhood in our relationships each with the other that our own community will be a better place in which to live—this is the task that faces us today.

Shall we be equal to this task? Not unless the "get together" spirit, so much in evidence during the years of war, continues to be manifested during the years of peace.

Canada developed a fine community spirit during the great war. For almost five years, in common with the rest of the empire and her allies, private interests were subordinated to those of the public good. Men and women learned to think in broader terms; and co-operative service, born of a common danger and a common need, was noticeable everywhere. Gifts of men and money, red cross supplies, comforts for the soldier boys (including clothes, food and dainties) all these were supplied with a lavishness and good will that will always stand to our credit.

Now the war is over. The Prussian military machine has been broken beyond repair, the spirit of militarism has been everywhere dethroned, and the world has been made safe for democracy. Without detracting one bit from the credit due the armies at the front, we can say that in great measure, this victory was made possible by the unity of aim of those who remained at home. The question is: Shall we go back to the selfish individualism of the past, or move forward in the spirit of co-operative service which we have developed during the war?

We dare not go back! Already we are finding that the problems of peace are as great, if not greater, than the problems of war, and we shall not solve the problems of peace unless we face them as we did the problems of war—in the spirit of altruism, sympathetic co-operation and unselfish service.

All over Canada there are evidences that this wartime community spirit will be carried forward into the reconstruction period. The present industrial unrest is not evidence to the contrary. The revolutionary labor leaders, it is true, are refusing settlement of their disputes by conciliation, but the bulk of Canadian labor wants to see the change in our industrial system come by constitutional means. A third factor in the fight is the great middle class, who belong to neither organized labor, nor organized capital. They are workers, indeed, and form the majority of our citizenship, but until now they have been unorganized and inarticulate. They are taking a hand in affairs now, however, and if the movement grows, this stable centre of society will be the medium of conciliation between the two extremes and one of the most important factors in the ushering in of the new democracy.

In Manitoba the Community Club Movement promises to be of great assistance in the organization of this great middle-class citizenship, especially outside the cities. It is under the direction of the Social Service Council, which is a federation, non-partisan in politics and religion, whose purposes are the study of social welfare ideas and the encouragement of all forms of social service. There are twenty-four provincial bodies represented in this federation, including the various religious denominations, the Grain growers' Association, Educational Association, Retail Merchants' Association, and the Union of Municipalities.

For some years past the activities of the council have been mainly directed to the securing of legislation prohibiting the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicating liquor for beverage purposes. We have had all along a general program of social welfare, but until the menace of the licensed liquor traffic was removed, we had little time or opportunity for this general program. Now, however, we are attempting to carry out a constructive program. Prominent in this program is the question of community organization. We feel that we must put something in the place of the bad social centre that was taken away when we banished the bar-rooms. The Community Club, of course, aims to do more than merely replace the social centre provided by the hotel keepers in the past. It seeks to provide

an organization through which the people of our rural sections can learn to live together in the spirit of the Second Commandment and the Golden Rule, and to put on a program of community activities through which life in the country may be more wholesome, more attractive, and more complete. The organization takes in the whole community, the basis of membership being citizenship. There are usually many other organizations in the town and district but they are all sectional. The board of trade takes in the retail merchants and other business men, but excludes any one else. The Grain Growers' Association takes in farmers only; the Home Economics Society takes in women only; the lodges recognize only initiated members who have taken the degrees and whose dues are paid up; the churches appeal to those only who are members or adherents of their particular denomination. And so it goes—every one of these organizations is, from its very nature, sectional, and indeed, consciously or unconsciously, each acts as a divisive element.

We seek to overcome this defect, and a glance at the picture of the community wheel will illustrate how we propose to do it. There are eight spokes in this wheel, representing eight factors in the average community. Hitherto these organizations have worked along parallel lines, each seeking to carry on their own work without much thought of their relation each to the other, or to the community as a whole. The Community Club movement seeks to have them move along concentric lines, all working towards a common centre, the good of the community. It seeks to remind the farmer, the school teacher, the merchant, the preacher, that while they may have a special work to do through their own organization, they are a part of the whole community and must share in the community tasks.

The organization locates in the villages and towns, but ministers to the life of the whole community surrounding these centres. The activities of the club are grouped under five standing committees whose duties are outlined as follows:

1. PUBLIC FORUM COMMITTEE—

(a) To arrange for local debates and secure speakers from time to time who shall deal with public issues and matters of social welfare generally.

(b) To co-operate with the Extension Department of the Agricultural College and the University.

(c) To encourage the formation, use and upkeep of a community library, using the school as headquarters wherever feasible.

(d) To arrange for an annual address from the local Member of Parliament, preferably before the opening of the legislature.

NOTE—It is distinctly understood that, while contentious public issues may be discussed on their merits, the community club will not allow its forum to be used for the purpose of party propaganda.

2. BETTER BUSINESS COMMITTEE—

This committee shall be composed of farmers and business men, and shall take under review the following:

(a) Local marketing conditions and possible improvements; good roads campaign; Hotel accommodation.

(b) The wisdom of establishing a flour mill, a creamery, a market garden, or any other local enterprise.

(c) Better methods of buying and selling by the local merchants.

(d) Better methods of fire protection.

(e) Sympathetic co-operation between the farmers and merchants of the community.

(f) Better credit facilities for farmers by local banks.

(g) Helping men on rented farms to become owners.

3. YOUNG PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE—

This committee shall be composed of those interested in young people's work:

(a) To co-operate with the churches in undertaking a definite program of activities through the Provincial Boy Scouts, the Manitoba Sunday Schools Association, the Rural Y. M. C. A. or the Rural Y. W. C. A.

(b) To co-operate with the School Board, in introducing manual training and domestic science classes in the public schools.

(c) To initiate where necessary action looking toward the organization of a consolidated school.

(d) To arrange, if necessary, separate meetings for the young people, especially 'teen-age boys and girls.

4. PUBLIC HEALTH COMMITTEE—

It shall be the duty of this committee

(a) To work in co-operation with the local health officer in encouraging the use of garbage barrels and regular removal of refuse.

(b) To see that the streets, lanes, and vacant lots in the town are kept free from litter and rubbish.

(c) To encourage the use of a sewerage system for both towns and country homes.

(d) To secure where necessary an improved water supply.

(e) To arrange for holding of lectures and exhibits, and the distribution of literature on child welfare and the care of the mentally defective, and to take action in any local cases needing attention.

(f) To initiate where necessary action looking toward the building of a municipal hospital, the employment of a district nurse, and the regular medical inspection of the schools within the community.

(g) To boost the "Clean Up Week" each spring.

5. RECREATION COMMITTEE—

This committee shall have the general supervision of the play life of the community as follows:

(a) Making provision for skating and curling in winter, if possible, securing a municipal rink.

(b) Providing baseball and basketball grounds, tennis courts and swimming pool for summer.

(c) Arranging for local presentation of dramatic plays and choral programs.

(d) Providing regular moving picture programs for the fall and winter months, in co-operation with the Community Department of the Social Service Council.

(e) Arranging for Soldiers' Memorial.

(f) Arranging for an annual community picnic in June.

SPECIAL COMMITTEES shall be appointed for any special tasks that may present themselves.

It might be well to say that these committees do not necessarily carry out all or any of these suggestions themselves. Sometimes all that is necessary is to suggest certain lines of action to the organizations affiliated with the club. For instance, much of this program could be carried out through the agency of the local Board of Trade, the Municipal Council, the School Board, and so on. It is a fine thing, however, to have a vehicle through which the whole community can have its desires brought before these affiliated bodies. Of course, in many cases, the work would have to be done by the committees of the club, especially where no board of trade exists, or where the village is one of several centers within the municipality.

How to Organize a Club.

A glance at the reproduction of the community wheel will give a good idea of how the club is organized. Any public-spirited man or woman may take the initiative in the matter. A public meeting should be called, care being taken that the ministers of the town and the officers of the various organizations be interviewed; representatives from the various churches. Grain Growers' Association, Board of Trade and other organizations noted on the community wheel should be present at the meeting. An address by a visitor from a nearby club or by the provincial community secretary could be given, and if thought wise, the organization proceeded with.

An executive of seven should be elected as follows:

President, who shall be convener of the Public Forum Committee; 1st vice-president (convener of Better Business Committee); 2nd vice-president (convener of Young People's Committee); 3rd vice-president (convener of Public Health Committee); 4th vice-president (convener of Recreation Committee); secretary; treasurer.

Care should be taken that these officers are elected from the various elements of the community life, town and country being equally represented.

In addition to the executive a general committee should be appointed of one or more representatives of the various organizations represented in the club.

Results.

Since the Social Service Council established this department twelve months ago, work has been done in thirty-two places, twenty-six of which have organized clubs. From the very commencement of our work we have been asked to quote results. "How is the scheme working out?" has been an oft repeated question. Such a query is perfectly fair; the community movement must submit to the acid test of "results." Until recently, however, we have had to reply that it was too soon to ask for results, and the best we could do was to quote from clubs in the United States. Even now it is a little early to ask the question. Five years would not be too long a period in which the test might be carried out, yet most of our clubs have not been going five months. Still, results are noticeable and these might be grouped under three headings:

The Community Forum.

It has been clearly demonstrated that through this forum any person with a community message can be assured of a community audience. The people are learning to "think together" and when we have two hundred such forums scattered over Manitoba (as we shall have) they will be one of the greatest factors in the preparation of the public mind for the coming of the new democracy. It may also become, especially in the rural centres, the medium through which the great stable centre of society, the general public, may become organized and articulate.

The Community Task.

The second phase of club work has very encouraging results. One secretary writes: "There has been so many questions of interest and importance coming up for the club's attention that we have had little time for special programs." The activities have been many and various and include the following:

Better transportation facilities, encouragement of technical education in the public school; hospital accommodation, and the employment of a district nurse; action looking toward the building of consolidated schools and community churches; law enforcement re gambling and the sale of cigarettes and malt liquors to minors; the revival of the town newspaper; the setting up in business of returned soldiers who have taken a post war business course; the securing of a weekly half holiday for local store employees, a spring clean-up campaign for May, and community picnics for June.

It will be evident to even the casual observer that the results here quoted could not have been secured without co-operative effort on the part of the various factors in each community. A glance at the personnel of the executive committee of the local clubs will show how real the desire is to get together. In fourteen out of the twenty-six clubs for which I have the data, the following representation appears on the executive:

Farmers, 18; merchants, 15; preachers, 8; bankers, 8; school teachers, 6; editors, 3. The lady members of these fourteen executives are represented as follows: Farmers' wives, 1; merchants' wives, 2; preachers' wives, 2; editors' wives, 1; doctors' wives, 1.

It will be seen from this summary that the club is providing a medium through which local farmers and merchants can get together for the mutual advantages of each. The fact that altogether too little of the community business flows through local channels has been apparent for years past and the small towns have stood still or gone back in consequence. Winnipeg, in

the meantime, has continued to grow so that this year 50 per cent of the population of our so-called rural province is located in the city. If we are to save the small towns from further depletion, if not from practical extinction, a much higher percentage of the retail business of the community must be done at home, and this will be brought about not by the cry of "home loyalty," but by the business men adopting better business methods and rendering better service, together with a more sympathetic attitude on the part of the farmer toward the merchant. These two are teammates, pulling on either end of the whiffletree for community progress—and they are learning now to pull together.

Recreational Features.

The entertainment and recreational features of community life in learning to play together is one of the tasks set before each community, and progress can be reported in this connection. In some centres extra play equipment will be installed on the school grounds. In others steps are being taken to build a municipal skating rink. Moving pictures have also been introduced and the fact demonstrated that good films can be secured. In some places the support of the "good people" to this class of picture has not been as hearty as it should have been, but as a rule the audiences have been large and appreciative.

One club has done good work along amateur dramatic lines presenting a three-act play, "The Private Secretary." There are great possibilities in this direction, and also for choral programs. Community singing will be featured among the clubs next fall and it is likely that a community song book will be published in the near future to be used at a "sing song" at the opening of each public meeting of the local clubs. Such a book would contain the old favorites, the latest popular choruses and national hymns and songs.

The matter of the building of community halls has been brought up frequently, but so far action has only been taken in one or two cases. Such buildings are not essential to the success of the movement and clubs can function without them. Where there is no decent auditorium, however, the need for such a hall is very great and it is likely that a number will be built in such places. The cost will vary from \$6,000 to \$20,000.

In closing I would emphasize the fundamental importance of our community work in the country by quoting from an address delivered in 1909 by the late ex-President Roosevelt, in which he says: "I warn my countrymen that the great progress made in city life is not a full measure of our civilization, for our civilization rests at bottom on the wholesomeness, the attractiveness and the completeness of life in the country."

The same warning needs to be issued to the people of Manitoba, especially the leaders. Only as we make life in the country more wholesome, more attractive, and more complete can we preserve the local community, which is after all the ultimate unit of democracy.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

In the informal discussion which followed, a few of the speakers described experiences in small communities. The chief effect of the discussion, however, was to reveal the present lack of procedure and understanding in regard to needs and programs for small communities. Those who participated in the discussion were: Bruno Lasker, New York; Mrs. Brandrup, Mankato, Minn.; LeRoy E. Bowman, New York; D. B. Harkness, Winnipeg; Miss Brooks, New York; Robert A. Woods, Boston; Miss Hay, Princeton; Samuel E. Eliot, Pittsburgh; Miss Owen, Coscob, Conn.

DEMOCRACY AND THE UNIT PLAN

Wilbur C. Phillips, Executive, General Council, National Social Unit Organization, Cincinnati

Mr. Phillips in discussing the work of the Mohawk-Brighton Social Unit Organization, told how the people of that district had organized, by blocks, each of which had elected its block council of seven members. Each block council had elected a block worker who had combined with the skilled groups of the neighborhood to render unique community service.

The first program that was undertaken was in infant welfare. The block workers, assembled in Citizens Council, determined that this service would be acceptable to the neighborhood. They called upon the physicians of the district, organized in a medical council, to do preventative health work for the community, and on the nurses, who had been assigned from the various nursing agencies of the city to work with the Social Unit, to outline and carry on baby welfare work.

The next step was the education of the block workers themselves in the principles of child hygiene. They were then able to persuade the mothers of the district to bring their babies to the health station, and to admit the nurses into their homes. The result of this method of organization was that the number of babies under supervision in the district increased from twenty-three to four hundred and ten in 1918.

Similar results could be shown for pre-school children and tuberculosis patients. One of the most startling accomplishments, however, was in connection with the influenza epidemic. Through the block workers information was conveyed at the very start of the epidemic to every house in the district, as to the nature of the disease and the necessity for proper care. In this way, far more cases were registered in the district than in the city as a whole, and through the organized nursing service, the cases that were known were able to receive comparatively prompt attention. The death rate of the district from influenza and influenza pneumonia was 2.26 per thousand population, compared to 4.10 in the rest of the city, and 5.80 in the remainder of the three wards of which the Social Unit is a part.

Mr. Phillips referred to the recent attack of the Mayor of Cincinnati upon the Social Unit and told how a referendum had been conducted in the district to determine whether or not the Social Unit experiment should be retained. The vote was taken by blocks and out of a possible voting population of (estimated) 7,500, 4,034 voted in favor of retaining the Unit, and 120 against.

In summing up the possibilities of the Social Unit form of organization, Mr. Phillips pointed out that it made possible the participation of 100 per cent of the population in the affairs of the community. Already most of the Citizens Council had become remarkably educated in civic and social problems and through them this education had percolated throughout the neighborhood. There was no limit, he said, to what this organization might undertake if it desired. For instance, housing has been taken up, because the block workers realized the menace of bad housing conditions. The future of the organization depends entirely upon the wishes of the Mohawk-Brighton District, and the skill and experience of the occupational groups which form the "Second House" of the community's congress.

VIII.
MENTAL HYGIENE

DIVISION COMMITTEE—1918-19

Chairman, Lt. Col. Frankwood E. Williams, M. D., National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York.

Vice-Chairman, C. MacFie Campbell, M. D., Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore.

Secretary, Edith M. Furbush, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York.

Herman M. Adler, M. D.....	Chicago	C. C. Menzler.....	Nashville
Lewellys F. Barker, M. D.....	Baltimore	Mrs. William S. Monroe.....	Chicago
Albert M. Barrett, M. D.....	Ann Arbor	Thomas Moore, M. D.....	Washington
Edith N. Burleigh.....	Boston	Thomas W. Salmon, M. D.....	New York
C. K. Clarke, M. D.....	Toronto	H. Douglas Singer, M. D.....	Kankakee
Everett S. Elwood.....	Albany	E. E. Southard, M. D.....	Boston
Mrs. Charles Frazier.....	Philadelphia	Jessie Taft.....	Philadelphia
Henry H. Goddard.....	Columbus, O.	Lucy Wright.....	Boston
Clark E. Higbee.....	Grand Rapids	Maj. Robert M. Yerkes.....	Washington
Mary C. Jarrett.....	Boston		

DIVISION COMMITTEE—1919-20

(*Year of expiration of term of office appears in parenthesis after each member's name.*)

Chairman, C. MacFie Campbell, M. D., Johns Hopkins Hospital, Baltimore.

Vice-Chairman, Thomas W. Salmon, M. D., National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York.

Secretary, Edith M. Furbush, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York.

Herman Adler, M. D. (1921).....	Chicago	Mary C. Jarrett (1921).....	Boston
Anne T. Bingham, M. D. (1922).....	New York	C. C. Menzler (1922).....	Nashville
Edith N. Burleigh (1922).....	Boston	Mrs. William S. Monroe (1921).....	Chicago
C. MacFie Campbell, M. D. (1921).....	Baltimore	Thomas Moore, M. D. (1920).....	Washington
Bernard Glueck, M. D. (1922).....	New York	Thomas W. Salmon (1921).....	New York
Mrs. Charles H. Frazier (1920).....	Philadelphia	H. Douglas Singer, M. D. (1920).....	Chicago
Thomas H. Haines, M. D. (1922).....	Jackson, Miss.	Elmer H. Southard, M. D. (1920).....	Boston
Hon. Clark E. Higbee (1920).....	Grand Rapids	Jessie Taft (1922).....	Philadelphia
C. M. Hincks, M. D. (1922).....	Toronto	Lucy Wright (1920).....	Boston
		Maj. Robert M. Yerkes (1921).....	Washington

PROGRAM

At the meeting of the National Conference at Atlantic City June 1-8, 1919, 309 delegates registered as members of this Division. The Division Committee, as elected at the 1918 conference at Kansas City, is shown on the opposite page.

The general theme of the Division's program was Social Problems as the Reaction of Individual Mental Types to Environment. Ten meetings were held as follows:

	PAGE
June 2, 10:00 A. M. Methods and Results of Recent Investigations of Mental Defect	568
June 3, 10:00 A. M. Psychiatric Social Work	575
June 3, 3:00 P. M. Some Scientific Bases for Social Case-Work	358
June 4, 10:00 A. M. Training of the Psychiatric Social Worker..	593
June 5, 10:00 A. M. Education and Mental Hygiene	612
June 5, 2:00 P. M. Training of the Psychiatric Social Worker..	611
June 5, 3:00 P. M. Causes of Delinquency	130
June 6, 10:00 A. M. State Care of Mental Diseases and Social Work	626
June 6, 8:15 P. M. Difficulties of Adaptation as Revealed in Mili- tary Life	568
June 7, 10:00 A. M. Disciplinary Problems	644

The meeting on June 3 was a joint session with Division V, on the Family, and that on June 5, afternoon, a joint session with Division IV, on Delinquents and Correction.

TRANSACTIONS

On June 2, immediately after the morning session, a business meeting was held, and the Chairman, with the consent of the members present, appointed a committee to bring in nominations for members of the committee of the Division for a term of three years, and for chairman and vice-chairman for the ensuing year. The following committee on nominations was thus appointed by the chair: Dr. Thomas H. Haines, Jackson, Miss.; Hon. C. E. Higbee, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Dr. H. Douglas Singer, Chicago; Miss Edith N. Burleigh, Boston; Miss Edith M. Furbush, New York.

The Committee on Nominations met directly after this business session, June 2, and made its report at a business meeting held immediately after the morning session, June 3. The following nominations were presented and accepted as members of the Division's Committee for the next three years: Dr. H. Douglas Singer, Chicago; Mr. C. C. Menzler, Memphis; Dr. C. M. Hincks, Toronto; Miss Jessie Taft, Philadelphia; Dr. Anne Bingham, New York; Dr. Thomas H. Haines, Jackson, Miss.; Dr. Bernard Glueck, New York. The following officers for the ensuing year were nominated: for Chairman, Dr. C. Macfie Campbell, Baltimore; for Vice-Chairman, Dr. Thomas W. Salmon, New York.

At a meeting on June 7, Miss Edith M. Furbush, of New York, was elected Secretary of the Division for the following year.

(Signed) FRANKWOOD E. WILLIAMS, M. D., Chairman.

EDITH M. FURBUSH, Secretary.

LESSONS FROM WAR NEUROSES *

*Col. Thomas W. Salmon, Former Consultant in Neuro-Psychiatry, A. E. F.;
Medical Director, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York*

Dr. Salmon directed attention toward certain lessons that could be learned from the war neuroses and their management. He explained the nature of the war neuroses, using illustrations showing that in most cases they were identical in their mechanism and outcome with the neuroses of civil life. The neuroses, generally, he stated, represented an attempt of the individual to adapt. Unfortunately, the adaptation furnished by acquiring a neurosis, while useful biologically, was very often harmful to the individual and to society. The neurotic person, seeking refuge from an intolerable situation in real life, finds one made tolerable by the neuroses, but thereby becomes a sick person and often loses in social and economic efficiency. Dr. Salmon said that the war provided a vast series of experiments in human adaptation and that the most valuable lessons can be drawn from these experiments if they are studied carefully and the war setting not permitted to divert attention from the real nature of the phenomena under observation. He described the successful efforts made in the A. E. F. to deal with the war neuroses at their inception or even to prevent them in men experiencing unusual nervous reactions while under fire.

The work of the psychiatrists in field hospitals, the army neurological hospitals (advanced units situated ten or twelve miles behind the line) and the special base hospital for war neuroses were described in detail. These efforts constituted a series of obstacles toward the development or the fixation of the functional nervous diseases. The striking results obtained attracted a great deal of attention. It would be unfortunate, Dr. Salmon said, if this were regarded as only an interesting chapter of the medical history of the war. Prevalent as the neuroses are in war, they are many times more common in peace. The family, the school and the shop each contributes its quota.

Dr. Salmon contrasted the organized effort made in the army to prevent the neuroses or to cure them by early treatment with the almost complete neglect in civil life. The school, he said, corresponded in civil life to the most advanced neurological formation in the army. On the one hand, in war, a skilled psychiatrist had brought to his attention the earliest manifestations of mental disorder and was able to apply preventive or curative treatment. On the other, in peace, similar manifestations meet with no effort whatever at prevention or cure until they reach a severity or fixation which in the army would result only in return to the United States. He urged the importance of directing attention to these matters in civil life and of creating an organization as capable of dealing with them as the organization for neuro-psychiatry in the army. This, the speaker said, was a task for mental hygiene and he predicted that in years to come no field of preventive medicine would be regarded as having been more creditable to the enlightenment of the twentieth century than this new attempt to deal with disorders regarded for many centuries previously as only inevitable visitations.

* Author's Abstract. This address was followed by one on "Mental and Nervous Diseases in the United States, as Shown by the Army Examinations," by Lt. Col. Frankwood E. Williams, Chairman of the Division.

METHODS OF CREATING PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE PROBLEMS OF THE FEEBLEMINDED

Thomas H. Haines, M. D., *Scientific Adviser, Mississippi Mental Hygiene Commission*

Happily, the problem of creating interest in the proper handling of the feeble-minded is made rather easy because of the fact that feeble-mindedness ramifies into every species of social problem. Children in juvenile courts as delinquents; the offenders in criminal courts; industrial misfits; dependent children in orphanages, and special problems in the public schools, as well as receivers of alms in charitable institutions and Salvation Army relief, are, in considerable numbers, feeble-minded. In fact, any question of better community organization impinges upon the question of rational handling of mentally defective persons.

Despite the frequency with which feeble-mindedness is the ultimate cause of social problems, there are at present eleven states, with an estimated population of about thirteen million, in which no state provision for the training and custody of the feeble-minded is made. Further, there is no community so completely protected against the feeble-minded as it is against the insane.

Care of the Insane

It is profitable to consider the history of the care of the insane, which has reached so much more perfect development than that of the feeble-minded. Originally, the insane were cared for simply because they were dangerous. It was not humanitarianism, nor corrective medicine, nor preventive medicine which maintained the insane in irons. It was simply the assertion of that primitive instinct of self-preservation which led men to incarcerate the insane. Gradually the human element entered. Philippe Pinel realized they were sick persons and Dorothy Dix reinforced this point of view in the United States. Gradually our asylums have been changed to insane hospitals and now they are called state hospitals, no reference being made to the name insane. With this latter change has entered the idea of social economy and preventive medicine. The hospital for the insane is not merely an institution for the treatment and recovery of mentally diseased persons, it is an institution for the prevention of mental disease and the consequent prevention of the loss of productive power.

Care of the Feeble-Minded

The feeble-minded present a positive danger to society, but it is far more insidious. We have long looked upon the feeble-minded as fools, but quite harmless. Seguin taught us, seventy years ago, that they were capable of training, and with the dissemination of that idea we witnessed the development of state training schools. These institutions, founded with motives of humanity, as well as those of economy, conceived of their function as strictly educational and not in any sense custodial.

Dugdale, in his history of the Jukes, emphasized the economic waste in allowing the feeble-minded to propagate. The history of that family demonstrates the hereditary character of much mental defect and, as a consequence thereof, the parasitism, pauperism and criminality following generation after generation.

Binet, with his contribution to diagnostic methods, has laid open the field of mental examination of the feeble-minded in a way which makes it possible for preventive medicine to study the dangers involved to society in mental defect. Especially has this finer diagnostic method shown us the danger of the high-grade moron in connection with the fecundity of the same.

As a result of these contributions, it is evident to all students of the subject that it is both humanitarian and economic for our states and communities to assume custody of feeble-minded children, to provide them such education and training as they can profit by, and to keep them in custody or under supervision for life, or for such period as is necessary to prevent them from having children. By means of the state standing in *loco parentis* to these perennial children, the happiness of these children will be increased; they will produce more of the necessities of their own lives, and society will be relieved of the burden of these parasitic children.

This view of community management of the feeble-minded is so evident to anyone who will give a moment's attention thereto that it needs but arresting attention of thinking persons everywhere and their assent is gained to the proposition as above laid down. State care to prevent propagation, all agree, is the means of solving many vexing social problems, and at the same time saving money to the state and community.

Despite the self-evident character of the proposition, however, the fact that so many feeble-minded are left at large to prey upon society emphasizes the necessity for creating public sentiment in favor of the rational care of the feeble-minded.

Use of Local Facts

The most important points for anyone to bear in mind in seeking to arouse interest in this problem is the use of local characters. It is important to find instances of the wastefulness and the inhumanity of the improper management of the feeble-minded in order most effectively to present the economy and humanity of state guardianship. A feeble-minded murderer; a feeble-minded female living in the poor house and mother of many illegitimate feeble-minded children; a feeble-minded boy in the state hospital who has a feeble-minded sister in the state industrial school, and whose father is feeble-minded, while two other boys at home are of no account because of mental defect; such instances brought right home to the people in whose community they have been born and lived make the wastefulness of present mismanagement of these people very much more emphatic than as if the instances were brought from a distant state. Such facts can be obtained in Florida, Maine, or Oregon, but if one is working in Florida, it is important to get the facts in that state.

To carry on a successful educational campaign in any state or community, it is highly desirable to conduct some sort of survey. It is not necessary to make a census of the feeble-minded of a state, or even of regions in the state, in order to get legislation making suitable provision for some of the feeble-minded. Later, I believe, we are coming to a state registration of mental defectives, including insane, epileptic, and feeble-minded. But for the purpose of arousing interest in the problem of the feeble-minded, surveys of institutions such as county almshouses, county jails, orphanages, child-placing societies, industrial schools, penitentiaries, and hospitals for the insane, will bring to light large numbers of feeble-minded upon whom the state is spending money endeavoring to cure some and reform others while, of course, the condition is neither curable nor reformable and the money would better be spent for suitable training and custody. At the same time, among these would occur instances of family relationship emphasizing the hereditary character of mental defect. Striking instances of familiar immorality and criminality would likewise be forthcoming.

Application of Psychiatry and Psychology in Survey Work and Educational Work

It is necessary that the worker be versed in the sciences underlying mental diagnosis and in the art of mental examination. It is evident that the

gathering of the facts entails the use of the methods of psychiatry and of applied psychology. It is necessary that the worker be well acquainted clinically with the feeble-minded and with the various forms of mental disease, as well as with the mechanism of the normal human mind.

It is likewise evident that the worker must be possessed of such skill in diagnosis if he is to present the matter convincingly to the laity. It is a fact that some physicians do not appreciate the difference between congenital mental deficiency and insanity, and in states where no institution for the care of the feeble-minded exists, it is not uncommon to be met with the question, "Well, isn't our state hospital the place for such people?" In one such state recently, a state health officer, visiting a county almshouse with the county health officer, asked the latter if a given inmate was not feeble-minded. The county health officer's answer was, "Oh, no. I know to a certainty that he has been that way for the last thirty years," implying that because he had been simple-minded for thirty years, he could not be what we consider feeble-minded. It is, therefore, necessary to be very clear and emphatic in presenting the kind of mind we mean by the feeble-minded, as well as the kind of treatment which will relieve society of the burdens of the feeble-minded and give a square deal to the feeble-minded themselves.

In addition to these qualities of diagnostician and teacher, it is necessary for the successful worker in this field to be somewhat of a sociological sleuth,—to have a nose for ferreting out striking instances of the waste of our present mismanagement of mental defectives and of the geometric ratio with which community expense mounts from generation to generation because these problems are mismanaged.

Means of Education: I. The Lecture

The public address is a ready and necessary means of reaching small groups in any state or community where work of this character is carried on. As a vehicle to aid in carrying over the message, a lantern and photographic slides are indispensable. Different workers will wish to emphasize different aspects of the problem. The subject is large enough for a course of lectures and different aspects will be most telling with different audiences.

In general, it is useful to illustrate by portraits and photographs some common types of the feeble-minded, old and young, in their native habitats,—the houses they live in, and, so far as possible, the manner of life they live. One can also show two and three generations together in the same portrait oftentimes and present facts as to mental status and lack of industrial status as the result of investigations. Charts showing family connections and the hereditary character of mental defect shown in connection with portraits of some of the individuals and the results of mental examination, constitute a most striking teaching exhibit. Feeble-minded children confined in industrial schools because of immorality, or of delinquency, illustrate the wastefulness of our present misunderstanding of these problems. Charts may also be prepared showing the expense of families of Jukes in one or more generations. Illustrations of the relations of syphilis and alcoholism to mental deficiency can be presented.

In contrast to all this waste and propagation of parasites it is important to present the solution of the problems and to exhibit the activity of feeble-minded children and adults in learning and practicing the things which they do learn to do under supervision in a state institution. It is most instructive, for example, to exhibit the boulder-strewn acres at Templeton prior to the work of the feeble-minded boys thereon; then to

show the process of removing the boulders, plowing and tilling the land, and the beautiful crops of potatoes and apples obtained from those same acres.

Such an exhibit presents not only the training of the feeble-minded to useful work and to their highest possible development. It presents the rescuing of waste land as well as the rescuing of waste humanity. It is the practice of genuine thrift both as regards natural resources and human resources. At the same time it presents the best developed means of preventing the propagation of the unfit, and it presents the attainment of the maximum possible happiness for the unfit themselves.

The adaptation of the address to the audience is, of course, an important matter. The variety of possible arguments, humanitarian and economic, lend themselves most admirably to this purpose. Outside of points of local color, which should always be sought and used, it is possible to point the argument, when speaking to a woman's club, for instance, by emphasizing the inhumanity of the neglect of feeble-minded women and children in county poorhouses, jails, schools, and in the community. In speaking to normal schools and colleges, the argument can be pointed, and interest heightened, by dwelling upon the matter of intelligence rating, its application in military organization and in business, as well as to the matter of sorting out the mental defectives who cannot be expected to manage themselves and their affairs with prudence. In speaking to physicians, the argument may be pointed by emphasizing the biologic laws underlying the large families and the certainty of some of the children of defectives being themselves feeble-minded. In speaking to chambers of commerce, Kiwanis and Rotary clubs, it is good psychology to emphasize the fact that no community can be a good one in which to do business where the feeble-minded are misunderstood and neglected. In speaking to teachers, sympathetic co-operation is at once obtained when one emphasizes the encumbrance to the work of the school room and the training of normal children which is presented by every feeble-minded child who is permitted to attend the schools.

It is likewise good psychology to suggest action. When interest is aroused it is well to suggest, or even advise, action in accordance with resolutions engendered. If a state campaign is on and the legislature is considering, or soon to consider, the establishment of an institution, or the enlargement of an institution, for the care of the feeble-minded, it is important to place the privilege, and the duty, upon every individual in the audience of making himself a committee of one to see to it that his representatives in the senate and the house understand by a personal interview, or by letter, this person's attitude upon the matter.

2. *Use of Printing*

A very useful ally of the public address in this educational work is a folder, or circular, setting forth some of the salient facts of the state or community in regard to the cost and inhumanity of allowing the feeble-minded to take care of themselves as if they were ordinary citizens of a democracy. Likewise, figures presenting numbers, for instance, of dependent children who are feeble-minded and who ought not to be placed in homes because they are feeble-minded, because they will disappoint foster parents, and because they will likely be dependents and delinquents later, and also fathers and mothers of other feeble-minded parasites. This circular can also present facts as to numbers of feeble-minded in county almshouses, jails, penitentiaries, state hospitals, and reform schools of the state or community, and emphasis may be given in the fact that feeble-minded females in almshouses are not only prevented from becoming mothers of illegitimate feeble-minded children, but are positively aided in this process by the public money expended upon them. It may be emphasized that feeble-minded children in industrial

schools are misunderstood as they are in the public schools; that just as it is impossible for the feeble-minded child to profit by the instruction in a regular school, so it is impossible for the reform school to make a citizen of him. Yet, the reform school, because he is there, must treat him as if he were reformable, and, because it is a reform school, must parole, or discharge, him when he becomes eighteen or twenty-one years of age. It can be emphasized that the process of education and reform thus attempted has not in anywise modified or mollified the mental deficiency with which the boy or girl was handicapped at birth, and, when so turned out of the reform school, the child is more likely to become a parent of several defective children than he would have been without the treatment. In short, it may be shown the money is wasted and that the same money would have kept the child in training suitable to him in a state custodial colony during these same years and that by retaining him there for life he would continue to be productive and he would not produce his kind and multiply his problem for the community.

It is important to arouse the interest, and secure the co-operation of leaders of public opinion. College presidents, doctors, ministers, judges, and editors are of the class of persons whose co-operation it is most important to solicit and secure in any educational campaign in the interest of better care of the feeble-minded. By cultivating a leader, and securing his support, one gets a rapid multiplication of his audience. If one succeeds in winning the enthusiastic support of the wife of a candidate for governor, it will not be long before the given gubernatorial candidate is making one's propaganda a feature in his own campaign speeches. Likewise, if one makes a friend of the editor of a city daily and thoroughly convinces him of the rationality, humanity and economy of the plan of state training and custody advocated, he soon finds the editorials from this man's pen reaching thousands every week and driving home to them the plan for social betterment which he himself is advocating.

Societies for Mental Hygiene

As a means of organizing the interests and purpose aroused in any such campaign in a community or state and thus securing its continuous and effective work from that time onwards, it is important to gather these forces together. No better means of securing these ends has been suggested than that of organizing societies for mental hygiene. A national organization exists for the continuous support and encouragement of local clubs and societies, and when the persons of a community who have interest in these problems are organized in a society, it is easier for such community to obtain the help of the national organization. I refer to the National Committee for Mental Hygiene. State societies for mental hygiene exist in only eighteen of our states.

Summary

In conclusion, therefore, we may say that the essential points in organizing interest for the rational care of the feeble-minded are:

1. Utilization of the history of the care of the insane and the greater progress which has been made in that field than with congenital defectives.
2. Emphasis of the danger the feeble-minded constitute to the community as potential criminals, dependents and prostitutes, and as carriers of that same incapacity for citizenship to numerous progeny.
3. The necessity of state training and custody as the one known and usable means of minimizing these dangers.
4. The importance of making surveys and using local facts in any state or community where arousing public interest in the problem of the feeble-minded is to be attained.

5. Necessity of the worker being trained in the theories and arts of psychiatry and applied psychology in order to make his diagnoses, and also to present his facts convincingly.

6. Education of the public and arousal of public interest is greatly facilitated by lectures illustrated by lantern slides made from the locality.

7. These illustrations should present the feeble-minded as they are in their homes and families, and customary idleness and delinquencies.

8. The illustrations can present forcibly the hereditary character of mental defect and its relations to delinquency and immorality.

9. They can also present the expense of feeble-minded delinquents and the waste of dealing with the feeble-minded as delinquents and failing to see that they are unreformable.

10. By means of these illustrations one can best present the humanity and the economy of state training and custody of the feeble-minded. The state placing itself in the position of parent to these perennial children, providing them happiness and opportunity to work, and preventing their propagation.

11. The speaker should always use local color and should make a point of appealing to the point of view of the audience, whether they be college students, a woman's club, business men, or a group of teachers.

12. The printing of circulars and the free use of the mails will greatly extend the audience which hears and gets hold of the essential local facts in regard to the expensive present mismanagement of the feeble-minded, and the humanity and economy of state training and custody.

13. The value of securing the interest and support of leaders in the community, such as newspaper editors, cannot be overemphasized.

14. It is important to organize the interest and purpose aroused for future work. This is best done by organizing those interested in the problems of the feeble-minded and the insane into mental hygiene societies.

TENNESSEE'S PROGRESS IN THE CARE OF THE INSANE AND FEEBLEMINDED

Christian C. Menzler, Secretary, Department of State Charities, Nashville.

Five years ago the Board of Control and the Board of State Charities jointly extended an invitation to the National Committee for Mental Hygiene to come into Tennessee and organize a state society. The invitation was accepted, and Mr. Clifford W. Beers came into the state and soon laid the foundation for a strong organization by selecting some of the leading educators, medical men, and prominent citizens of the state as officials and members of the executive committee. Chancellor J. H. Kirkland, of Vanderbilt University, was made president of the society. In the course of a couple of months the organization was perfected and began its activities.

The National Committee encouraged the state society greatly by sending into the state Dr. Sidney D. Wilgus, who made a thorough survey of our three state hospitals for the insane. He also visited and inspected about ten county almshouses, asylums and jails. The result of that survey was given in an address by the doctor to the State Conference of Charities and Corrections. Wide publicity was given to the startling facts and figures, and this marked the beginning of an educational campaign looking towards fundamental improvement in the care and treatment of our insane and feeble-minded.

The first annual meeting of the Tennessee State Society for Mental Hygiene was made the occasion for a considerable educational program along the lines in which the society was interested. We brought such speakers as Dr. F. P. Norbury, of Illinois, and other men competent to

speak with authority on the state's duty towards the insane and feeble-minded. True conditions relating to the insane throughout the state were plainly, but conservatively and forcefully stated. An intensive campaign of work was determined upon.

Early in the year, 1917, the National Committee sent us Dr. H. H. Hulbert for the purpose of surveying the entire state with reference to the whereabouts, number and condition of the insane and feeble-minded in county institutions. Almost sixty counties were covered. The survey was not completed, due to the fact that Dr. Hulbert was called into the service of the government; and for several months thereafter the work was neglected, largely due to war conditions which made it impossible to get the proper help to complete the survey.

In July, 1918, at a meeting of the Board of State Charities, at the instance of Hon. T. C. Rye, then governor of the state, a resolution was passed directing the secretary of the board to conduct an educational campaign in the interest of legislation that would provide for the establishment of a state institution for the feeble-minded, and for an insanity law which would be modern and workable. We asked the National Committee to help us, and in January, 1919, at which time the legislature convened, Dr. Thos. H. Haines, scientific medical advisor of the National Committee, was sent to us to assist in the preparation of suitable legislation and in a publicity campaign relating to this subject. Previous to Dr. Haines' coming we mailed out a series of pamphlets furnished by the National Committee to a select mailing list. With this pamphlet we enclosed a short letter calling attention to the fact that Tennessee needed legislation along these lines. As soon as Dr. Haines came upon the scene he prepared various pamphlets setting forth facts and figures which were gathered from the previous surveys made by Drs. Hulbert and Wilgus. These pamphlets were mailed to various organizations, members of the legislature, medical societies, educators, club women, etc. In addition to this we prepared eleven different forms of letters which were addressed personally to hundreds of selected citizens throughout the state. Special letters were mailed out to the heads of civic organizations, clubs, etc. Formal resolutions were enclosed, also a copy of the proposed law, with the request that these organizations indorse the law, and send a copy of the resolutions to each member of the legislature and to the governor. As a result of this, many organizations passed strong resolutions memorializing the legislature for favorable action.

Dr. Haines lectured in most of the cities of the state before large audiences. Newspapers were supplied with articles and data touching upon the subject. Personal letters were addressed to editors asking for editorials upon this bill to be published in their papers.

A committee of ten representative citizens of Nashville waited upon the governor in the interest of the bill, discussed its provisions, and thus gained his active support of the measure. The bill passed both houses without a dissenting vote. It is considered by those who know best to be comprehensive in its provisions, and we have reason to believe that the institution will be opened in the course of a short time.

PLACE AND SCOPE OF PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORK IN MENTAL HYGIENE

*Margherita Ryther, Chief of Social Service, Protestant Episcopal Hospital,
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History of the evolution of civilization demonstrates progress is due fundamentally to the development of the intellect in mankind. As man has advanced intellectually, he has acquired increasingly capacities for perceiving problems of deep significance to himself and the welfare of the people and has striven to find means for solving them. Advancement of society depends upon the intellectual level of the people. Progress takes place in proportion to man's capacity for conscious appreciation of his needs and in accordance with his ability to discover resources capable of meeting them.

Leaders of all ages have been persons of superior mental caliber. Our greatest leaders have been individuals who have contributed not only intellectually, in the narrow sense of the term, but have expressed in their lives great moral and spiritual strength. We recognize these and allied characteristics as qualities of mind, as the expression of a superior intelligence, and realize it is through the expansion of these attributes of mind that man advances and evolution of the race takes place.

In the course of cultural advancement there have been sporadic efforts on the part of men and women to search into the mysteries of psychic phenomena and to explain mental life. Scientific study of the mind from the angles of psychology, sociology, and even the physical sciences, made little progress until the nineteenth century. It is only within recent years that our knowledge of the mind, either in health or disease, has been sufficient or comprehensive enough to enable us, in the group sense, to recognize that our problems, discussed from any angle we may choose, are traceable, in a great measure, directly to the state of mentality of the individual or the group; that our greatest need is a more extensive knowledge of our mental capacities and limitations, and to know how best to conserve our mental powers, realizing that upon our mental health depends our national strength and future progress.

Conservation of mental health—in other words, mental hygiene—is not a new idea to any of us, but it has been a subject which has not been given sufficient emphasis in the past. Today it is of more concern to a larger group of people whose interests primarily are along other lines of endeavor than ever before, and it is becoming of more universal interest than one at first realizes. This has, undoubtedly, been due to two reasons: (1) the attention given the subject through the mental hygiene educational propaganda, the wider circulation of the publications of scientific studies especially relating to social psychiatry and allied subjects, and (2) the national need for assistance in solving present-day conditions, both community and individual.

Incomplete Social Adaptation

The increasing complexities of modern life demand an ever-increasing "speeding up" of the mental faculties in order to meet the requirements of the times. The result of this high-pressure activity upon the people is demonstrating itself in many ways, of which incomplete adaptation to one's environment is most conspicuous. We may lay much of the present-day restlessness, discontent, uncontrolled emotional manifestations, faulty judgment and blind reasoning to war conditions—and much may be said in favor of this view—but further analysis of conditions before war times shows the same upward curve in these characteristics. The public registered itself then, as it is doing now, in its behavior. Statistics, as well as our personal observations, indicate an increasing number of so-called "nervous and mental

breakdowns." We note, also, the tendencies of so many supposedly intelligent persons to disregard completely their mental health, as is shown in the lives of many of our prominent men and women in their unwise expenditure of effort, exaggerated state of emotional tension, and in their haphazard mode of living—little time reserved for reflection, repose or adequate rest and an almost abnormal craving for emotional excitement. The people of today—I speak of pre-war times as well—are seldom in their homes; and when they are, little time is spent in preparing for "tomorrow." One may ask, "Why lay these problems all at the door of the mind?" and the answer comes: "Because it is the mind which either controls or does not control the activities of man."

The world war quickened the intelligence of most of us. It presented problems which of necessity created capacities for solving them. Our social consciousness expanded more fully during this short period of time than could have been otherwise possible. Man became less conscious of his own welfare and more aware of his obligation to his neighbor or his country. With this advancement came the need for conservation. In his eagerness to be of service, man neglected himself. His rushing forward, so to speak, had its disadvantages as well as advantages, for the stimulus and resulting activity sometimes proved too great; and we need only to look around us to observe its effects. This emotional unstableness denotes a crying need for mental hygiene. Never before has civilization presented so many complex problems. Is it not our duty as a thinking group to earnestly consider more intelligently means for correcting present-day conditions? We may well ask ourselves, "What are we doing and what have we to offer for the future?"

To state that in mental hygiene we have discovered the panacea for all our mental ills and that the application of the principles already evolved will prevent future functional disorders or mental disease or even allay present-day conditions, is a fallacy. We have still a long road to travel before we have placed before the public the information it requires to effectively preserve its mental health. We realize that mental hygiene has taken great strides in the past few years as a survey of its activities throughout the country conclusively shows, and that it stands as one of the foremost educational movements of the day.

Extensive Education in Mental Hygiene

We know that the national and state committees have culled from all scientific literature material of value to the mental welfare of the people; that this literature has been given wide circulation, and that it is rich with information concerning the causal factors contributing to nervous and mental invalidism; that it has paved the way for a more comprehensive understanding of our community problems, thereby opening new avenues of thought through which we may obtain more adequate means for protecting our mental health.

The achievements of this educational campaign are manifold. The results are not only felt by educators, but by the general public. They already clearly record the public's trend of thought and indicate that the people are analyzing intelligently their community problems and are finding the ways and means for controlling them. We note in many of our states the passage of bills providing for more adequate care and treatment of the mentally handicapped and, in addition, the efforts which are being made to secure legislation which will place upon the state the responsibility for the indeterminate care and supervision of those individuals whose life and history demonstrate their inability to adjust themselves to community life. We observe, as well, the emphasis placed upon the necessity for state provision for adequate facilities for the early examination of individuals showing

only slight neuropathic or psychopathic tendencies, and the instituting of mental clinics. We believe these forward steps spell "segregation" and "prevention" and consider them the stepping stones to progress in mental hygiene.

It is quite probable that we are on the threshold of still greater achievement, for the workers in the fields of medicine, psychology and sociology are contributing data of unmeasurable value to the students of mental hygiene.

The literature of these allied professions shows their realization of the interrelation and interdependence of their respective fields; that the problems we hope to solve have their roots deeply imbedded in the soil of all three sciences, and that the adjustment of conditions depends largely upon the combined efforts of them all. These conclusions are suggestive only, but indicate that we have already gained a broader conception of our work, which will eventually result in a deeper understanding of mental life and more skillful handling of our subject.

Mental hygiene has paved the way for the prevention of many of our organic nerve and mental diseases, but we are still far behind in our understanding and control of the functional disorders of the nervous system—the psychoneuroses, those nervous states characterized principally by manifestations of emotional disturbances; a state of being felt by many and recognized as one of the most intangible of disorders and most prevalent in modern times. We have abundant data on the symptoms of these conditions, have developed our diagnostic nomenclature, have isolated many causal factors and have made progress in our knowledge of the nature of their constituent parts. As an outcome of these discoveries, the emotional life has become the center of attention and greater importance has been placed upon the value of research in relation to the psychology of the emotions. It is social psychiatry which has been responsible, to a great extent, for the unfoldment of these truths. Should we not look to it for continued leadership in the future?

Need of New Methods

Social psychiatry we may define as that branch of medicine which deals primarily with the psycho-social aspects of mental and nervous diseases; thereby extending the field of psychiatry into that of sociology and psychology insofar as these sciences contribute to a clearer understanding of the different phases of mental abnormalities and effect their treatment. When psychiatry spread its wings over its allies' boundaries, as it were, it not only carried to them its contributions concerning the subject of their mutual interest, but very definitely made its appeal for their aid, as well. Its pioneer thinkers appreciated the fact that its future usefulness depended, in a great measure, upon its ability to successfully carry out its aims, extend its scope of activities, and that one of its fundamental needs was to evolve a means for securing data of psychiatric significance which its neighbors had to offer and to obtain their co-operation and services in studying and adjusting those psycho-social conditions which had a bearing upon the mental welfare of the people.

This public need was finally met by the creation of a specialized field of endeavor—psychiatric social work—which came into being at first as a subdivision of medical-social work and as a response to psychiatry's appeal, but is now recognized as a separate division of social work. Psychiatric social work may be descriptively characterized as a laboratory in which the field workers of mental hygiene, through the medium of the so-called "social case work method," study and treat the social-psychological maladjustments which have a definite relationship to mental disease. The work is primarily that of individual service for the sufferers of the various forms of nervous and mental disorder. The material comes out of personal contacts with the

sufferers of these conditions, their family, physicians, employers, school and public authorities, and from public and hospital records.

The students in this workshop are individuals whose natural gifts, combined with education, training and experience, equip them to discern intelligently, quickly and accurately in the vast mass of psycho-social material at hand those facts of value to psychiatry and qualify them to act as consultants and assistants to neuro-psychiatrics, not only in bringing to them data of diagnostic interest, but in aiding them in their treatment of disorders which indicate a need for readjustment of social conditions or personal re-education.

In presenting psychiatric social work as a laboratory for the field workers of mental hygiene, we give it a strategic position which, to a certain extent, establishes its relation to mental hygiene.

The value of this work cannot be estimated in terms of fact, owing to the experimental stage of its development, but we conclude from observation and reports of its activities that its field of operation is rapidly expanding, that it is contributing largely to our knowledge of the social causes of nervous and mental diseases, and that the field workers, through their personal contacts, are reaching those individuals in the community who, because of their lack of advantages or mental equipment, would not otherwise have access to the literature or teachings of mental hygiene.

To obtain a clear conception of the scope of this field's activities and their relation to mental hygiene, it will be helpful to survey briefly some of its accomplishments.

Sociotherapy

In the study and treatment of dispensary patients suffering from the so-called functional disorders of the nervous system known as neurasthenia, psychasthenia and hysteria, psychiatric social work has made a definite contribution.

These patients, until recently, did not receive sufficient attention in the out-patient departments of our hospitals, owing to the fact that their disorders were more or less looked upon lightly by the physicians. In addition, the pressure of clinical duties, the many cases demanding their attention, made it necessary, in general, for them to confine their efforts to the organic disturbances of the nervous system. With greater knowledge of the causes of functional disorders grew the conviction that these conditions were of utmost significance to their victims and to society at large; that it was important to study and treat them from the social and psychological, as well as the medical, standpoint. As a result of this broader conception of therapy, social workers have been placed in a number of neurological and mental clinics to establish an adequate co-operation between medicine as represented by the doctor and external conditions as represented by the social worker.

In supplementing the doctor's work in the study of the psycho-social maladjustments which have a bearing upon the invalidism of these patients and aiding them in the readjustment of these when possible, the social worker uses the social case work method in investigating the patients' environmental conditions, hereditary influences and temperamental tendencies. The method is used to secure data for the doctors to round out their clinical examinations, making it possible for them to advise adequate treatment and also to assist them in their re-educational work.

It serves as a curative influence, for through its medium social workers teach these patients what mental hygiene means and how to practice its principles.

To estimate the importance to the mental hygiene movement of the re-educational work of the psychiatric social worker is impossible at this time, but a study of the social records of the sufferers from these nervous dis-

orders shows progress along curative lines and reveals certain points of interest.

The majority of patients who benefit most are those individuals whose mental condition is good, but whose physical and mental environment has been extremely poor. These patients are hungry for help and respond to treatment. Many have been groping blindly for health and simply need to be given a few fundamental facts about their mental attitude in order to work out for themselves a workable philosophy of life. Others have serious character defects which are difficult to adjust, but with the encouraging guidance of the physician and the social worker they gain self-reliance and a healthy mental attitude.

Patients whose mental equipment is not so good and whose environmental circumstances are poor do not respond very well, but it has been found that through careful supervision and with assistance in the readjustment of their home conditions progress has been made, though in a palliative sense. There is a large group of patients who, because of constitutional weakness, have not the stamina to gain any help through this method of treatment, but it has been possible to help them through the co-operation of relatives and others. In these cases the psychiatric social workers teach the relatives the principles of mental hygiene, which gives a better insight into the patient's condition and stimulates their interest in helping them.

It seems reasonable to conclude that prevention of these disorders depends, to a large extent, upon adequate early training; for the disorders appear to be, when finally analyzed, the expressions of faulty character development.

Parole and After-care Supervision

In the care and treatment of the insane and feeble-minded, psychiatric social work has made for itself an important place. It is hardly necessary to mention that adequate treatment of these patients depends upon their receiving suitable community supervision and that it is of primary importance to detect early cases.

Psychiatric social work is making this program possible. The social workers are supervising the patients who are not suffering from severe mental disorders and are living in the community. They are acting as counselors to their families, teaching them how to care for these patients intelligently, the necessity for suitable employment and for conserving their mental and physical health.

The social workers are also doing preventive work, for through their community work they detect early cases and see that these have proper medical care.

Many of the state hospitals for the care of the insane, the schools for feeble-minded, the courts and reformatories, have attached to their staffs psychiatric social workers who are aiding the physicians in the diagnosing of difficult borderline cases through securing past personal and family histories. The workers are also supervising the patients who have been discharged or are on parole from these hospitals.

This work needs no explanation. It is valuable and means more effective segregation, better supervision and better care for the mentally disabled.

Role of the Social Historian

In the field of research, psychiatric social work is making some headway. The social workers are publishing their findings in various lines of their work. An intensive study of the economic efficiency of one hundred epileptics who received treatment in the neurological clinic at the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston has revealed a number of interesting facts which have been overlooked by the medical profession and community wel-

fare promoters. The study shows that a large per cent of epileptics of working age support themselves and even contribute to the support of their families. It is exceedingly important that the full significance of this fact should be appreciated, for in the opinion of many persons, laymen and physicians alike, the mental capacity of epileptic patients is to be rated as distinctly low; and most of the institutional data hitherto at our disposal has seemed to emphasize this fact. The investigation shows, as well, that these patients are compelled to change their work frequently because of their handicap—the seizure or attack; that they are obliged to accept work uncongenial and often inferior to their capacities, and that the length of their service depends more upon the lack of attacks than upon their efficiency or the character of their occupation. The majority of patients who are not self-supporting—those doing unskilled labor principally—would be able to contribute far more toward their support if it were not for the fact of their losing their work on account of their attacks.

Patients having frequent or severe seizures generally lose their jobs, no matter how great their suitability may be in other ways. Employers discharge them in most instances as soon as they discern their handicap. Employers and fellow-workmen are rarely, if ever, willing to take the responsibility of looking after their companions at these times and are often seriously alarmed by the occurrence of the attacks.

These observations indicate that there is a large number of community patients of sufficient economic efficiency to earn a living, if placed in suitable positions and relieved of the fear of the loss of their jobs. It appears that the continual anxiety over the fear of losing a job is a greater factor in the apparent mental deterioration than has been supposed, and that work is helpful as a therapeutic measure, if for no other reason. In consideration of these facts, it seems advisable to get together employers, the medical profession and all who are interested in preventive measures to plan for more adequate care of the epileptics. It is evident that epileptics should have the same opportunities as the physically handicapped, and there seems no reason why the less handicapped epileptics should not remain in general community industries. For those epileptics who have severe seizures which necessitate special opportunities, shops might be attached to institutions already caring for these patients.

The study shows that those of school age are frequently debarred from school on account of attacks, although their scholarship has been reported as above the average. This suggests the need of providing in suitable ways for the adequate instruction of certain groups of these epileptic children. Furthermore, the school reports of these children indicate the need for special training for those who are irregular in their attendance on account of their attacks. Vocational education is suggested for certain ones among these children who, because of their physical or mental equipment, do not belong in the above groups, yet who are not so ill that they need institutional care, and who are capable of being trained to support themselves, at least partially.

War Work

The part which psychiatric social work played in the army may be shown by stating that it served primarily the neuro-psychiatrists in the military hospitals as a medium through which they could obtain the past personal and family histories of the soldiers suffering from war psychoses and neuroses. The advisability of placing specially trained social workers in military hospitals for soldiers suffering from these conditions was early recognized, but it was more forcibly brought home to those working with soldiers when the men began to return from overseas with reports containing very little medical information, and not infrequently came with only a diagnosis. As some presented symptoms which indicated that their condi-

tion was probably chronic, had existed for years if not from birth, and others came with a diagnosis of epilepsy but while in the hospital had no seizures, these investigations frequently played an important part in the disposition of cases.

The histories were secured through correspondence with relatives, family physicians, employers, school teachers and others and were used for diagnostic purposes and also to establish the fact as to whether the soldier's condition occurred in line of duty.

It is interesting to note that in ninety per cent of the cases referred for these investigations at the military hospital for war neuroses at Plattsburg, N. Y., the histories were obtained. The majority of the replies were of value not only from a medical standpoint, giving the hospital authorities a clearer insight into the soldier's condition, but, from a sociological standpoint, showing the living conditions from which these soldiers came. A large percentage of the reports definitely placed the soldier's condition as not occurring in line of duty and gave a clear past history of nervous and mental disorder, not infrequently showing, as well, habits of intemperance and anti-social tendencies. The family histories showed in a large percentage of cases that the mental and social standards of the families were below the average. There were a number of instances in which the soldier's statements were found to be untrue—generally in the cases of soldiers who were undoubtedly malingerers, desiring to secure compensation or to avoid military service.

The foregoing facts reveal the value of psychiatric social workers as assistants to neuro-psychiatrists in their study of so-called "shell shock" cases. They also reveal the value of investigating the cases involving the question of compensation prior to discharge from the army, as it would seem logical that histories, as described, would be almost impossible to obtain after the soldier had made a claim for compensation.

Another phase of service was that of securing for these discharged soldiers adequate after-care through the home service section of the American Red Cross. The nature of their disorders required supervision of a special character, but, owing to army regulations, it was impossible to give the civilian organizations the medical information essential for the adequate handling of these cases. The after-care was, therefore, considerably crippled in its efficiency.

The effectiveness of treatment of these disorders in military, as well as civilian, hospitals depends upon the support and co-operation of the community after the soldier's or patient's discharge. Unless the organizations which have been given the responsibility for their after-care have a clear understanding of the medical, as well as the social, aspects of the cases, the results cannot be effective.

The personal work with the soldiers was also a contribution, but owing to our describing the technique of this work elsewhere, it is unnecessary to mention it here, except to say that the encouragement and personal service-rendered the soldiers was of therapeutic value in many instances.

These statements, then, in a measure, indicate the present place and scope of psychiatric social work in mental hygiene. They outline a number of its activities and achievements and point out its value to the mental hygiene movement. Psychiatric social work is contributing to the advancement of social psychiatry in serving as an aid in diagnosis and as a guide in treatment. The social records show data of social and psychological value in research in nervous and mental disease. The future place and scope of this work in mental hygiene we do not know, but the re-educational work which is being done by the social workers is significant and indicates that psychiatric social work will extend its scope of usefulness along curative and preventive lines.

THE INDIVIDUAL *VERSUS* THE FAMILY AS UNIT OF INTEREST IN SOCIAL WORK*

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I hold that, whatever the ideal order, the practical order of work called Social Work begins with the eradication of evil. It may sound better to sow goodness, or to transplant goodness, or even to graft goodness in the eager social world, and beautiful little gardens of Eden or smaller oases of goodness can be shown here and there to the social visitor. Nevertheless I hold, with the prejudice of a physician perhaps, that eradications of evil are more in the first order of our work than disseminations, transplantations, and grafts of goodness. At all events, if there be anything at all in the millennial hopes and ingrained optimism of Spencerian evolution, it is plain that by and large we are putting evil behind us and arriving at goodness by a clever technique of successful destruction. To be sure, that destructive process is to our limited view a wholesale process, and it must be our conscious task to refine and differentiate that process or, by research, to discover other processes, as yet unknown to young Dame Nature, which shall convert the formula "survival of the fittest" to the plural form. There seems to be a fatal trend to monism whether you follow the British optimist Herbert Spencer or the German pessimist Ernst Hæckel. But we are trying in America to live and let live, and to provide a sort of synoptical garden for all sorts of people, whether cross-fertilization be practically valuable for them all or not. We should be, should we not, social pluralists rather than social monists. Americanization, when it leaves us perfect at last, will leave us perfectly polychromatic and not the dull monochrome of the "average man" or the "economic man"—those sinister conceptions of the century in which all here were born.

Whether you agree or not with me in my conception of the primary importance of evil as the root of the social problem and whether you agree or not with my last year's formulation of the Kingdom of Evil,† you will probably agree (even Soviets might!) that evil must first or last be attacked.

Holmes speaks: I think in the *Elsie Venner* preface, of puritan ladies who did not like medicated novels. There may be those who feel that social work is being over-medicated; but there should be none who would not medicate at all. I will leave my first point at this, then: there is not only a value but a necessity in approaching the social problem from the point of view of medical analysis. And I hope to show that even the problem of the normal family (provided that such exists as a social problem), is a problem profitably approached from the medical and especially the psychiatric side.

But I want to insist that, however much we analyze or employ scientific method in social work at large, in medical social work, or in psychiatric social work, we are still in the practical field, still within the confines of an art. We may be using science but we are behaving as practitioners of an art, the art of social work. Whatever may be said against that bungling term, at least "social work" has the grace not to call itself a science! Mayhap you may not think it important to distinguish art and science. Thus you may know a great engineer who is a great physicist or vice versa. And the distinction is hard to draw. But at any rate Marshal Foch—also one of the most striking products of the nineteenth century, but not an

*Being the main points of a paper delivered June 2, 1919, and including remarks made at roundtable discussion on the Training of the Psychiatric Social Worker, June 5, 1919.

†The *Regnum malorum* has now one nomenclatural change (litigia). The orderly analysis runs *Morbi* (disease and defects, physical and mental), *errors* (mistakes and misinformation or ignorance), *Vitia* (vices and bad habits), *Litigia* (not merely *Delicta* but all forms of being at-law), and *Penuria* (poverty and resourcelessness).

"average" or "economic" man—makes much of the practical value of the distinction between art and science. Perhaps it is not too much to say that the great war's issue hung upon the contrasts between the practice of war as an art by the Allies under French influence and the practice of war as a science by the Germans. The science developed by Clausewitz almost won. But please do read Marshal Foch's own account (written at the turn of the century) of this whole matter: his story is a reasoned claim for war as an art.

We should then go to our social work as to war, 1, to eradicate evil, and 2, to practice our best arts of social technique, eschewing all stuff and nonsense about any so-called social *science*. In the first instance our labors will be in a broad sense hygienic and, the more difficult our cases, the more likely our labors are to become not merely hygienic but in the field of *mental hygiene*. The National Conference for Social Work appears of late, at least to the prejudiced and partisan view of psychiatrists, to have begun a slow but steady facing-about from economic and quietistic attitudes to a more pragmatic and even muscular posture of attack. Even the curious offensive-defensive attitude of the more Bolshevik members of our group is part and parcel of the now hygienic attitude of prevention (as well as cure) by destruction of elements conceived to be dangerous. The entire shift, both of conservative and of radical membership in the National Conference, is a shift, one might say, toward the technique of hygiene and especially of mental hygiene. Go to! let us attack evil in every form, both crude and insidious, both material and spiritual, both environmental and personal! And let us abandon purely scientific schemata, however self-consistent and even historically successful these schemata may be, in favor of pragmatic plans.

But what is this new point of view called mental hygiene? Besides healing sores first and besides being pragmatic, what is the technique of mental hygiene? The technique of an art can profitably be examined in the type of its personnel. The personnel types are at least four and should be five:

- (a) The psychiatrist
- (b) The psychologist
- (c) The psychiatric social worker
- (d) The occupation therapist
- (e) The psychiatric nurse.

As for (e) the psychiatric nurse, even if she existed in respectably large collections in local or national associations of specialized nature, she would not especially concern us at this conference. For the nature and training of the nurse (including the public health nurse, and the psychiatric nurse, if such practically existed to stand for and wield a special power in mental hygiene councils) is emphatically not the nature and training of the social worker. A girl might become either, but could not, so far as I am aware, remain both. And most girls would not even start with equal potentialities for these two kinds of training. This is not to say that many a girl goes in for the wrong thing, that is, the thing wrong for her. Every day we see trained nurses who ought to have been and become social workers. But these transformed women for the most part are entirely conscious either that a mistake was made in their vocational choice at the beginning or else that the nurse's training accomplished no harm but was probably superfluous in the life of a social worker.

But, for the most part, it is idle to draw these distinctions with respect to mental hygiene, since the psychiatric nurse, as a standardized and self-explanatory figure in the nursing world, is well-nigh non-existent, and there is no body of accredited women from whom we could draw recruits for social work, even should we so desire. Signs are that this will not always

be so. One of the next big steps in mental hygiene will be, I think, to develop the psychiatric nurse as a documented substantial entity, who can stand up in the work alongside other specialized forms of nurse, such as the surgical nurse and the public health nurse. And no doubt this movement will reverberate in the general field of nursing. For I consider that the problem, How to put humanity into the trained nurse, is a problem best solved by making every nurse do a successful piece of psychiatric nursing practice during her nurses' training course. And the mere existence of nurses who systematically received such training in psychiatry would in a few years leaven the entire lump and help to unbureaucratize the whole nursing situation.

But these reflections have no special place here, unless they serve to push home, the point that social work is not nursing and that psychiatric social work is not psychiatric nursing.

Nor should one dwell upon the equally obvious fact that (d) occupation therapy is not social work and that occupation therapy workers are not social workers. Nothing was more evident in one's war committee contacts with these problems than that not only the training but also the temperament and interest suitable to social work were not at all those suitable either to nursing or to occupation therapy. The two latter run together far more smoothly than either with social work.

Of the five actual or possible personnel types, that mental hygiene now envisages, neither (e) the psychiatric nurse nor (d) the occupation worker nor (b) the psychologist has very much to do with family adjustments, and such adjustments as are furthered by this personnel get furthered rather through inborn powers of tact and ingenuity than through trained judgment and technique.

There is a sense in which psychiatry is a part of psychology, as medicine may be said to be a part of biology. Nor does the uninformed layman greatly distinguish the two fields, psychiatry and psychology. He is apt to speak of psychiatrists as "eminent psychologists" and wants to have every knotty problem solved "by psychology." In the list given above of personnel types in mental hygiene, I placed also the psychologist, but was referring to workers in the field of mental tests and other estimates. These workers, who have enjoyed an extraordinary vogue and great success on all sides, apply methods devised by psychologists in the larger sense of the term. They are amongst the most effective of all workers in mental hygiene, despite the fact that they so soon come to the end of the rope. Such psychological examiners, as has been said, can often do more in an hour than a psychiatrists in twenty-four, or a psychiatric social worker in two hundred hours—but the psychological examiner can do very little the second hour with the same case. It is in any event plain that the psychological examiner, as at present developed, does not fall into competition with other types of mental hygiene personnel in the matter of family adjustments.

It remains certain, then, that in the present phase of mental hygiene the psychiatrists and the psychiatric social workers are charged with the main burdens of family adjustment. A slight study of records in intensive cases of psychiatric social work shows that time forbids the psychiatrist himself to indulge overmuch in the domestic details of family adjustment. For the psychiatrist can rarely give more than a total of twenty-four to forty-eight working hours to a single case and in practice does not spend anything like so long on individual cases, except in the special field of psychoanalysis. On the other hand, some of our psychopathic hospital cases of intensive psychiatric social work have taken many hundred "social worker hours" in the adjustment processes.

The moot question of the mental hygiene section of this year's conference appears to be how far social psychiatry shall extend into the field

of social work. Especially is it queried whether there should or should not be special social workers known as psychiatric social workers.

The mental hygienists in their surveys of the total field of medical social work were likely to prove almost too much. I don't know whether you can prove 49 per cent or 51 per cent or some other per cent of all cases of medical social work to have important psychiatric sides. I assume that these psychiatric features are so apt to creep into most social case problems that no medical social worker can safely do without her psychiatric lore. But it is equally obvious that a large minority of medical social cases are profoundly and from start to finish psychiatric, and that therefore there must surely be a group of more highly specialized social workers fitted by temperament, training, and choice to be psychiatric social workers. I conceive that at least as many as one in four of all medical social workers might well have been trained in some special training school for psychiatric social work, such as the Smith College School, the Philadelphia School, or the New York School of Social Work.

Be that as it may, it is true beyond peradventure that great numbers of so-called "family" cases are actually cases in which the entire economic or legal or moral or educational problem is not so much a family affair in the ordinary sense as an affair of a central psychopathic figure, surrounded by other family members virtually rooted to particular spots by the malign social influences emanating from the single source of evil will.

What may be called the *psychiatric touch* is therefore needed in an unknown but sufficiently large fraction of medical social cases, in such wise that there can be no doubt whatever of two facts, first, that all medical social workers should be trained in social psychiatry so as to make few initial mistakes and so as to pass their cases to more trained or enthusiastic hands, and secondly, that there should be a specially trained group of psychiatric social workers to whom these cases can be duly passed.

When I gave the title to the present paper, a captious critic might well have thought that I was somehow trying to replace the family altogether with the individual as a unit of interest in social work.* Now it should be obvious that, besides the individual and the family, we could also properly describe the neighborhood, the ward, the town or city, the county, the state, the nation, or even the newly conceived League of Nations, as perfectly proper units of interest in social work.

We might even proceed in the other direction. William James' conception of the selves that go to make up the human being is plainly just another group concept like the ones listed. The fact that a man may be his own worst enemy, or become affiliated with a totally unenlightened self-interest, shows how far this group doctrine of the selves might be carried. I have sometimes felt that we could well go back to our old grammars and study the active voice and passive voice for the elucidation of what goes on amongst the Selves (the Ego, the Me and the Social and Material Selves) as brilliantly formulated by James. The very opposition between Ego and Me suggests this application of the principle of the passive voice. For the Me in the objective or accusative case is clearly in a certain state of passivity. But I cannot dwell upon the alluring avenues of the group concept of the Self and Selves.

I simply here insist that by opposing the individual to the family as a possible unit of interest in social work, I am not denying the importance of the family when I extol the virtues of the individual as the object of social attention.

I am fond of quoting Miss Richmond's standard work on *Social Diagnosis* to show that a random selection of social cases (such as Miss Richmond there makes for the purpose of bringing out certain points in social workers' tech-

*A Bolshevik wrote, congratulating me on the paper's title.

nique) incidentally shows that a large minority, perhaps even one case in two, of all social cases has a strong psychiatric tinge. Accordingly, one of the things meant by my chosen title was that there must be a large fraction of cases in which the individual, rather than the family, will be the first point in a rational attack upon treatment. But that statistical fact, upon which the above contentions concerning psychiatric social workers' training were founded, is by no means the most important point which I am attempting to make in the adversation between individual and family.

If we employ the *psychiatric touch* in social case families, we ordinarily, if not constantly, find that the central psychopathic figure in the family dominates the family. That domination may be objective and visible more to the social observer than to the members of the afflicted family; or again the domination may be a subjective domination, amounting to an actually felt passivity on the part of the rest of the family.

Now my contention is that this observation of dominant figures in psychopathically affected families is not unlike the situation in entirely normal families. Of course, I do not wish to say that there are no normal families, though it is pretty hard to uncover such an absolutely normal and perfectly adjusted family. Dr. Richard Cabot, at this conference, has picturesquely referred to the dangers of perfect adaptation on the part of anyone to his environment, and according to his formula it might well be that a perfectly normal family would make no more for progress than it would for the gayety or sorrow of the novelist. Be that as it may, the normal family, composed of Quételet's average men and women, would not naturally fall into social workers' hands. It might even be playfully questioned whether the members of such normal families would make good social workers.

It was Schäffle, I believe, who attempted to replace the Spencerian individual with the family as the sociological unit. Gumplowicz later proposed the horde as the unit in sociology. But throughout these suggestions the individual retains a major interest. I propose that this manner of analysis (which I rather inaptly refer to as the *psychiatric touch*) be applied to each family, and that the individualization of the family problem take the line of observing which member of the family is dominant over the others. It seems to me that everyday observation without further ado shows that almost all families are dominated by some one member. Sometimes, to be sure, these families are dominated in series so that, for example, the father dominates the mother, and the mother in turn her children.

This is no time or place in which to develop a rounded theory of logical attack on family analysis. But I think experience will prove that there is, as you might say, almost always a family handle, that is, some member who is actually in control of the situation. The control, it is plain, need not be an externally strenuous or violent one, and a mollusc might be the vehicle of control, as well as a bull or a bear.

I am inclined to think that families most greatly differ in the control by father and by mother respectively. May it not be possible that a comparison of family control under modern social conditions will be found very profitable with the phenomena of control under father-right and under mother-right in barbaric societies. We certainly see patriarchates and matriarchates in abundance all about us. More than one novelist has called attention to phenomena that one might think of as "daughter-right" or "son-right."* Better would it be to construct a logic of intrafamilial powers, such as $F > M$ or $M < F$, $D > F$, $S > M$, for the instances in which the father is dominant over the mother, the mother over the father, the daughter over the father and the son over the mother, respectively. And these formulas could be greatly extended. But I must leave this attractive vista of formulation to another time, and will leave the point at this, that the psychiatric

manner of analysis may well be applicable even to those normal or non-psychopathic families that the social worker has to deal with. This point will reduce, no doubt, to a study of the active and passive voice in the energy system known as the family. Accordingly, in my original adversation between the individual and the family, I intended to enclose at least two points, namely, (1) that great numbers of family situations to which individual analysis is primary on account of the dominance of psychopathic figures in their midst and (2) that virtually all family situations whatever will benefit by individual analysis as to what I call the family handle or dominant figure.

THE PSYCHIATRIC THREAD RUNNING THROUGH ALL SOCIAL CASE WORK

Mary C. Jarrett, Associate Director of the Smith College Training School for Social Work and Former Chief of Social Service of the Boston Psychopathic Hospital

It is clear at a glance that the title of this paper is inaccurate, for when you come to look for the psychiatric thread running through social case work, you see at once that this *thread* constitutes the entire *warp* of the fabric of case work. Inasmuch as the adaptation of an individual to his environment, in the last analysis, depends upon mental make-up, the study of the mental life is fundamental to any activity having for its object the better adjustment of the individual. The special function of social case work is the adjustment of individuals with social difficulties. It is the art of bringing an individual who is in a condition of social disorder into the best possible relation with all parts of his environment. It is the special skill of the social case worker to study the complex of relationships that constitute the life of an individual and to construct as sound a life as possible out of the elements found both in the individual and in his environment. Our relations to our environment are caused by mental, physical, and economic factors existing in our own experience and in the experience of other persons. It is no matter which of these three classes of factors is considered of *primary* importance, since they are all of *fundamental* importance in dealing with a case of social disorder. It would be hard to say which leg of a three-legged stool was the most necessary to our comfort. From the standpoint of treatment, there is practical value in knowing which field is the source of greatest difficulty; but in the analysis of a case of social disorder, consideration of no one of the three classes of factors can be safely omitted. Furthermore, in treatment, with few exceptions, some consideration of all three will be required even where one predominates.

Social workers, in attempting the social adjustment of an individual, draw upon the knowledge of all sciences for their own use and depend upon the skill of all other practitioners in behalf of their clients. Leaving out of this discussion the economic and physical factors of social maladjustment, let us discuss the means by which we deal with mental factors. Almost everybody acquires by experience of life a rough and ready knowledge of psychology, and most social workers study psychology as part of their general education. When in the course of our work we have a patient who is mentally sick, we call upon a psychiatrist. The question naturally arises whether it is not the psychological thread that forms the warp of social case work with the psychiatric thread making an occasional morbid pattern. That is, can psychiatry do anything more for social case work than

*The patriarchates and matriarchates might be supplemented with Thygatriarchates and Hyiarchates. But this terminology is no doubt more amusing than practical.

treat mentally sick persons? Is it not knowledge of psychology rather than psychiatry that we need, except in the rare cases of mental disease? The analogy of physiology and medicine will perhaps help to clear up this question. It is generally agreed that the social worker needs some familiarity with the essentials of medicine and that as a basis for such knowledge some acquaintance with physiology is necessary. If it should be granted that the social worker needs to know something of psychiatry, a previous knowledge of psychology would have to be assumed. Roughly speaking, psychology tells us what the mental processes should be; psychiatry shows what these processes actually are in a given case. Psychology establishes the average or norm for our guidance, while psychiatry points out all possible variations from the normal. If all men were of the same order, psychology would be sufficient for our needs; but since human nature is subject to innumerable variations, it is necessary to understand the peculiar character of the individual before applying the principles of psychology.

In social case work we are dealing with individuals in the most intensive manner possible; therefore, we are immediately concerned with the particular variations of each individual. And a very large proportion of persons with whom social workers deal vary sufficiently from the average to present a psychiatric problem; that is, to call for the use of knowledge that is to be had from psychiatry and not from psychology. This fact—that a majority of social cases are psychiatric problems—is probably not yet generally recognized. It is common knowledge among us that medical problems are prominent in case work, and few would deny that the case worker needs to know some medicine in addition to physiology. But the recognition of the extent to which mental disorder enters into social problems has only begun to dawn upon us. Knowledge of psychology has for some years been held essential, but, for the most part, social workers look upon psychiatry as a subject that it is hardly safe to touch, or at any rate, only after laying a foundation of "normal psychology," as they say, upon which to lay firm hold in order not to be swept away into the unpleasant morbid realms to which they imagine psychiatry will lead them. The old unhappy prejudice against mental disease which still holds sway over this generation is of course responsible for this prevalent misconception. But social work must be free from prejudice, if it is to take its place among professional and scientific endeavors. It is a mistake to think that familiarity with the abnormal breeds contempt for what is sound and wholesome. We turn from sickness with an increased appreciation of health. I remember how good the sunlight looked when I came out of a coal mine, yet I had felt very much at home down in the mine. Knowledge of mental disease gives added value to mental hygiene. I am sometimes asked if familiarity with psychopathic cases does not make everybody seem a little psychopathic. On the contrary, the psychopathic seem to the psychiatric social worker more like everybody else, but persons of sound personality seem more admirable than ever.

When social workers talk of working only with "normal persons," as I often hear them say, it is not clear what they mean. Several managers of large firms have told me that they employed only "normal people." We rarely use the term "physically normal," for almost no one is completely healthy or well all of the time. It is just as true that no one has a mind in perfect condition or maintains an even state of mental health. The term "normal" applied to the mentality of an individual has no exact meaning, but it is a very serviceable word if taken to mean that a person's mental condition is such that, barring accidents, he is likely to get on in the world without difficulties. The normal person is one who is able to adapt himself to his environment. In this sense, a person who is normal may have slight mental disorders, just as a well person may have a headache, a toothache,

or a cold. We are an assembly of normal persons, but probably no one of us could claim never to have had any sort of mental or nervous trouble. A psychiatrist once assured me that if anybody believed himself to be of perfect mind, he would be ashamed to own it, knowing that he would be regarded as uninteresting. For some reason, we are not entirely sympathetic toward the perfect in nature.

The actual number of acute psychiatric problems to be found among the cases of all social agencies is far larger, I believe, than we are accustomed to think. Fifty per cent of the cases cited by Miss Richmond in *Social Diagnosis* present clearly psychiatric problems, and another fifteen per cent strongly suggest a psychopathic condition. In many of the thirty-five per cent where mental disorder is not indicated, the brief mention of the case does not show its absence conclusively. So that of these cases, taken from various agencies and cited in illustration of a variety of points, over one-half, at least, probably called for social psychiatric treatment.

A recent review of fifty consecutive applications to the Boston Associated Charities showed thirty-six individuals in these fifty families who were probably psychopathic; twenty-four of these were clearly so and twelve were strongly indicated to be so. In fourteen cases the personality of one or more members of the family was not indicated. It is not safe to assume that mental difficulties do not exist when not recorded in social records; so that thirty-six persons in fifty cases is probably below the true figure.

Fifty consecutive admissions to the placing-out department of the Boston Children's Aid Society showed forty-five persons with mental disorder indicated—ten children, twenty-two parents and six near relatives clearly psychopathic and seven parents presumably so. Nineteen of the fifty were cases of infants, so that the figure forty-five psychopathic persons in fifty cases may be below the fact. Of 297 children in the care of the society on May 1, twenty-three were known to be psychopathic and twenty-nine were under observation, making fifty-two children requiring social psychiatric treatment—17½ per cent.

Another children's agency in Boston, which gives routine psychological tests, the New England Home for Little Wanderers, found in 100 consecutive admissions fifty children of normal intelligence and fifty who required further observation or special care, four of whom were feeble-minded. In two other studies made by this agency of 201 children and 174 children, the percentage of psychiatric problems was 45.3 per cent in the first group and 45.9 per cent in the second group.

The Church Home Society in Boston, a placing-out agency for children, has adopted the practice of a routine psychiatric examination for all children admitted to its care. A psychiatrist is attached to the staff of the society, who not only examines, but observes and treats the children in care. The psychiatrist's report on 100 children shows forty-four requiring psychiatric treatment. The routine mental examination practiced by this agency is regarded by some social workers as an unnecessary luxury and in the nature of a fad; but since nearly half of its children are found to be psychiatric problems, the practice would seem to justify itself. The secretary of the society, Miss Hewins, told me that the agency profited not only by the advice given in cases of mental disorder, but also from several by-products of the psychiatric clinic: (1) detection of superior ability in children, to whom exceptional educational opportunities are given; (2) advice to visitors in regard to training normal children; (3) improvement of records due to the necessity for more exact information required for psychiatric study.

Several years ago, in a paper entitled, *Routine Mental Examination as the Proper Basis of Practical Measures in Social Service: A First Study Made from 30,000 Cases Cared for by 27 Organizations in Boston and Sur-*

rounding Districts, Miss Helen Wright, assistant in the Social Service Department of the Boston Psychopathic Hospital, compared the reluctance of social agencies to adopt routine mental examinations to the early opposition to the idea of investigation. She said: "When pioneer workers in organized charity and reform movements urged *investigation* as the only scientific basis for rendering charitable assistance of any kind, at first an investigation was made very guardedly and very superficially by the societies then in a position to make one. As time went on, certain cases were inquired into carefully as a matter of principle, but others were put aside as 'too sensitive to be investigated,' 'evidently all right.'" No efficient agency today would dispense with the routine inquiry into the social condition of a client, but few agencies are yet persuaded of the necessity for routine inquiry into the mental condition, which might seem to be even more important as a basis for social treatment. Miss Wright found three per cent of mental cases in family agencies, 4.5 per cent in children's agencies, 7.9 per cent in temporary homes for women. Two agencies for unmarried mothers that made a practice of routine mental examinations showed 17.9 per cent and 23 per cent of mental cases, respectively. The other agencies detected mental disorder only when some acute condition made an examination necessary and, without question, were dealing with a higher percentage of mental cases than they were aware.

A study of 2,600 admissions at the Boston Psychopathic Hospital showed that thirty per cent of the cases were known to social agencies before admission, over half of this number to more than one agency, fifteen per cent of them to five or more agencies. In the social work for these 800 odd cases 139 agencies were involved before they came to the psychopathic hospital. It is not known, of course, at what point the agencies recognized mental disorder in these cases, but the figures are an indication of the amount of social work that may be required by frankly psychopathic patients.

The greater part of the case work of the social service of the psychopathic hospital is essentially the same as the work of other social agencies. For example, in 100 current intensive cases there are sixty-five cases presenting family problems such as might have fallen to the lot of a charity organization society. There is a misconception which is sometimes heard, that the psychiatric social worker has a different function from other social workers. She has exactly the same function of social case work, including, as the figures above quoted indicate, family case work. The characteristics which differentiate the psychiatric social worker are: (1) knowledge of nervous and mental disorders, (2) experience with psychiatric cases, and (3) a point of view which seeks for the causes of conduct in mental factors.

Most social agencies will tell you that their files are full of cases that would have received different treatment if the psychiatric problem had been discovered earlier. The loss to the client as well as the waste of effort on the part of the agency caused by misdirected treatment in such cases is obvious.

Social case work habitually relies upon psychiatry for advice concerning the care of persons with mental disorder. This advice is indispensable and very important. But perhaps even more important is the help that psychiatry can give the social worker in understanding human nature and in dealing with the many varieties of human personality that come before the social agencies. Personalities that would be considered normal frequently present many irregularities and contradictions. When we have come to understand these peculiarities as they appear in exaggerated form in psychopathic cases, we can more readily understand them in the average person.

Besides frankly psychopathic cases, the social worker deals with persons whose apparently slight peculiarities may be the result of some marked psychopathic trait, with other persons who have very mild degree of psychopathy, and with still other persons who are approximately normal in all

mental characteristics. Whether we are dealing with pronounced psychopathic traits, or minor peculiarities, or normal mentality, the psychiatric point of view is invaluable in social case work. By the psychiatric point of view I mean the habitual recognition of mental causes of conduct, together with some knowledge of the nature of the mental processes that may cause conduct disorder.

The social worker who has completely acquired this attitude of mind will, to begin with, secure in the original investigation of a case information concerning the mental life and conduct of the individual which will give her a better knowledge of his personality than most social records now reveal. Through history and subsequent observation along the same lines, cases of marked mental disorder will be detected as early as possible. As a rule, we wait until some acute mental trouble has developed before calling upon a psychiatrist or giving special consideration to the mental condition in our cases. Frequently cases come to the psychopathic hospital, through some accident or other, that have been dealt with by social workers for years without recognition of the mental disorder. A young woman, the mother of an illegitimate child, had been a "difficult case" in various agencies for seven years and twenty four different agencies had been interested in her family. During the six months that the social service kept supervision over her, she got on fairly well within the limitations of her psychopathic make-up.

Sometimes the social workers from other agencies find it hard to believe that certain patients at the psychopathic hospital are cases of mental disorder. At a special clinic for medical social workers a woman was presented who had been brought to us after an attempt at suicide. She had been at odds with family, friends, church, employment and with herself, and had been drinking and fabricating. She told the story of her difficulties and how she had regained her position in life with the help of the social service in a straightforward, rather attractive way. Afterwards a prominent social worker told me that she thought we should have presented a different sort of case, for, she said, "that woman is just like all the people we are dealing with." Yet this patient was distinctly a psychopathic person and required a very definite sort of psychiatric treatment.

Recently, at a clinic for employment managers, a man was presented who is a competent draftsman. He had come to the hospital because he felt unable to do good work and "as if he could not keep it up any longer." One of the employment managers said he thought this man ought never to have been in the psychopathic hospital; that he was "just like everybody else." But the physicians found in him many temperamental difficulties of a well recognized psychopathic nature, and when they treated the patient from this standpoint, he at once showed decided improvement.

Social workers have here, in the early discovery of psychopathic conditions, a boundless opportunity for mental hygiene. In addition, we have the opportunity, by applying the simpler rules of mental hygiene, to promote the mental vigor and mental development of individuals who do not require the care of a physician but are not as competent as they might be. Wrong habits of thought, badly trained emotions and instincts that may never cause a condition warranting medical attention, may interfere seriously with the happiness and usefulness of an individual. It is the duty of the social worker to attend to these things as well as to matters of diet and hygiene. After a fashion we make the attempt to do so, but as a rule without any exact knowledge of psychology and psychiatry.

Another product of the psychiatric point of view is the habit of objective observation—the study of an individual as he really is, not as we feel that we should be in his place, or as he himself tells us that he is. In social case-work we need to know as accurately as possible the nature of our client. We do him an injustice if we form a conception of him in terms of our

own experience. His own account, though honestly meant, may not be accurate. Through observation of his behavior and reports of other observers upon his conduct, the best account of his character is to be obtained. When we come to the point of trying to understand him, we must necessarily think in terms of our own experience, but the objective study should precede the interpretation. We should first find out what an individual is like, and then think how we should feel and act if we were like that. This process of objective study, preceding subjective understanding, simplifies many problems in social work and promotes sympathy with our clients. Personalities quite unlike our own when studied objectively become comprehensible. We are even able to enter into experiences of psychopathic persons unlike anything that we have ever known. Not only is understanding of the individual a requisite of good case-work, but also the individuals with whom we are dealing are apt to feel the difference between genuine and assumed sympathy, so that any gain in better understanding is of great value in securing their confidence.

Another result of studying individuals from the psychiatric point of view is greater respect for their personality. When you recognize the fact that human nature is not to be rated at certain levels of merit, but is subject to infinite variations of ups and down in character, you come to feel more respect for the high spots in even the most unsuccessful individual. If at the same time you recognize the natural causes that lead to failure you regard the individual without blame. Many unfortunate psychopathic patients, who have been censured and despised by their acquaintances, and sometimes I fear by their social workers, feel a great sense of relief when they find themselves taken from the psychiatric point of view, and with renewed self-respect do their best to improve their conduct.

One by-product of the psychiatric point of view in social case work is worth consideration in these days of overworked social workers, that is, the greater ease in work that it gives the social worker. The strain of dealing with unknown quantities is perhaps the greatest cause of fatigue in our work. The better we understand our cases the more readily and confidently we work. More exact knowledge of the personalities with which we are dealing, not only saves the worker worry and strain but also releases energy which can be applied to treatment. Besides, we know that the more our clients realize that we understand them the more we can do for them. Another result of understanding the natural causes of vexatious conditions is that impatience is almost entirely eliminated. No time is wasted upon annoyance or indignation with the unco-operative housewife, the persistent liar, the repeatedly delinquent girl. A small dose of reproof may be administered occasionally for therapeutic purposes, but as a rule no variety of impatience is of value in social treatment.

I have known social workers who looked with suspicion upon the careful preliminary study of personality, because they feared that all of the worker's interest might go into the analysis, and that treatment might be neglected. I believe this fear has been something of a bugaboo in social work. It is an unfortunate mistake to regard careful thinking as inconsistent with vigorous action. To be methodical is not to be mechanical; to be scientific is, not to be less humane; to be thoughtful is not to be unfeeling. These ideas are sometimes carelessly contrasted to the discouragement of better methods. We need more thinking in social case-work. In medicine if the diagnosis is plain the treatment is usually clear. In social work if our analyses were more exact, the treatment would be more plainly indicated. We owe it to our clients to bring to bear upon their cases the best thought we can give and the most exact knowledge we can obtain.

It is now the generally accepted view that some knowledge of psychiatry should be part of the education of all social workers, and not confined as at

present for the most part to social workers who deal with nervous and mental cases. This principle is now in operation in several schools of social work where a course in social psychiatry is required of all students. The future social worker, as I read the signs of the times, will have included in her professional education some knowledge of all the different branches of social work—psychiatric social work, medical social work, family rehabilitation, child welfare, community service. In three years of graduate work it would be possible to give instruction in all of these subjects with a year of practice in one or more fields. At present the need for workers in special fields is so pressing that we are forced to prepare students immediately for one or another type of work. Let us hope that it may not be many years before social workers will be required to have a broad general preparation comparable in content and discipline with training courses for other professions. Specialization afterwards is to be expected, according to individual aptitudes and interests. There will no doubt still be the psychiatric social worker whose purpose is to assist the psychiatrist in the care of mental cases and the investigation of mental disease. But the trained social worker of the future in all fields will know enough of social psychiatry to deal with the mental factors of social maladjustment.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Dr. Richard C. Cabot of Boston:

1. We should welcome the influx of social workers from the psychiatric side. This psychiatric eruption is the best thing that has happened in the history of social work during the last thirty years.

2. But the social worker is liable to disappointment when she tries to find textbooks on personality study. The study of personality does not exist, either as a science or an art, *written down*. It exists in lives and not in books or lectures. The study of personality is not yet developed.

3. Psychiatry should beware of taking more interest in diagnosis than in treatment. It is natural to do so, since we know more about diagnosis than treatment. Diagnosis is far ahead of treatment in medicine, as a rule, and also in psychiatry. Treatment is not the rule in mental hospitals.

4. Psychiatrists can tell you what psychiatry is, but not what insanity is. We do not know what the normal is. Our conception of normal may mean "average" or the "ideal"—what we would like it to be. The conception of normal depends upon one's personality and cannot be scientifically stated. Therefore it is vague.

Miss Mary C. Jarrett and Dr. Southard also participated in the informal discussion.

QUALIFICATIONS OF THE PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORKER

Jessie Taft, Director, Department of Child Study, Seybert Institution, Philadelphia.

There is nothing more difficult to make concrete and definite than the qualifications relative to age, intelligence, training, experience, personality, etc., that fit and unfit one for a particular vocation. That is why vocational guidance or vocational tests, except in the most general sense, are not the most reliable and satisfactory thing in the world. No sooner do you have one trait selected as necessary for a particular field than an exception is pointed out in the group already working successfully in that field. Human nature has such unaccountable ways of compensating for apparent handicaps that our predictions in any individual case may easily fail. Nevertheless, despite variation in individual cases, it ought to be possible, even with our relatively brief experience in the field of psychiatric social work, to arrive at some very general conclusions regarding those qualifications, personal and otherwise, which seem to point most definitely to the potentially successful psychiatric social worker.

Psychiatric Social Work Defined

Before we can go very far in describing the desirable candidate for psychiatric social work, we need to be sure that we agree on the kind of work that we expect her to do. Briefly, do we mean by psychiatric social work just ordinary social service which only happens to be directed toward the mentally ill, plus a background of familiarity with hospital organization, psychiatric terminology and mental symptoms, and a cleverness in guessing at the diagnosis of a case which is as superficial as it is irritating, or do we mean something fundamentally different, a new way of approaching all case-work which has evolved in the psychiatric field largely because any thorough-going attempt to deal with the definitely mental case required it.

In my experience, both types of social service are now to be found in the field of psychiatric social work. I am not interested in describing the qualifications of workers in the first group because I believe any experienced social worker, public health nurse, or medical social service worker is already sufficiently equipped and needs no further training. She can pick up the tricks of the trade very easily in the clinic or hospital. I do not wish to belittle this type of social service, I believe it has a place, but I see no reason to give it a special name because it happens to be attached to a hospital for the insane, or a clinic for mental and nervous diseases. My conception of the new case-work which perhaps has always been the unconscious method of the born case-worker, but which owes its coming to consciousness largely to mental hygiene and psychiatry, is that of a social technique such as may be had in any good training school combined with an understanding of human psychology which enables the social worker to deal with the personality of the patient in his social setting as intelligently and constructively as the psychiatrist deals with it in the hospital.

Demands a Practical Psychology

This does not imply a knowledge of mental disease in terms of diagnosis, symptoms or classification, but it does imply a first-hand, working psychology which will be able to carry out in social treatment the psychiatrist's interpretation of a patient so far as it can be done in terms of personality. Such a psychology will also give the worker her basis for dealing with the maladjusted individual who may be classified as normal and who is not a hospital or clinic case. All of which is simply one way of saying that in the last analysis the social worker who goes beneath the surface of practical, commonsense, social adjustments, and kindly human treatment, must become a kind of working psychologist, not the laboratory, research, or clinical type, but something more human, vital and practical. Knowledge of social life is inadequate if it is not combined with knowledge of mental life. Back of the social framework is the make-up of the particular individual, his way of adjusting to people and things and the possibility of improving that adjustment. Real case work, psychiatric or otherwise, can not be done from the outside and the inside work requires the type of person, the experience and preparation which should be expected of one who, even as the psychiatrist, accepts responsibility for adjusting the mental and social life of other human beings.

Psychology and Psychiatry

Now is there any reason why this kind of social psychology with individuals as it might be called, should be definitely linked with psychiatry? Cannot one deal with mental life without knowing all the symptoms of the various mental diseases? The reason it has been so limited is undoubtedly because in social service with the mentally diseased, the necessity for understanding the make-up of the individual has been forced

upon us and because psychiatry has done so much to make psychology a practical tool for altering mental conditions. The reasons for continuing to keep it linked with psychiatry are that there is no way of obtaining so vital an understanding of normal behavior as by studying the abnormal and because thus far psychiatry has the only psychology which attempts to reach scientifically the emotional and instinctive roots of human behavior for the purpose of making over the person who is failing in his mental and social life.

Relation to All Case Work and to Psychology

From this it would seem that social psychiatry is in the position, not so much of supplying a new branch of social work, as of offering the psychology and the field work of the graduate course for all case-workers who wish to go beyond the level of intuitive psychology in dealing with the personality of the patient. I realize that this conception of psychology differs very markedly from the definitions which are sometimes given by psychiatrists or even psychologists; the former tending to limit psychology to the field of mental testing, the latter clinging to the normal or to the idea of pure science as opposed to practical applications. There is no reason why there should be a split between normal and abnormal psychology. If functional mental disease is not fundamentally related to normal mind, if the processes of normal mental life cannot be seen working out in exaggerated forms in the behavior of the mentally ill, then mental disease is a foreign body which cannot be assimilated in our thought. Surely there is only one psychology of human behavior applicable to all minds, sick or well, and the psychiatrist found it first because he was actually forced to it by the necessity of getting some instrument for altering the behavior of his patients. The psychologist in the laboratory was not thus pressed.

If the psychology of tomorrow were to be limited to the field of mental testing for its only practical interest, then psychology might well be wiped out and psychiatry substituted. If psychology has no concern with human life beyond the testing of the intellect, it is not very much more useful than Greek to the social worker. At all events, what is meant by psychology in this discussion, whether you choose to label it psychiatry or psychology, is that science or art of untangling and reconstructing the twisted personality, of changing human behavior so that it adapts the individual to his environment, which is the basis not only of mental case-work and ordinary social case-work, but will eventually become the basis of educational method for normal and abnormal alike.

Essential Qualifications

If one accepts this point of view, the question to be discussed is what qualifies an individual to do the psychological social case-work which is essential in social psychiatry and desirable for intensive case-work everywhere? Let us suppose we have before us the practical problem of passing on candidates for training course in psychiatric social work. On what basis shall we accept or reject—if we are free to choose the most suitable?

The first point that is suggested is the matter of educational requirements. Is a college degree essential? Certainly the intellectual grasp, the appreciation of scientific method, the acquirement of a thought-out philosophy of life, the understanding of social problems and the training in psychology which the college degree ideally represents is highly desirable. As a matter of fact, a degree may or may not indicate adequate preparation.

Certainly this most subtle and difficult of all case-work requires not only an intellectual ability above average, but an intellect which has been

trained to tackle problems first hand and which has been equipped with a background of familiarity with the main trends of modern thought. The college graduate may not come up to these requirements, and the individual without the college degree may be found entirely adequate. It seems to me unfortunate to make the college degree a fixed arbitrary requirement if we can find any other way of determining whether the candidate is intellectually and educationally qualified.

Is it not possible to use a general intelligence test to exclude those whose intellectual capacity is not equal to this type of work and depend on case history as to education and previous experience, together with some form of written examination which will show up the candidate's general point of view, method of approaching a social problem and capacity for dealing with it at least theoretically. If this is possible, and the Pennsylvania School for Social Work intends to try it out next year, the intellectual qualifications can be settled without reference to any particular educational label and a high standard can still be maintained.

Age Limits

Intellectual ability with adequate training and background is certainly not the only requisite for the psychiatric social worker. We have still to consider the age, personality and previous experience which fits an individual for the very delicate task of tampering with other people's minds and lives. Shall we accept the youngster just out of college, or must she have had some working experience. If so, what kind? Is the able, well-trained young person with a year or two of secretarial or business experience likely to be the one we are looking for or must a certain kind of experience be required? Again, should there be an upper age limit? Ought we to exclude a woman over forty from our training course? Some of us have seen children of twenty or twenty-one just out of college, who having completed a course in psychiatric social work were floundering about helplessly, chiefly because of immaturity and a general unfamiliarity with life, and have thought, "Heaven forbid that we should accept the inexperienced college graduate for psychiatric work." Then there has been the older woman whose rigidity of mind prejudiced attitude, and assurance born of successful experience have seemed to be insurmountable handicaps to learning a new type of work.

After all, within reasonable limits, doesn't it boil down to a matter of the particular individual and the kind of personality she possesses? If we arbitrarily exclude all candidates below twenty-five or over forty, we may shut out someone ideally qualified. What we are after is not any particular age but certain qualities which we fear to lose in the over-young or over-old. Certainly no one who is not intellectually and emotionally mature could be expected to enter into the emotional problems of others with understanding and confidence. Yet that is what psychiatric case-work implies. Maturity is not entirely a matter of age. It is sometimes lacking at thirty and present to a surprising degree at twenty in persons whose emotional experiences have been rich and conscious.

It seems to me that when we accept for training a girl just out of college or any girl of twenty-one, it should be either on the basis of evident emotional maturity or with the understanding that the student realize her limitations and gain experience in life and in the simplest problems of ordinary case-work before presuming to enter the psychiatric field. It may even be better to recommend to such an immature young person a preliminary social work training and experience before undertaking what should be only advanced training for the experienced worker. With the immature woman of mature years the case is more difficult because it is not so easy to detect the immaturity in the first place and

because one must decide whether the lack of development is something which the course itself may be expected to alter, or whether it is a sign of a fundamental inability to make adult adjustments, in which case the candidate should become a patient rather than a worker. What can be used as a standard of maturity is difficult to say, but most of us have a feel for it and think we are able to size people up roughly in that regard, on the basis of a personal interview. This, combined with the candidate's way of dealing with the human problem presented in the written examination ought to give a basis for judgment. The type of difficulty apt to be encountered in older women, rigidity, prejudice, unadaptability, complete satisfaction with previous acquirements, must also depend on the personal interview and written examination for detection.

Previous Experience and Training

Given a well qualified person as to intellect, training and maturity, what weight should be placed on previous working experience. Everything else being equal, surely the candidate who had had experience in allied lines such as psychology, sociology, or social case-work, would be preferred to the inexperienced applicant. My own belief is that the person without previous case-work experience is sadly handicapped and must make up for her lack by a longer apprenticeship in the simplest form of case work. In other words, it is not possible to begin case work at the top. But it is conceivable that a wide and intimate acquaintance with people might be a substitute for previous experience in formal case-work. Other types of social work, contact with social problems, practical work in psychology, all of these would certainly increase the potential value of the candidate for the course in psychiatry, but I doubt if any of them could be called pre-requisites.

There has been a tendency in the past to consider nurse's training essential or very valuable for psychiatric social work. It seems to me that nurse's training in so far as it is directed solely to the understanding and care of the diseased human body is in itself no preparation for understanding the mental problems with which psychiatry is primarily concerned. This does not imply that the knowledge of physical health which the nurse possesses is not valuable as information or useful in practical situations, but simply that it has no direct bearing on the peculiar contribution which psychiatry has to make to social work. Insofar as the most modern hospitals are training their nurses in public health work and medical social service from the beginning and are consciously teaching the psychological approach which should be used by the nurse in treating all classes of patients, they are giving a training which is preparatory to psychiatric social service, but such training is still far from universal.

As to the nurse who combines with her training, experience in wards of a hospital for the insane, if she possesses the other qualifications, her first hand knowledge of mental patients ought to give her a great advantage, but it does not in the least qualify her to undertake psychiatric social work with no other preparation. Without training in social technique, in all probability without anything but the most intuitive and unconscious psychology, and without understanding of social problems, she can have nothing to contribute to the work of the psychiatrist beyond the kind of thing she has done on the wards. This is not adequate for the supervision of the patient in his social setting where the doctor no longer knows or controls the details of the environment and cannot supply the knowledge and intelligence necessary to continue the after care of a patient by any definite set of instructions which can be carried out literally and accurately. That is, psychiatric social work as here in defined must be enlightened, conscious and intelligent. It cannot be merely an exact and faithful carry-

ing out of orders on the basis of military discipline. The psychiatric worker must make a real contribution, must supply the social knowledge and technique the psychiatrist necessarily lacks and must be capable of extending his usefulness beyond the clinic or hospital by intelligent interpretation of his ideas.

The value of previous experience as a teacher is also somewhat doubtful in my mind. It is the exceptional teacher who escapes the in-elastic dogmatic attitude toward life, which our public school systems seem to favor. That the right kind of teaching in the right kind of school would be the best of psychological preparation for psychiatric work, could hardly be denied.

Personality of the Psychiatric Worker

Our discussion sifts itself down then to the following general and tentative conclusions. Given adequate intellectual ability and educational background for dealing constructively with the problems of human personality plus emotional maturity, all other qualifications such as age, previous experience, etc., are to be decided on the basis of the personality of the particular candidate with the single exception, that experience in simple case-work either be a pre-requisite or shall be covered adequately in the course itself.

One reason why it is so essential to have a fairly clear conception of the kind of personality that is fitted for psychiatric work is that the very nature of the field attracts persons who are interested in insanity or mental difficulties because of their own problems. It is possible to get a class with too large a percentage of potential patients if some care is not taken in sizing up the make-up of the candidate. This does not mean that only the most sane and normal make the best workers in this field.

Persons who are so simple, childlike and extroverted that they hardly know the meaning of personal life or emotional problems are too objective, too unselfconscious, too normal, if you will, for our purposes. They are unaware of their own mental life, they are likewise blind to the mental life of others. They should deal with things, not people.

On the other hand, the individual who is caught in the subjective phase, whose entire attention is turned upon her own conflicts, the painfully selfconscious person is in no condition to throw herself into the life of another with a genuine objective interest in all of its difficulties.

Such a person is not free to work. The question is, is she so completely involved that nothing short of a psychiatrist can help her, or is it possible that the course itself will enable her to work out her own problems and eventually make her an even more valuable worker because of the experience. It is a matter either of attempting to decide on the potential capacity of the candidate for adjusting or of rejecting all badly adjusted applicants. If the man who has had mental difficulties of his own and overcome them makes the best psychiatrist, as they sometimes say, may it not be equally true of the psychiatric social worker.

But you say, shall our courses undertake not only to train workers but to adjust their personal lives? Unless we limit our students to the rare group of individuals who seem to have a genius for living, and who adjust themselves without undue conflict in a normal spontaneous development, and to the group of those who have consciously and successfully taught themselves to adjust to life, we shall be obliged to give time in our course to straightening out personal problems. Social psychiatry brings these problems to consciousness inevitably, and interest is bound to center there until the student can work her way out. True, she is not much good at case-work until she has settled herself, but in my experience, there seems to be no way of avoiding this period of subjective interest among students who are drawn from an imperfect world where most people are unadjusted and unfamiliar with mental hygiene. It seems to me this stage of absorption in

the personal application of social psychiatry should be allowed for and the objective direction of attention not be expected until later.

The Norm

It is difficult to list the personal qualities which render a candidate for the psychiatric course seriously undesirable and it is extremely difficult to pass judgment in concrete cases. Perhaps if we could draw a picture of the type of person who is born for the job, we should have a kind of norm by which to measure our applicants.

The born psychiatric worker, as I see her has to be a maternal sort of person even if she is only twenty. She has to have a genuine liking for people and their troubles. It won't do for her to be at bottom cynical, carping or critical. She needs a warmth and spontaneity and whole-hearted interest that renders the making of good contacts simple, natural and inevitable. I am inclined to think that she ought to be a settled person, a fairly satisfied person, who has a philosophy of life which she has tried out and can pass on with conviction and whose basic attitude toward life is a sober optimism. Without this, she will find it not so easy to throw her interest into the problems of every patient with perfect objectivity. The restless, unfulfilled, seeking, pessimistic individual cannot tear her attention loose from her own troubles long enough to manage other people's. Finally, the ideal psychiatric worker, like the old family physician, must be the person who has the strength to carry the patient, the poise which gives him confidence, the sympathy that means real understanding, the open mind which is always ready to try a new plan, the wisdom which allows the patient to work out his own salvation as far as he can, and the unending patience which is the rock on which he depends.

The personality that has strength and healing in its touch makes not only the great physician but the great social worker. The student who combines such a personality with the intellectual ability to use it to the best advantage or approximates such a combination is a safe risk for our course in psychiatric social work.

SPECIAL PREPARATION OF THE PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORKER

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Were it possible to define the psychiatric social worker more accurately than it is possible to define any other kind of social worker, one would find it less difficult to speak in specific terms about the special training for psychiatric social work.

Unfortunately, this is not the case. Notwithstanding the extensive discussion and publicity which the subject has been receiving of late, we are still considerably in the dark concerning the precise nature of the services that the psychiatric social worker is expected to render.

Much obscurity still surrounds the question as to how these services differ, if at all, from those expected from any well trained social worker. Are we interested in producing a specialized kind of worker who is to confine herself exclusively to work with psychiatric cases, and if so, at what strategic point in the community is she to function? Is there any likelihood that this stressing of a specialized vocational field in social work might tend to restrict instruction in psychiatric principles of approach to those who intend to specialize in psychiatric social work, and if so, is it not highly important that such tendency should be counteracted?

Are we to interpret the current interest in the training for psychiatric

social service merely as a response to a long-felt need on the part of the medical profession for a kind of extra-medical aid which might assist the physician in solving the many mental, financial, industrial, social and domestic problems with which the medical problems are so closely enmeshed, or are we to view this active interest on the part of social workers in the subject of psychiatry as a genuine, albeit belated, recognition on their part that psychiatry might aid them materially in the solution of the various problems of social maladjustment which call for their intervention?

If the latter is the case, is it not extremely important that we formulate the contribution which the psychiatrist might make to the field of social service in terms of a science of human behavior, rather than in terms of a restricted specialty which deals solely with pathological issues?

I am far from agreeing with those who would see in all social work a reflection of psychiatric issues. At the same time I am strongly of the opinion that the principles of mental hygiene and the technique of dealing with human problems which psychiatry has evolved deserve a wide application in social case work, even where no clear-cut psychiatric issue presents itself. I might further state at this point that, because of this, I am personally very much more interested in the psychiatric training of the social worker—and by this I mean a training which would give the student a helpful insight into the fundamentals underlying human action and conduct, normal and otherwise—than I am in the specialized training of a psychiatric social worker.

I need not say that this in no way signifies a lack of sympathy with the movement for training of psychiatric social workers. Every experienced psychiatrist has long recognized the need for this, and the school with which I am affiliated offers ample opportunity for such training.

But if I interpret correctly the aims of the Mental Hygiene Department of the New York School of Social Work, a department which has been put on an equal footing with the older, well established departments of the school, training for psychiatric social work is by no means its exclusive or major object. It is hoped that its influence will be felt not only in the vocational field of psychiatric social service, but in the various other specialized vocations for which the school is training. It would be difficult to argue oneself into a belief that the type of training which would equip the social worker to deal with those problems of maladjustment which we call "psychiatric" would have less value in dealing with problems which arise in the fields of industry, family welfare, child welfare or criminology.

How training in the fundamentals underlying human conduct may affect, for instance, the thinking of a student whose chief interest is industry, was expressed by one such student in a recent examination paper. He says:

"The course gives further grounds for the belief that every situation which arises in social case work requires recognition, analysis and treatment based on the premise that each case is unique with many possible varying aspects which make it different essentially even from other situations bearing the same name.

"The knowing of the apparent and perhaps originating cause of the situation of maladjustment does not mean a knowing of the nature of the social problem which must be solved, for the social problem arises out of the individual's reaction to the occurrence rather than out of the occurrence itself, and this reaction is conditioned by the nature of the personality of the individual concerned.

"Unemployment, for instance, may react to produce widely different social dilemmas, or may react as a strengthening and invigorating agent according to the nature of the person into whose experience it comes. In one man it may be the causal factor of a line of worrying leading to a nervous condition or an apparent neurasthenia; in another it may be the agent for simply revealing to the social case worker the fact of feeble-mindedness; in another it may develop a moroseness which renders the individual incapable of using all his power to find and get another job; in another way it may react to produce a careless and rebellious attitude which may become dangerous; in still another it may produce a situation in which poverty is the outstanding social problem involved. On the other hand, for the man who has become so settled and fixed in one line of mediocre routine work, an episode of unemployment may be the occasion for an awakening, a shaking off

of shackles of desuetude and an awakening of the personality to the effect of making it bold and self-assertive again."

It seems to me, psychiatry might well aim to contribute materially towards the shaping of the student's attitude of mind towards social problems in general. It might assist him in acquiring a correct estimation and interpretation of the subjective, personal factors involved in the various ill-adjusted relationships between the individual and the group which call for social service. It might assist him in gaining a fuller realization of the fundamental principle that no matter how impelling and significant external factors might be in the causation of these maladjustments, it is, after all, the effect which these external factors have upon the individual or group involved that must determine every step in the social worker's procedure. It ought to help him to understand better the difficulties and failures that are met with in social work through an emphasis of the need for an estimate of the capacity for response to the endeavors of the social worker on the part of his client and to recognize the nature and meaning of abnormalities in such responses when they occur.

It ought to bring to his attention the many facts which demonstrate clearly the causal relation between mental defect, abnormality or disease and social inadequacy, on the one hand, and on the other, the effect which adverse social-economic conditions might have upon the mental health and equilibrium of the individual.

It might point out to him the kind of soil upon which mental disorders tend to thrive and stress the reasons for the frequent need in psychiatry of dealing with "situations," with "settings," rather than with symptoms or even disease entities.

These are some of the legitimate fields of endeavor of the psychiatrist in participating in the training of the social worker, and if he is to discharge this task adequately, he must indeed have a broad conception of psychiatry.

Unfortunately—and this is a fundamental difficulty in the psychiatric training of the social worker—formal psychiatric literature does not present the subject of psychiatry in a way that would meet these requirements. It naturally stresses medical aspects and leaves most that is of vital interest to the social worker to conjecture.

What interest, for instance, can the medically untrained student of social work have in the highly technical description of the pathology of organic diseases of the brain to which text books on psychiatry devote so much space, and is there not a grave danger of confusion in the promiscuous and undirected acquisition of a mass of technical phraseology through the reading of texts which were primarily prepared for medical students?

This difficulty is not obviated in any way through supplying the student with scores of references to existing literature, which, I am sure, even the average medical student would find only confusing, or through the marshalling of a most imposing array of lecturers for the benefit of the student of social work.

I doubt whether this will assist us materially in developing a dependable curriculum for the psychiatric training of the social worker.

And this, I take it, is the fundamental reason for bringing up this subject for discussion before this conference. The various questions which we have referred to seem to me to merit serious consideration before we plunge deeply into this enterprise, else the genuine concern of some psychiatrists about the dangers of undermining professional standards, or the flight into a kind of self-realization on the part of the social worker which has prompted at least one ambitious young man to apply to the Regents for a license to practice psychiatry might become more disconcerting issues than they are at present.

The stressing of psychiatric training for social workers alongside of

the specialized training for social service with psychiatric cases need not render more difficult the orderly presentation of the psychiatrists' contribution to the curriculum of the school for social work.

As a matter of fact, the steps in the training only begin to diverge when the candidate for psychiatric social service is called upon to practice in the actual doing of certain things which are peculiarly related to the practice of psychiatry. This divergence certainly should not be thought of before the student has acquired a substantial grounding in the theory and practice of social work, and in the fundamentals underlying human conduct.

The student begins to specialize in psychiatric social work when his field work, or practice work, begins to be in connection with psychiatric cases and it is most important that this phase of his training should be just as much under the direction and supervision of the psychiatrist as in the class-room work.

Here one can speak in more specific terms of what we might attempt to train the student to do.

Having realized through the class-room work how important it is for psychiatric diagnosis and treatment to obtain a reliable picture of the setting out of which the patient comes to the psychiatrist, the student should be given an opportunity to practice in the making of field investigations that might be of value in diagnosing a given situation. She should be taught to estimate accurately the facts thus gathered in the light of their value for a helpful insight into the biologic, cultural, economic and social backgrounds of the patient. She should be made familiar with the type of approach needed in dealing with the mentally diseased or defective and their relatives, and this can only be acquired through close association with the work of the psychiatrist. She should be trained in the correct interpretation of the psychiatrist's findings insofar as they relate to the planning of steps in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the patient. She should gain the ability to make the kind of intimate contact with the patient which alone assures the successful carrying over to him and to his associates of the principles of conduct and life which a given case calls for.

She should learn to estimate available community resources for the bringing into her patients' lives the interests and activities that might promise a fuller and happier existence. Similarly, she must familiarize herself with the industrial opportunities for the handicapped.

It goes without saying that opportunity ought to be given her to become acquainted with the common danger signs in the lives of the mentally disabled so that she may be able to feel her way with some degree of security in the emergent handling of these signs. I am still undecided to what extent the psychiatric social worker ought to be depended upon for the taking of life histories of patients. The temptation must be great for the psychiatrist to relegate this task to someone else, but the danger involved in turning a mentally ill patient over for an intimate seaching into his life and difficulties to a lay person must not be overlooked. I am similarly in doubt about the relegating of mental testing to the social worker, though the danger here is not nearly as great as in the previous case.

Certainly, whatever is done in this connection should be done under the direct personal guidance of the physician and cannot be relegated to long distance supervision. I have also found it difficult to decide for myself to what extent the social worker should become a party to the intimate relation which must exist between the physician and patient. I feel, however, that this is a question that must be decided in connection with each case and that it will always depend very much upon the social worker one has to deal with. This is an important question for both the psychiatrist and the social worker, for while principles of mental hygiene and of psychiatric guidance may sound very attractive and plausible when presented as gen-

eralizations in the class room, the situation assumes a different aspect when the two workers have to combine in the application of these principles to the concrete case.

This leads us naturally to a very important point which the psychiatrist might well make it his business to acquaint the social worker with, namely, the limitations of psychiatry and of the psychiatrist, a point not very much stressed by my colleagues. It is bad mental hygiene not to acknowledge and face squarely these limitations and it renders unnecessarily difficult the close co-operation between the psychiatrist and the social worker.

But if it may not always be convenient for the social worker to supplant the psychiatrist in the taking of the life-history of the patient, she should receive ample instruction in the meaning and significance of various events in the life of the individual and in the causal relation between certain events and mental disability. She should be made familiar with the dangers that lurk in an unintelligent relation between parent and child; in a faulty handling of the instinctive life of the individual; in an evasive attitude toward reality and an inadequate settling of daily problems as one goes along; in the cultivation of aspirations and ambitions which are markedly at variance with innate capacity. She should be alive to the capacity for evil which lies in the erroneous choice of one's vocation, in wrong mating, in a too exclusive reliance upon certain outlets. The power which certain events and experiences have in conditioning faulty attitudes of mind, prejudices, and hampering obsessions, the place of rationalization in the daily life of the individual and the unconscious motives in conditioning conduct are further outstanding features of the contribution which the psychiatrist might make to the training of the social worker, irrespective of what vocational field might claim her major interest.

In order to insure a fruitful soil for principles of mental hygiene in the mind of the student, she should be led up to an acquaintance with these principles through an orderly presentation of the structural and physiologic bases of conduct, not necessarily a minute study of the structure of the nervous system or a refined presentation of the physiology of the sense organs, which is sometimes called psychology.

We have in mind a discussion of the place of the nervous system in the evolution of the human organism, of the relative import of its various gross subdivisions, of the unit of structure and the unit of function in the nervous system, of its integrative function and the dependence of the organism upon this function for its security and well being. We would stress the mechanism of the reflex, particularly of the conditioned reflex and the reflection of this mechanism in the formation of mental attitudes and trends.

This ought to make easier the understanding of the instinctive components of conduct, a proper presentation of which ought to prepare the way for a discussion of the theory of the unconscious. The delineation of the mental mechanisms which the study of the unconscious has brought to light would naturally follow and would make possible the presentation to the student of a kind of psychology which might be related to practical everyday affairs and which might aid him in understanding the real motives in human conduct and a knowledge of what men live by and for, of the respective interests of the individual and society, and of the numerous possibilities for conflict between these interests. In all of this presentation we must not forget that we are dealing with medically untrained people, and that text books prepared for the student of medicine are not wholly applicable for the social worker.

At this point one might profitably review some of the essential facts of biology, particularly stressing those which would give the student a sound and commonsense view of the subjects of heredity and eugenics.

The danger of an unwarranted overenthusiasm in these directions must

constantly be kept in mind, since the community has a right to expect of the social worker some guidance here, and the social worker should see in it a very worth while opportunity for the exercise of his function as a trained advocate of social betterment. This should naturally lead us to a discussion of the development of the personality, and here, it is my strong conviction, we should accept the principle of psychic determinism and should give the deserved attention to the various other helpful and significant points which analytic psychology has brought to light. An open-minded attitude towards the analytic school of psychology will help materially to get away from the rigid, static concepts with which traditional psychiatry is still burdened when we come to the discussion of clear-cut pathological issues.

At this point the student should be given an opportunity of applying the class-room instruction to history taking and in the construction of a psychological record of a case.

When we come to the consideration of pathological issues, the available data should be so arranged as to stress particularly social aspects, and clinical phenomena should be presented as modes of biologic and psychologic reactions rather than as disease entities.

One might begin with a discussion of the reaction types of the group of socially inadequate, the feeble-minded, the constitutionally inferior, the epileptic, and point out that, in the main, the type of approach here is in the direction of a simplification of the environment.

Much opportunity presents itself in connection with a discussion of these inadequate personalities for stressing significant social-economic factors as related to the preventive, ameliorative and supervisory aspects of these conditions.

Furthermore, in no field of mental pathology is it possible to demonstrate so clearly and so effectively the causal relation between abnormalities of mind and social maladjustment. The consideration of the constitutionally inferior and psychopathic personalities makes possible for the student a helpful realization of the borderland of psychiatry and an appreciation of the principle that there is no strict dividing line between mental soundness and disease of the mind.

It should also prepare him to see in the makeup of the individual a determining element of the reaction type which he is likely to manifest.

There is no better place than at this point in the entire field of psychiatry for a discussion of the medico-social implications of such behavior manifestations as criminality, vagrancy, prostitution, alcohol and drug addiction and chronic pauperism. The very extensive field of the functional mental disorders might best be introduced by a discussion of the psycho-neurotic type of reaction as affording the best opportunity for a gradual transition from the normal to the abnormal and for the emphasis of the very helpful viewpoint that the difference between the benign and the malignant forms of mental disorder is, after all, largely a difference in the degree of dissociation of the personality and not so much a difference in kind. Especially is such a view helpful for workers in this field who are primarily interested in therapeutics and not in classification.

If one might speak of the fundamental difficulty of the psycho-neurotic as being essentially a disturbance in the unity of the personality, one need not conjure up a more complex or mystical explanation for the dementia-praecox type of reaction. The fundamental difficulty here, which consists of a tendency to a withdrawal from reality, may be traced without much difficulty back to faulty habits of adjustment which led to a progressive loss of ability to meet the demands of real life. As is the case in the psycho-neurotic, so here, too, the mental disorder is the result of more or less definite antecedent psycho-biologic factors and is just as purposeful.

It is not my intention in this paper to enter upon a discussion of the

subject of psychiatry. What has been said was intended to illustrate a type of presentation which ought to prove particularly attractive and useful for the non-medical worker in this field, inasmuch as it demonstrates, as one of my students put it, "how normal, after all, the abnormal are," and that mental disorder is not something that springs upon an individual suddenly, out of a clear sky, but is the outgrowth of more or less definite, traceable, antecedent phenomena.

Only such a view could make preventive work attractive to the social worker and enable her to feel that much of what is possible in a therapeutic way with these patients demands very little more than a simple, direct, human way of approach at understanding the patient's difficulties and at assisting him to a more healthy and constructive way of handling his problems.

A similar approach is possible in the manic-depressive and paranoid types of reaction.

In each of these conditions much that is discussed in available text books might well be omitted as either too technical or as of not much interest to the social worker, and in its place substituted a fuller and more definite presentation of therapeutic methods and approaches at adjustment. One should also stress the point that the problems which arise in connection with disorders of personality, unlike those that go with other medical issues, are seldom, if ever, limited to the individual concerned, but affect to a greater or lesser extent other members of the patient's family or have even a wider social bearing.

In connection with the presentation of the exogenous forms of mental disorder, particularly those due to alcohol and syphilis, an excellent opportunity is at hand for a discussion of the broader social aspects of these conditions, and these phases should be stressed even more so than the strictly medical ones. For instance, in connection with paresis it is much more important for the social worker to know that there are more deaths of this disease in New York City than of typhoid fever; that it costs the state of New York about one-half million dollars annually to care for the insane whose conditions are due to syphilis; that this fatal disease, paresis, is due to an infection which is preventable; that only about ten per cent of the off-spring of syphilitics are absolutely well, etc., than it is to know what structural changes take place in the cells and blood vessels of the paretic's brain.

Similarly, in connection with the discussion of the alcoholic disorders, it is of much less interest to the social worker to know the pathology of wet brain than it is to gain a helpful insight into the social aspects of alcoholism and at the present time, particularly, to have pointed out to her the possible problems with which she will have to cope as a result of national prohibition.

The treatment which the other organic disorders receive in text books on psychiatry certainly needs much revision for the social worker. Causes, symptoms, probable outcomes in mental disorders must be presented to the social worker in a manner that will demonstrate to her the many possibilities which psychiatry offers for the exercise of her function as a kind of individual therapist on the one hand, and on the other, as a trained advocate of social betterment.

But no matter how complete and specialized the didactic instruction of the social worker in principles of mental hygiene and in psychiatry, the right goal will not have been reached unless this instruction is supplemented all along with discussions of actual case material. And by this I do not mean descriptive studies of psychiatric cases. This is of relatively little value for the social worker, as is walking through an insane asylum and looking at insane patients. I have in mind case material in which an

opportunity presents itself for a demonstration of the detailed steps in procedure in the combined handling of a case by the psychiatrist and the social worker, and not merely case histories which recite the facts that have led to a psychiatric diagnosis. Such case material is not very abundant and can be developed only through the combined efforts of the psychiatrist and the social worker.

It may not be out of place in closing to say a few words concerning the plans of the Mental Hygiene Department of the New York School of Social Work. Provision has been made for a course of lectures of sixty hours, extending throughout the first year, which is to be devoted to a psycho-biological consideration of human conduct and its disorders. This course of lectures is available for all students of the school. Specialization in psychiatric social work will begin with the second semester of the first year, when the student will be given an opportunity to work with us at a psychiatric clinic and will devote all her field work time to work with psychiatric cases. The second year's work of the student in psychiatric social work will be almost entirely clinical under my personal direction and under the immediate supervision of a specially trained worker. Through this combined psychiatric and social handling of the case, the student will have the opportunity of seeing as far as possible the whys and wherefores of each step in the procedure and will acquire through actual doing such principles of mental hygiene as ought to be found helpful in the handling of ill-adjusted human relationships.

THE TRAINING SCHOOL OF PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORK AT SMITH COLLEGE

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When it was proposed last spring to train a group of social workers for the purpose of aiding in the re-education and treatment of the soldiers who were suffering from the war neuroses and psychoses, there was much anxiety felt regarding what was considered very much of an experiment. What should such a group of women be taught? How could they be made of the greatest use? If they were to help carry out the instructions of the psychiatrist intelligently, would it not be necessary for them to know much of the detail of the mental life of the patients? Would not this knowledge necessitate their delving into fields which are usually unfamiliar to the lay worker, and even to the medical social worker? What would be the effect of dispensing such knowledge to young women, many of whom had only just finished college? Were they old enough to assimilate what has caused many an older person mental and emotional indigestion?

Although we wondered and feared, at the same time we also desired. It seemed such an opportunity, such a chance to jump ahead in our ideals of mental hygiene, such an opportunity to broaden the field of the social worker. Besides, there was an urgent demand for persons thus trained. The physicians from Canada told of the great need of specially trained social workers to help in the reconstruction of their soldiers who were suffering from mental and nervous disease. A neuro-psychiatric unit had already been mobilized in our own country, which included some of our best mental nurses. But there were few social workers who had had the special training which would equip them to do the social work that might be necessary.

In giving such a special training, however, should we not be taking too great a risk in introducing to the theories and actualities of mental disease a group of young women who represented a variety of experience and training? In answering this, we had only to recall the pluck and en-

duration that had been shown by women of other countries in the midst of the most horrible situations and to remember what some of our own countrywomen had already accomplished to be convinced that even though the war was two thousand miles away, a group of our women, if wisely chosen, would be equal to any task for which they were needed.

Furthermore, there was the question whether it was wise to take a group of women without medical training into the sacred precincts of the temple of psychiatric thought, which not infrequently had been withheld from the, shall we say, profane touch of the mental nurse. Here again the need seemed to warrant the risk taken. The psychiatrists themselves would hardly be able to devote as much time as would be necessary for the reconstruction of each case. Someone would have to help in carrying out the detail of the plans they would indicate. Should it not be a trained rather than an untrained person, and should not that training be the most fundamental possible?

Decision as to What the Special Training Should Be

What part of the field of psychiatry should such a group be taught? We had no intention of including the whole field and attempting to make psychiatrists of lay workers. The greatest emphasis should, we thought, be laid on the study of the principles of mental hygiene. Much time should be devoted to the interpretation of mental symptoms, considered in general as they occurred under the headings of different mental diseases, and in particular as they appeared in the war-neuroses and psychoses. From the first it was emphatically stated that our purpose was not to make diagnosticians of our students, but rather to cultivate in them a comprehending and sympathetic attitude toward the problems of mental disease. Therefore, a course was decided upon which should give to the students a knowledge of human behavior, both normal and abnormal, and should train them to be of practical use in the study and treatment of abnormal mental conditions.

Besides the course in psychiatry, there were courses in sociology and in psychology. Each of these, from its own point of view, aimed to show the struggles in the adjustment of elemental instincts which have been necessary as civilization has advanced from lower to higher levels. The course in sociology included lectures and conferences on case work, and the practical problems of the adjustment of the individual to the community through the utilization of its many resources.

In addition to the lectures in psychology, a short course was given in mental testing; again, not with the purpose of making diagnosticians, but of increasing the student's understanding of the significance of mental tests when performed by others. Some of the class who had had previous experience were given opportunity to test patients at the state hospital.

In order that the training given might be as intensive as possible and might represent the best work that has been done in the field of mental medicine, the co-operation of many of the leading psychiatrists of the country was asked. Vassar had already established such a precedent in the plan of a course for the training of nurses. This plan, which we were glad to follow, far exceeded our expectations in the amount of continuity it was possible to maintain and in the intense interest which it aroused among the students. In the course in psychiatry alone there were twenty-three visiting lecturers. Contrary to what might be expected, the subjects followed each other in as consecutive a manner as though it had been given by one lecturer alone, and what repetition there was, was said, on the authority of the president of the college, to be good pedagogy.

General Plan of Course

The course in social psychiatry was introduced by a lecture on mental diseases in general. It was thought desirable to consider then the mental

conditions that have a definite physical basis. This naturally took us into the field of neuro-syphilis and the mental conditions that are caused by poisons and trauma. Early in the course the class studied history-taking in detail. Later on, there was required from each student a history based on this outline, which was to include a well worked out personality study. Each student was urged to take herself as a subject, as it was supposed that in this way much data would be available. It was also felt that a knowledge of her own conflicts and adjustments would constitute one of the best preparations for her work with the conflicts of others. Personality was studied in the greatest detail, first as seen in the normal individual, and then as it develops in the various abnormal mental types in the disorders of delinquency, in the psycho-neuroses, in mental disease of alcoholic origin, in the manic-depressive psychoses, and in dementia praecox.

The class was extremely fortunate in having two weekly clinics at the Northampton State Hospital. This added greatly to the interest of the course and made it possible for the students to see the various types of mental disease they were studying. Besides this, lectures illustrated by lantern slides and a moving picture film added to the graphic presentation of the subject. Once a week an evening lecture was given which the public was invited to attend.

Those who are familiar with the study of psychiatry know that there are different schools which deal with mental problems from quite opposite points of view. As it was probable that the different points of view would be represented in the various hospitals to which the students would be sent later on, it was thought advisable to present to them opposing opinions and theories even at the risk of causing some confusion. In order to eliminate, as far as possible, unnecessary and unproductive controversy, each lecturer was asked to state his point of view frankly in the interpretation of mental symptoms, and to omit all expression of opinion which would tend to prejudice his hearers against other points of view.

Success of Plan Adopted

In looking back over the course, it seems impossible that the group should have been able to assimilate so much in so short a time. Each lecturer, however, spoke on the subject to which he had devoted much time and in which he was consequently greatly interested. His enthusiasm was contagious and the class responded with a corresponding amount of interest. They appreciated the opportunity of hearing men who had given years to the study of one subject, and faith in the judgment of these men enabled the students to utilize theories which, under other circumstances, it might have taken them years to accept. The four hours of lectures daily lengthened frequently into a much longer time because of the unflagging interest among the students and the lecturers. The additional four hours for daily reading, which supplemented the lecture hours, were conscientiously utilized.

The two months' course of didactic work at Smith College was followed by six months of practical work at various mental hospitals and clinics, where there was also opportunity for a continuation of their psychiatric instruction. At the present time forty of the students who completed the course are holding positions of responsibility in this country and in Canada.

As a result of last summer's experiment, a permanent school is to be established at Smith College for social work in the following four branches: psychiatric social work, medical social work, child welfare, and community service. Furthermore, three other schools of a similar type have been started in Philadelphia, Chicago and New York. If the interest in this type of training continues, it will be possible for every mental hospital and clinic in the country to be supplied with a psychiatric social worker.

Difference Between Tasks of Medical Social Worker and Psychiatric Social Worker

Digressing a moment, let us consider life as a series of adjustments, roughly classified as two-fold: first, the internal or the individual adjustment, and second, the external or the environmental adjustment. The rôle of the social worker is, we believe, to aid in the solution of the problems of maladjustment of both types. The task of the medical social worker, as we know it, consists first in aiding the physician to make the patient more fit physically (the patient's internal adjustment from a physical point of view), and second, in utilizing the social and industrial resources of the community in helping the patient to make his external or environmental adjustment.

The task of the psychiatric social worker consists first in aiding the psychiatrist in making the patient more fit mentally and in developing his personality to the extent of his individual capacity (the patient's internal adjustment from a mental point of view), and second, in common with the medical social worker, in utilizing the resources of the community in helping him make his environmental adjustment.

It is this difference which calls for the difference in training. The healing of a lung from tuberculosis or the treatment of a heart that is not functioning properly requires detailed treatment, it is true, but of a very definite nature, which demands usually the following out of a physical procedure. On the other hand, the treatment of mental symptoms and the adjustment of cases exhibiting anti-social conduct require a knowledge of individual mental adaptability and development. The social worker who is to help carry out such treatment must be able to appreciate her patient's capacity for adaptability and assist the physician in helping the patient to make his individual as well as his environmental adjustment.

It is doubtless true that all of us, the mentally normal as well as the abnormal, are capable of greater powers of adjustment than we display; that with wise counsel followed by the process of mental and physical re-education, we could all attain greater power and usefulness. The time will come, we believe, when a knowledge of human behavior and of the principles of mental hygiene will be required in the training of every social worker. The war has brought about the realization of the need of such knowledge for the social worker in the field of psychiatry. Before long there should be a realization of the importance of such training in the field of social work in general.

Opportunity of the Psychiatric Social Worker

The dissemination of knowledge regarding the principles of mental hygiene may be accomplished in two ways: first, through the education of the mass by means of public lectures, literature, and educational procedure in general; second, through the intimate contact between individuals in the clinic and in the home. It is in the second type of work that the psychiatric social worker has an opportunity to spread in a community knowledge of the principles of mental hygiene.

In the past, there have been on the one hand our mental hospitals where the psychiatrists come in contact with the well marked cases of mental disease; on the other hand, there has been the community where social maladjustments and incipient mental disease come only too seldom to the knowledge of the psychiatrists. The social worker is the natural go-between. She visits the hospitals and she visits the homes in the community. If she is equipped with knowledge that will enable her to recognize social maladjustments, which should be corrected and abnormal mental symptoms when they first develop, she can guide the patients to appropriate channels, while readjustment is possible and the prognosis favorable. She will thus have vast opportunities for supplying the much needed link between social

maladjustments and mental disease, or in other words, between the community and the mental hospital.

Summary: War and Peace

To summarize what we believe to be the field of the psychiatric social worker, she will, through understanding of the true interpretation of mental symptoms, be able to spread in the community an attitude toward mental disease that will do much toward encouraging treatment in early stages. She will be able to carry out in detail and with intelligence the treatment which the psychiatrist indicates but which he does not have time to carry out, and she will be able to aid him in his study of each case by contributing a true picture of the patient's reactions in his different environments. Besides this, she will bring to the mental problems that confront the psychiatrist the resources that the community can contribute.

The psychiatric social worker is the outcome of a war emergency. What the field of war neuroses and psychoses might have evolved, and of what service these workers and others similarly trained might have been in work with our soldiers will perhaps never be known. Still a definite need for such workers (psychiatric aids they have been called) has already been recognized in the community. The opportunities of the future lie in applying their usefulness to the general field of mental hygiene. Since here the field is boundless, their opportunities will be unlimited. The degree of their success, however, will depend largely upon the opportunities given them by the psychiatrists and the community to prove their usefulness.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Dr. Albert S. B. Guibord, New York: Psychiatric social workers should be trained so as to deal at first hand with patients. They should be not merely go-betweens. A great number of persons are needed to deal with the subject in an adequate way. At present the number of psychiatrists is too limited to administer the principles of mental hygiene as essentially preventive measures. Skillful and properly trained psychiatric aids offer, therefore, a practical means of filling out this shortage. The first necessity, it need hardly be said, is that the psychiatric social worker should be able and willing to recognize what is within his range of ability to deal with and what is not. *Dr. Guibord* gave a brief account of the Conference Center for Women and Girls that has been opened in New York City under the auspices of the National Board of Young Women's Christian Associations. If it meets a demand it will be repeated in other cities. *Dr. Guibord* stated that a psychiatric social worker is needed in about every family, that in some families two are necessary.

Miss Mary C. Jarrett of Boston laid emphasis upon the statement that in training psychiatric social workers we are training social workers, not merely medical helpers. The social worker should be supervised, not only by a psychiatrist, as *Dr. Glueck* has said, but also by a social worker.

Mrs. Helen T. Woolley of Cincinnati emphasized the importance of selecting cases in the public schools early. Teachers should be trained to select pupils who seem likely to develop mental trouble.

Dr. Bernard Glueck, New York City, emphasized the fact that social workers should first know the fundamentals of social work before specializing.

Dr. Owen Copp of Philadelphia: Psychiatry should be looked upon as a help to social workers and not as a new task. The social worker should be taught to recognize psychiatric problems in individuals with whom she comes in contact. She must see things in the concrete. She must connect terms with the facts as she sees them in the individual. Here the hospital plays a great part. We must take the social workers to the hospitals and out-patient departments and let them see the abnormal conditions, and then they will understand what the terms psychiatry, psychiatric, etc., really mean.

Dr. E. E. Southard of Boston thought there was much to be said for a plan of beginning a course in psychiatric social work with a didactic part, thus following the analogy of the development of the medical curriculum. Many persons do not know what psychiatric social work means, and possibly five or ten per cent of applicants who seemed otherwise desirable and honestly thought they wanted to go into psychiatric social work would get eliminated spontaneously during the first few weeks of the didactic course. Without underestimating the values of the nurse in the slightest, *Dr. Southard* believed that the kind of person desirable for nursing, even mental nursing,

was not at all the kind of person wanted for psychiatric social work. We should not try to spoil a good nurse by making her a poor psychiatric social worker.

Dr. Southard expressed doubt whether male social cases ought to have male social workers put in charge of them. He also felt doubt whether female social cases could always best be worked with under female auspices. There were many cases of psychiatric social work in particular, Dr. Southard thought, of such special nature that the males could best be handled by female social workers and the females best handled by male social workers.

Dr. Southard mentioned a particular social case to drive in the fact that the medical diagnosis might make a tremendous difference in the social treatment. This particular department store worker, at first erroneously diagnosed as a psychoneurotic, was given appropriate treatment and steadily grew worse. Upon the basis of social investigation the diagnosis was now altered to the correct one, namely, the depressed phase of manic depressive psychosis. Proper institutional treatment was immediately applied and there was recovery in six weeks.

The meeting was adjourned until June 5th at 9 p. m., at which time the informal discussion was continued.

It was suggested that the social worker in the field knows all the facts but has not formulated them as the psychiatrist has.

Dr. Bernard Glueck of New York City said in reply, he did not know what facts the psychiatric social worker has at her disposal. Many social workers are well equipped and able to deal with human problems which occasionally come to the psychiatrist for solution. Much that is possible in psychiatric therapeutics is very simple. Psychiatry, of course, is a strictly medical subject and requires the kind of preparation which has, after all, little in common with the preparation of the social worker.

Miss Adams, U. S. Employment Service, said that mental hygiene is essential for anyone dealing with human problems. Teachers would benefit as much as social workers from a knowledge of the principles of mental hygiene. Employers also need the point of view of preventive mental hygiene.

Miss Jessie Taft of Philadelphia states that she may possibly have been prejudiced by an unfortunate experience with regard to nurses' training, but that in any case she feels that the military form of discipline and training which obtains in many hospitals is not conducive to the attitude of mind which we need in social psychiatry. The particular point which she wishes to make, however, is that it is a mistake when a hospital for the insane appoints a nurse from the wards to take charge of a social service department without any previous training or experience in social case work. In other words, nurses' training even in an insane hospital is not equivalent to training in social psychiatry.

Miss Katharine Tucker of Philadelphia stated that she was a nurse and had also done mental hygiene work for several years and that she agrees with Miss Taft that a nurse's training is not sufficient preparation for psychiatric social work, and while medical knowledge is an asset in any line of work, temperamental qualifications and specialized training are a further essential for social work with mental cases.

Dr. Bernard Glueck: As to what psychiatrists had to offer, it is difficult to give the specific content of a course in a discussion like this. No one of us knows definitely what is wanted or needed. Didactic and practical work should go together. The type of cases studied should be illustrated by actual material. The work should be demonstrated on cases in hospitals for the insane. A brief account of the plan at the New York School of Social Work was given.

Miss Mary Jarrett of Boston said that we would all agree that for the best kind of social work maturity is needed. She believes, however, on the whole better work is done by the trained young worker than by the untrained mature worker and that social workers must be recruited early if we are to have the best type of person in social work. The Smith Training School course which prepares immediately for special branches of social work may be regarded as a short-cut to meet the present urgent demand for workers trained in special fields. The tendency of the school will undoubtedly be to develop a broad general training to precede specialized study and practice.

Dr. C. Macife Campbell of Baltimore thought that we need all kinds of people. He does not believe that we can say this is the kind of training or this is the kind of person. Temperament cannot replace training, or vice versa. Particularly is it necessary to have a person of the right temperament. The danger in social service courses for untrained workers is that they get too much jargon. Their interest should be kept up by seeing cases in connection with their didactic training.

SUCCESS AND FAILURE AS CONDITIONS OF MENTAL HEALTH

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The idea prevails among educated people that the hygiene of the mind, or mental hygiene, is concerned with those who have no minds or who have defective minds, especially the feeble-minded. The idea that those who have normal minds as well as the mindless need the aid of mental hygiene, seems to be a very difficult one for most people to grasp. Perhaps this is because hygiene deals with such simple matters.

The essentials of physical health are the most common things of daily life—fresh air, good food, exercise, sleep. The ordinary person thinks little of such things; but when digestion and other functions begin to go wrong, he desires something concrete and objective—drugs, medicine, a trip to the seashore, or what not. In like manner, mental hygiene has to do with very simple matters. But when an individual feels the need of help for any nervous or mental disorder, one expects, like the ancient Assyrian warrior, some great thing, something spectacular—electricity, hydrotherapy, a rest cure, psychoanalysis, or the like. For the prevention of mental disorder, however, and the development of healthful habits of mental activity, very simple things are the essential things—orderly association, healthful interests, normal attitudes toward life, attention to the present situation, a proper balance between stimulation and response, between work and rest.

One of these simple conditions of mental health, largely neglected, probably because it is so commonplace and so familiar to everybody, is success. In the healthful development of the child and in the efficient activity of the mature individual, this, and to a limited extent failure also, are health conditions of fundamental importance. Please note for a moment the psychology of it.

The Psychology of Success

The stimulus of success affects the child in the cradle. The infant wrapped in his blanket impelled by the fundamental impulse of activity twists and wriggles and squirms, and when perchance he frees himself from the bands that fetter him, he exults in a debauch of motor activity. This is one of the great epochs in human development, when the child from his own activity achieves perhaps for the first time a marked success. If, after the manner of the great cartoonist Briggs, we try to imagine what the baby thinks about his cradle, we may naturally suppose that whether in conscious thought, or more naturally in feeling, the baby here realizes the satisfaction which comes from an end accomplished. From this initial success all through the wonderful achievements of learning to walk, and to talk, and the various motor accomplishments of ordinary life, the same stimulus of success is continuously active; and without it in large measure, arrest of development would occur.

In its simplest terms success means the association of reality with a mental image. Take the case of a child opening and shutting a box. As perhaps everybody has observed, a child delights in doing a thing of that kind. Preyer's child opened and shut the lid of a box some 30 times. Here the child has a mental image of the closing lid; and every time he shuts the box he gets the satisfaction of matching that mental image with reality; and it is such a delightful experience that he does it over and over again. This in its simplest terms is success. Later on we set up some end, either of serious work or sport, some end to be accomplished; and when we accomplish it, we get success, whether it be in sending a tennis ball over a net or the result of a long series of events bringing about something of vital importance in our careers.

The essential psychology of success is the same, whether we study

the baby in his cradle, or the artist in his studio, namely, the matching of a mental image with reality. The mental state is often complicated by the zest of the activity, by feelings of power, and the like; but the essential psychological factor is this matching of the image with reality, and developed from this the objectification and realization of a mental aim or end.

It is a great day in the life of a boy or girl when the first conscious effort for a definite end is distinctly made. Many a person can recall the time when first it dawned upon consciousness that a definite success in a certain line of work was possible. Many of you can recall the day when you first realized that you really could do some school task, or the like, distinctly well. The stimulus of it made you work perhaps as you never had before.

From continued success through many years an attitude of confidence is developed. On this largely morale depends, and in many cases a single marked success goes far to produce it. This stimulus of success is an essential condition of normal development and mental health. Continued failure on the other hand, is liable to develop an unsocial attitude, the shut-in personality, and to plant the seeds perhaps of mental disorder.

Now some one may exclaim, is that mental hygiene. We knew all that before. Of course we knew it before; but in spite of that knowledge we have built up a system of schools and developed methods of teaching and discipline that ignore it and make failure inevitable.

Let us note the conditions in the school from which come very largely the failures with which we have to deal. The entrance upon school life is a great crisis in the child's life. It is as great an event for the child, perhaps, as entrance into the army is for the new recruit. It is often harder for the child than entrance upon camp life is to the soldier. The entrance upon school life represents the great mobilization of all the child forces of the nation; and some of us are trying to show that it offers a great opportunity for hygiene, both physical and mental.

The child from infancy has been matching motor images with reality over and over again and achieving remarkable success in motor development, and has also been achieving social success in many ways, and then he is put in an environment where success is very doubtful; and many children, instead of achieving success, for quite a time experience the humiliation of failure. For many children in the school there is little opportunity for success. Failure in certain lines of effort is desirable; but failure in every thing is disastrous.

Among school conditions and practices that tend to produce failure are the following:

Conditions of Failure in the School

(1) Without examination all the children of the chronological age of six, the developed and the undeveloped, the sick and the well, the feeble-minded and the normal, the defective and the sound, are received into the school. As a result the teachers are handicapped, many pupils are given work for which they are not fitted, either physically or mentally, and a large percentage of retardation and failure is ensured from the outset.

(2) The devotion of teachers to the subjects they teach as the thing of prime importance, often means the inevitable neglect of the object of instruction, the boys and girls to be taught. This tendency to consider first of all the subject and content of culture and to put the object of culture in a secondary place is found everywhere. Mr. Cook, the author of the new book called "The Play Way," puts this forcibly in one passage as follows:

"When will schoolmasters realize that, because of their iniquitous pre-occupation with their 'subjects,' more than nine-tenths of the growth of a boy's experience is going on without any influence from them? When will they realize that a boy is somehow, or anyhow, adjusting himself with

life quite apart from all their school-teachings? Because of their lack of sympathy and contact with a boy's real interests he is all the time out of their reach. Let any schoolmaster honestly consider which boys he is influencing, and he will find them to be those whose interests he shares, those in whose confidence he is, and these will not necessarily be the boys who are good in his 'subjects'. A master's educational influence often has very little to do with the subject matter of this teaching, and sometimes none whatever."

(3) Again the school minimizes the opportunities for success by the large heterogeneous groups organized into classes. In a large class it is almost inevitable that the teacher should be handicapped and forced to give attention chiefly to the dull and delinquent pupils, or to those especially bright, or to divide attention in a loose and inefficient manner over the whole group in a futile attempt to do justice to all.

(4) The school does not differentiate properly for exceptional children. Unusual children, and strangely enough those specially bright, are often failures in the school or are retarded. Dr. Terman has specially emphasized this fact that the bright are often retarded; and, as everybody knows, the children interested in doing rather than in books often prove failures.

Not long since I visited a famous school and one of the teachers discussed with me the case of a boy who was unusual. He did not fit into the scholastic grooves and hence made an undue amount of trouble. The hope was expressed that he might outgrow his peculiarities; and the case of another pupil was cited who likewise has failed to drop into the lock-step but who a year or two later was satisfactorily lost in the crowd and gave no further trouble. Thus to the ordinary school a conventional failure is more desirable than a troublesome success.

(5) Most schools do not care properly for defective children. Among the pathetic tragedies of childhood are the cases of those who never can achieve success because of defect—the child with defective vision who cannot see the blackboard, the deaf child who cannot hear the teacher, the child tormented with headache or toothache, the child whose brain nutrition is reduced by nasal obstructions, the sensitive child, the misunderstood child, and the whole list of nervous defectives.

(6) The prevalent custom of offering prizes for the best work in different subjects, and the like, gives the opportunity for two or three to succeed, but all the rest must necessarily fail. It would be far better to offer a reward for all who succeed in reaching a certain standard of excellence. Just as in some of the best summer camps, instead of a prize for the best, every boy who can swim a certain distance, or do a certain amount of work, receives a badge of honor.

(7) The fetish of symmetrical development causes many failures. A false pedagogy has exalted the value of an allround symmetrical training, and the advantage of doing what children are not well fitted to do, and in which they are bound to fail. How common this practice is everybody knows. An account of what seem to be the earliest attempt at this method of training will be sufficient for illustration. I quote the report from a reliable scientist, the late Professor Dolbear:

"In antediluvian times, while the animal kingdom was being differentiated into swimmers, climbers, runners, and fliers, there was a school for the development of the animals.

"The theory of the school was that the best animals should be able to do one thing as well as another.

"If an animal had short legs and good wings, attention should be devoted to running, so as to even up the qualities as far as possible.

"So the duck was kept waddling instead of swimming. The pelican

was kept wagging his short wings in the attempt to fly. The eagle was made to run, and allowed to fly only for recreation;

"All this in the name of education. Nature was not to be trusted; for individuals should be symmetrically developed and similar, for their own welfare as well as for the welfare of the community.

"The animals that would not submit to such training, but persisted in developing the best gifts they had, were dishonored and humiliated in many ways. They were stigmatized as being narrow-minded and specialists, and special difficulties were placed in their way when they attempted to ignore the theory of education recognized in the school.

"No one was allowed to graduate from the school unless he could climb, swim, run and fly at certain prescribed rates; so it happened that the time wasted by the duck in the attempt to run had so hindered him from swimming that his swimming muscles had atrophied, and so he was hardly able to swim at all; and in addition he had been scolded, punished and ill-treated in many ways so as to make his life a burden. He left school humiliated, and the ornithorhynchus could beat him both running and swimming. Indeed, the latter was awarded a prize in two departments.

"The eagle could make no headway in climbing to the top of a tree, and although he showed he could get there just the same, the performance was counted a demerit, since it had not been done in the prescribed way.

"An abnormal eel with large pectoral fins proved he could run, swim, climb trees, and fly a little. He was made valedictorian."

From this prehistoric attempt at ideal education down to the present many schools have put a premium upon failure. And from this continued effort to do work that cannot be done well, pupils are apt to acquire a slovenly attitude, and, like the young horse given too heavy a load at first, they acquire the habit of lying down under a difficult task.

What can be more depressing than continuous failure in whatever one undertakes. As our classes are now arranged and school work ordered, it often happens that month after month many children have no legitimate opportunity to succeed. If a chance to leave school offers, naturally they take it.

In the American school, and even in many American homes, such artificial restrictions are often made that the most obvious opportunity for self-assertion by the children, and the most tempting opportunity for social success, consist in ignoring the rules of the school or the exhortations of anxious parents. I have the report of one school where the boys made it a point of honor to break all the rules of the school each day; and they counted that day lost when they did not succeed. Such achievement by the boys of this school was a distinct social success, and of course it gave the boys the satisfaction that comes from success. But this does not give the highest form of moral and social training. The home and the school should at least give opportunity for success in legitimate activities.

Success and Mental Hygiene

This is merely one of the simple doctrines of hygiene often ignored. Perhaps it is not strange that many of the graduates of our schools have to be re-educated in hospitals and sanitariums. It is amazing how many adults would profit by such re-education. We find men and women in the sixth decade of life that have not acquired the habits of health that should have been formed in the first.

Again, application of the psychology of success takes the sting out of worry; worry may even become a condition of success, and when we face our worries and analyze them, that very activity may destroy the worry itself. This is the meaning of a recent editorial in the Outlook cleverly written in defense of worry.

The never-worriers, it maintains, can never reach the highest success.

"Poor dullards of optimism, they miss the zest of that success granted to only those who have worried out a course of conduct to meet the most pessimistic forecast of the future."

"How can the poor optimist ever discover that one actually runs faster towards one's desire when the dogs of worry are nipping one's heels? Never the goal so alluring, never the pace so fleet, never the tingle of achievement so keen, as when one perceives the prize threatened. What does he know about success, the man who never feared that he might fail?"

"But worry, to be genuinely educative, should be systematic and not slipshod. The worrier should have convictions to meet those of the good-cheer propagandist. But in this effort after analysis and argument your worrier must be mindful of one danger—method with melancholy inclines to have the same result as the proverbial tear-bottle offered to the crying child. In other words, worry is an elusive visitor; welcomed and analyzed, she is as likely as not to go flying out of the window."

All this suggests the right view of worry. Avoid worry if you can; and the knowledge of the serious physiological effects of worry helps one to avoid it, but it is futile to tell a child or an adult not to worry. One can, however, point out the things that can be done in a difficult situation; and the mature individual can face worry, analyze it, and mentally make worry itself an occasion of success. It is chronic worry that kills and not the brief and intense worry that soon ends in the grand and glorious feeling of success.

When we continuously fail in our attempts to match out mental images with reality, confusion of the mental images arises, or in other words chronic worry begins; and none perhaps are more prone to this than teachers and social workers. Their ideal is perfection. Naturally the great gulf between their ideals and their performance worries them.

Each individual must work out this problem for himself, but one rule is helpful to every one. Children should be trained and adult workers should train themselves to make their period of work one day, to live one day at a time, what Dr. Osler has called "the freshest, the oldest, the usefullest" of all the hygienic rules of life.

No better rule for teachers and social workers could be devised. Each day has its failures and successes, but at the end of the day, however pressing the work, one should consider the book closed and the account settled whether for profit or for loss. Good as the rule is, perhaps you cannot adopt it. Children can, however, in large degree be trained to it. Naturally they live in the present; and they should be taught to live one day at a time, to settle their moral accounts every night, never to hold a grudge, never to let the sun go down upon their wrath, to look upon each morning as a new day in which to improve, but not to carry over their troubles from yesterday.

Failure and Mental Hygiene

Of course in a world like this where failure is common and every day brings its disappointments as well as its successes, it may naturally be asked if mental hygiene has no words of encouragement for those who are defeated. The answer is that hygiene does have a message definite and positive for those who experience failure more than success. The help comes in the insight that after all the doing itself is the significant thing, that the fun is in the fight, and that the battle of life is worth making for its own sake. When one can make his goal effective doing without special regard to success or failure, then the doing itself from a psychological point of view becomes success; and thus we find strong men everywhere fighting losing battles, and the heroes of defeat are no less sane and healthful mentally than those who succeed as the world counts success.

Here we find such men as President Harper on the one hand, who,

stricken with an incurable disease, kept up his work to the last, and men like Jack London at the other extreme, who felt that even the gamble of life was worth while for its own sake. Thus he sings:

"This out of all will remain,
We have lived and have tossed.
So much of the game will be gain,
Though the gold of the dice has been lost."

Evil as this world is, it is nevertheless true that the doing, an active attitude toward difficulty, often justifies itself. Will you pardon me if I adapt a modern fable:

A large bottle of cream two-thirds full was left open one night in a farmer's shed. Two mice investigated the situation. By vigorous jumping they succeeded in gaining the top of the bottle and jumped in for the cream; then they were in danger of drowning. Mouse No. 1 had been trained by the modern method of constant failure and he cried out, Help, Help, and when no help came, gradually lost strength and fell to the bottom. Mouse No. 2 had been trained by the constant stimulus of success and had become so habituated to facing difficult situations that he had even in a practical way gained the insight that doing is itself worth while for its own sake. So he cried out lustily, Hustle, Hustle, and suiting the action to the word, kept trying to jump out of the bottle. At first he improved by practice and jumped higher and higher, but soon the effect of practice was overcome by fatigue, and gradually as he became exhausted, his jumps were lower and lower, but he nevertheless kept struggling; and gradually as exhaustion came on the cream became harder and harder. In the morning mouse No. 1, was dead at the bottom of the bottle, mouse No. 2 was serenely asleep on a lump of butter, but got safely away before the farmer appeared.

Keeping in mind the psychology of success, we see that anything whatever from the psychological point of view may be the occasion of success or failure. Since, in its simplest terms, success consists in matching a mental image with reality, it is obvious that this may be done legitimately and healthfully or illegitimately and pathologically.

The pathology of success is really a very large subject. It concerns, not merely the over-stimulation that comes from continued success without normal relaxation; but the extreme self-consciousness of success that occurs often in the case of bright children of unstable nervous organization, and develops into ego complexes, and finally, perhaps, into megalomania. The pathological tendencies are seen also in very different and very simple and commonplace manifestations.

Some people never can think of doing a thing and be satisfied without doing it. If they think of saying a thing they must say it regardless of consequences. If one of a group refers to a familiar quotation they must repeat the quotation in full. If they start to do a thing they must finish it. If they see merely a pin on the floor, or a piece of paper, that suggests the image of taking it up, and however pressing their work, this mental image must be matched by reality, and before anything else they stop and pick up the paper, or pin, or what not. And everybody knows how if one thinks of some trivial act like shutting a door or putting a chair in its proper place, one never feels quite satisfied until the thing is done. And some people in trying to recall a forgotten word, are in continuous misery until they can remember it. Of course such lower habits of success may interfere with the development of higher ones.

Most tragic of all perhaps is the fact that the stimulus of success is intoxicating, and is likely to make one heady. Hence is needed the anti-toxin of failure. In the early stages this is a valuable remedy for the ego complex and a preventive perhaps of many cases of megalomania. Especially is this

indicated at that stage of adolescent development when even the normal youth is likely to know it all; but this is an anti-toxin that should not be given in too large doses.

I have not time, however, to speak of the stimulus of failure or of the moral aspects of success, nor of the physiological conditions of success and failure. Metabolism is clearly affected. Probably the glands with internal secretion are involved. Success is esthetic, probably increasing the flow of adrenalin, as a wholesome stimulus to function and a prophylactic to fatigue, toning up the whole system. Failure, on the other hand, is inhibitory and depresses function; and the inhibition of the will likely to result, unless one fights against it, may irradiate and depress all the activities, especially in case of children.

Practical Suggestions

The need of success as a wholesome stimulus is universal. Children have an enormous appetite for it. They need large doses. Adults become depressed without it. It is vital for the normal. The diseased are often cured by it. The modern method in the best hospitals of giving the patient as far as possible interesting work, something worth while to do, has demonstrated its value for health. It is the gravest error for physicians, social workers and teachers not to employ this wholesome stimulus.

The teacher's business is to see to it that every child, at some time, in some way, in some subject, achieves a marked success, and that sometimes one gets an honest gauge of one's self by failure. In like manner the task for the physician in large part is to give the patient the opportunity to do something that seems worth while, a definite concrete task to perform, either in caring for his own health, or doing something that indirectly will be of a benefit to health. The business of the social worker also in large part is to give concrete tasks to those who are chronic failures, to give the opportunity for success, so that the stimulus of success may be a help to further activities.

Many of you have to deal with social failures, with the people who are down and on the verge of being out. Your problem, however, is much like that of the teacher and physician, it is the problem of giving each case something to do that is worth while, and of placing each individual in a situation where success is likely to occur; and when we recall the essential psychology of success we find that this is possible in many forms of work, and that the psychological success in doing ordinary work properly in itself is a stimulus to further work, and often the most important condition of mental health. In this sense every worker can give himself the benefit of this wonderful tonic.

Now all this is very simple, so commonplace that some cannot see its significance; but each of you can recall what a stimulus to effort success was in your own childhood; you know how the success of yesterday still warms your heart. The fact that you can do well certain things that are worth while gives zest to your life. You know cases where marked success in something or other has irradiated and affected the whole life of a child stimulating his will and ambition. You know cases of those in financial or domestic or social crises on the verge of nervous or mental breakdown where a marked success has been their redemption.

Thus on such simple things, to the ordinary person simple, to the psychologist often complex, our mental health depends. By such simple conditions our habits, our association complexes, our characters are developed. On such simple conditions sanity and insanity depend. Of such simple things mental hygiene consists.

EDUCATION AND MENTAL HYGIENE

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The proof of the pudding is in the eating of it, and so the test of an education would seem to be how it actually works out, how successful are the men and women so educated. Opinions, however, differ as to what constitutes success; is it a bank account, church standing, scientific reputation or personal happiness? Smith, prosperous in business, rolling along in his automobile thinks rather pityingly of poor Jones, an impractical sort of fellow, who writes scientific articles, but can never afford a trip to Europe nor to join a decent golf club. Jones, on the other hand, elated by the discovery of a new insect, which will probably be called by his name, in his spare moments thinks with some pity of the failure of Smith, who started life with some decent enthusiasms, some responsiveness to the finer issues of life, some capacity of self-sacrifice, but gradually lost them as he became immersed in piling up a fortune. Brown, who has neither discovered a new insect nor accumulated any money, but whose family life is a great delight to him, sees nothing but failure in the life of Smith and of Jones, neither of whom can get along with his wife.

There is no universally accepted standard of success in life; one is forced to admit different goals and therefore different methods of education, and each one will favour that type and those methods which fit in with his philosophy of life or personal prejudices.

The physician tends to look at the matter biologically; his goal in education is the adult well adjusted to his environment, with healthy organs but also with a healthy balance between the conflicting trends of human nature; an adult not merely well nourished and with immaculate teeth and tonsils, but meeting the tasks of life with the necessary output of energy and with pertinacity, not shrinking from nor evading personal problems, not giving to the realities of life false values, determined by individual idiosyncrasies, by earlier experiences, by uncorrected family or social prejudices; handing over to habit the simpler activities of daily life, regulating soberly the instincts, digesting disappointments and bereavements, giving and taking in the spirit of social solidarity, facing the tests of marriage and parenthood in a direct and open manner, throwing himself into his economic tasks with cheerfulness and satisfaction.

Character Training as Important as School Instruction for Efficiency and Health

In the formative period the child should of course acquire a certain amount of information, and skill in intellectual and manual operations; both the nature and extent of the information, and the best methods of tuition are important topics of discussion. But the breakdowns in life—the nervous invalidism, embitterment and depression, misinterpretation and accusation, ill-balanced enthusiasms and fads of religious, philanthropic, intellectual or aesthetic nature, family disharmonies, futile day dreaming—do not arise because the individual has studied Homer and Euclid instead of Spanish and the stock exchange reports, nor because he has followed the methods of the kindergarten instead of expressing his individuality in a Montessori atmosphere. The failures are more influenced by the fact that in the developing individual less attention is paid to the personal problems of the child than to the accumulation of information, less attention to the instincts, the emotions, the interests, the mental conflicts than to memorizing and facile repetition; yet during this period habits of adaptation are formed, which are to be of crucial importance for the happiness and efficiency of the adult.

The state, which realizes the importance of literacy sufficiently to make

education compulsory, not leaving it to the personal decision of parents, in its educational apparatus pays little attention to the training of character. It is easy to arrange for the systematic instruction of large groups of children in arithmetic, language, geography, history, etc. It is another matter to arrange for systematic help to groups in regard to more important factors that are going to be of fundamental importance for the happiness and the social value of the individual. Perhaps such training can never be quite systematic; perhaps the training can never be by group methods; for it is no longer the giving of information that is in question, but training in feeling and doing. While the importance of this aspect of the training of the child can hardly be doubted, the question may be raised whether this part of the training of the child does not belong essentially to the home, while the function of the school is different. Of course, the school should not aim at supplanting the home; no external influences are of more importance for the formation of character than the atmosphere of the home; thus the training during the first five years of life has an influence of profound significance on later character. But while the school should not supplant, it should supplement the home; it should co-operate with the home, and bring to the home an influence and a support which no other agency can supply. Along with the parents the teacher should aim at the development of the character of the child, the formation of correct habits of thought and action, the regulation of the instincts and the emotions, the cultivation of a sensitiveness to the true values of life.

Influence of the Instinctive and Emotional Life on School Problems

But even should the school desire to split the child into two halves, handing one over to the parents for character-training while it retained the other half for instruction, it would still not have shaken off the wider problem. The child brings its whole self into the school room, its emotions and interests and special personal attitudes, and even the routine task of instruction is modified by these factors. Learning is modified by the attitude of the child to teacher and to school mates, and this attitude is a factor of great complexity, to understand which we may need to know something of the home and of the attitude to the parents; interests in the school tasks may be seriously interfered with by day-dreaming, and the roots of this may introduce us to the sexual life of the child and his inner life of phantasy; failure in the school tasks may be conditioned by sensitiveness and embarrassment and nervous fear, the origin of which can only be revealed by a detailed character study; lack of docility and restlessness in the school room, with a tendency to pranks and lack of seriousness, require to be understood if they are to be intelligently dealt with; teasing and bullying and apparent cruelty require investigation; pilfering and untruthfulness, truancy and apparently wanton mischief are other examples of conduct which call for careful study of the individual child, and an honest endeavor to provide the child with the conditions most favourable for its development.

The school, therefore, can not disclaim responsibility for some attention to the personal problems of the individual child; compulsory attendance laws show how important the state considers education for the maintenance and advance of the value of its citizen body, and if the human value of its citizens is to be the main aim of the school system, then not only will these personal problems of special school children receive careful attention, but the chief weight of education will come gradually to be laid on this aspect of the training rather than on routine instruction in the familiar school topics. The value of any school system will be estimated according to its success in promoting the development of character and good habits and healthy balance.

Already the school has gone a certain distance in this direction; it has

seen that to treat a child as a mere numbered school unit, morally bound to swallow at a certain rate a certain amount of information, is a grave injustice. It has been seen that a child with an empty stomach cannot absorb much grammar nor arithmetic; to add the figures on the blackboard one needs to see the blackboard; a slight deafness may be the cause of much fatigue and irritability. The school, therefore, has taken an interest in the empty or abused stomach, the defective eyes and ears, the diseased teeth and tonsils, the infected skin.

The school having thus accepted some responsibility for attention to stomach, teeth, tonsils, etc., must accept some responsibility for the child who owns these organs, for the real child not the mere school unit. The real child is not merely an assemblage of organs plus a receptacle for school information, he is a complex bundle of highly organized instincts, emotions and attitudes; and attention to these reactions of the child is even more important than attention to his teeth. These are the elements which give to the individual much of his special character and worth; their management is of cardinal importance for the training of character, while at the same time they intimately affect the progress of instruction.

Concrete Case Illustrating the Necessity of Studying the Personal Problems of the School Child

The close relationship between the traditional problems of the school and the wider and more important problems involved in the personality of the child and his total reaction to his environment may be illustrated by a concrete case.

John Smith aged thirteen was a problem to his teachers and a nuisance; his honesty was not beyond question, he frequently lied, his pranks; however amusing were distinctly unsettling in the school room. Four teachers formulated their views of this upsetting school unit.

The English teacher reported: "His efforts to keep up in his work have been so very irregular that I cannot explain it on the ground of mere laziness or indifference. He does not know the meaning of application and, while not mentally deficient, seems quite unable in certain moods, to retain the fundamentals of previous study. If this is due to shiftlessness, as I think it to be in part, I suggest a severe reprimand." The history teacher reported: "John Smith has very good ability. His poor work is the result of loafing and lack of interest including attention in class. He is quite an enigma." The mathematical teacher reported: "I know of no reason why John Smith's work should not be good...Frequently does no work during the week, that is, hands none in and yet passes fair tests. Of course, continuance of such work means gradual loss of grip and consequent failure." The Latin teacher reported: "My impression of John Smith is that he has plenty of ability, but very little energy. He very rarely hands in his written work on time and usually does about half of it."

From these reports one sees that John Smith is an unsatisfactory pupil and to one teacher "quite an enigma." But what is striking about these school reports is that there is no reference to the boy himself, his real interests, his attitude towards life, his instincts, his ambitions, his affections, his fears. Although the school career of the boy was threatening to prove a failure no attempt seems to have been made to look outside of the school room for any explanation. We find mentioned "lack of interest," "inattention," "very little energy," "no application;" but these stereotyped phrases teach us nothing; we want to know the why of the matter, what is going wrong with the boy, what are the driving forces in his nature, and how they can be applied to advantage. In these reports we see no reference to the home, no curiosity as to the boy's relations to his parents, his personal feeling for his masters, as to his output of energy away from school, as to his

special tastes, sex life, possible feelings of discouragement, and their source. The teacher of algebra sees no reason why the boy's work should not be good, but the English teacher confided that "he just hates algebra"; surely some reason for poor progress.

If the teachers had considered John Smith not as a pupil, the victim of a school curriculum, but as a live boy, who had once been a baby, had been brought up by a mother and a father, they would have developed a healthy curiosity as to the why of his failure. They would have regretted that the history of the early life of the boy was not at their disposal, that the whole balance of the unconscious forces, the direction of his affections, the trend of his ruminations, his mental conflicts and methods of meeting personal difficulties, in fact the very essence of the boy was quite unknown. They would have wondered whether the boy's output of energy was not handicapped by emotional factors, the source of which might be elsewhere than in the school. As a matter of fact the boy was frank and free at games and showed a quite energetic disposition when he was carefully observed under holiday conditions. He was observed to have a somewhat diffident attitude as if he were not quite sure of himself, and as if he felt that he was liable to be criticized or viewed with disapproval. He seemed to be weighed down by the feeling that he was not quite up to the task before him, whether it was a Latin exercise or diving. He responded well to encouragement which inspired him with confidence in himself.

The boy seemed to be living under the chronic weight of the feeling that he was not quite up to the task before him. The atmosphere of the home might well explain this attitude; we know how important an early determinant of character is the child's relation to his parents. The boy tends to live up to the father and where the father has modest ideals of efficiency and a fairly easy-going tolerance, the task does not weigh on the child. In this case the father was a man of exceptional ability, with very high standards of efficiency; to live up to such a father may be a stimulus or an incubus, and the boy with more modest endowments than his father, which were poorly utilized in his early school training, had labored under the sense of lagging behind what was expected of him. This chronic feeling of discouragement had probably been the most important single determinant of his general waywardness, don't-care attitude, and unsatisfactory school career. On the basis of this tentative reconstruction of the boy's difficulties he was given an atmosphere of encouragement; a policy of tolerant watchful waiting was recommended, with moderate demands as to school attainments and no attempt to force progress at the risk of discouragement; the father and teachers co-operated in supplying the boy with the conditions which his special problems seemed to demand, and the results justified the effort.

Teachers Will Find in a Sound Child Psychology Help and Inspiration

The above history may show how even in relation to instruction and school discipline the problems of the home and of the school are intimately connected, how the emotional background of the child's life subtly influences school progress, how the familiar annoyances and disappointments of the classroom may require for their understanding a detailed analysis of the personality of the boy and of all the factors which make up his environment. One is entitled to demand of the teaching profession in general some familiarity with these problems; in every training school for teachers there should be a thorough course in child psychology, a psychology willing to deal with the real problems of the child, and that faces the realities of life in a frank and unembarrassed manner. No such course would be complete without some personal contact with children, who have presented the typical difficulties of adjustment, and whose cases have been thoroughly analyzed.

Such a program does not mean an additional burden to teachers; it means

a new stimulus and inspiration; it brings a fresh human note into an atmosphere that at times tends to become somewhat musty; it opens up a vista of productive work in mental hygiene, which might well tempt the very ablest men and women to enter the teaching profession. Even the harrassed and underpaid teachers of many a second-rate school system may find in the intense human interest of these problems a satisfaction which is some compensation for their hardships.

The importance of the co-operation between school and home has been indicated in discussing the case of the boy. The present almost absolute divorce between these two is pernicious; the parents and teacher have the same youngster to train and co-operation is not possible without frequent consultation. The teacher with his technical experience can be of invaluable aid to the parent, the parent can bring to the teacher data as to the home reactions of the boy, his heredity, his past experiences, without which the boy might remain an enigma. How many school children remain mere stuffed enigmas!

On the Wider Responsibilities of Teachers; the Nervous Symptoms of Children

The example I have chosen for discussion presented in the foreground difficulties as regards instruction. Teachers, however, meet in addition large numbers of children presenting problems of the most varied nature. It is not necessary to mention the familiar problems of children with a greater or less degree of mental defect, whether the defect be intellectual or in the sphere of moral response or stability of motor output; that is a problem to which justice is being done.

In addition to these backward children the teacher meets children who pilfer, or have St. Vitus dance, or lie, or stammer, or play truant, or are hysterical, or who are bashful or depressed or afraid or seclusive, or who write obscene notes or show other sex interests of unusual degree or nature, or who have peculiar habit-spasms, or who are unnaturally good and precise, or who complain of headache, or who play all sorts of unsuitable pranks. A child is lagging behind his grade; is it due to undernourishment, or to day-dreaming, or is the child too bored by uninteresting information to make progress? The child plays truant; is it because of unappetizing school fare, or does the child constitutionally lack the appetite for information which his fellows have, and therefore wanders off, or has he superabundant energy with love of adventure, or is the truancy due to the influence of bad comrades, whose influence in other directions may be still more pernicious?

The child shows lack of response to discipline; is it due to a constitutional defect, or to faulty home training and home atmosphere, or is it due to emulation of "movie" heroes, or is the personality of the teacher at fault, or is the defiance of the teacher the continuation of an antagonism to the earlier authority of the father?

Mere routine punishment in such a case may merely tend to fix the attitude, whereas it may take all the teacher's insight and sympathy to modify the boy's attitude so that he may develop into a helpful social unit instead of into a truculent and unwilling worker, defiant of all authority, a fomenter of discord, a nuisance to himself. The fact that a child memorizes easily is little indication of development; the fact that a child gives a teacher no trouble may merely indicate lack of initiative and character. We wish to know how the child tackles a job, what interest does he bring to it, how easily is he discouraged, what standards satisfy him, how far is he capable of team work, whether he is a generous rival or meanly envious, whether he cherishes grudges or squares accounts in a manly way, what are his special interests and aptitudes, what his habitual output of energy, how far

his emotional life seems well balanced. In fact, the main thing is what sort of a boy or girl have we to deal with, and in our estimate the stock of school information at his disposal should only have its due weight and no more.

On the Practical Steps to Be Taken

If these views in general are accepted—and sooner or later I believe they will have to be accepted—and if an honest attempt is made to translate them into action, what are the first steps for a school system to take to live up to these responsibilities? Instead of sketching a utopian school system in a community guided by intelligence, let us assume an average school system run by average authorities with an average community with average taxpayers. We may safely assume that on a plea of economy they will continue to underpay the teachers, and that they will be far from offering salaries at all commensurate with the importance of the teacher's task. The classes will continue to be much too large on the same basis of economy. The teachers, therefore, are liable to continue for some time overworked and underpaid. If, however, in their training they have got some insight into the fundamental problems of childhood and some familiarity with the indications of trouble, they will be sensitive to the same in the children who are daily under their eyes; they will be able to draw the attention of the principal of the school to the need of special observation and care of the individual child. The ideal situation would be if the teacher had only a reasonable number of pupils in her class, and had some energy and time at her disposal for discussing with the parent the home problems of the child, and visiting the home if advisable. As the teacher seldom has the time or energy available, the problem may be referred to a visiting teacher or school nurse, who must have had some good training in mental hygiene and in the special problems of childhood. It will be long perhaps before the average teacher is qualified to give the best advice in relation to the problems that come up, but it should be possible within a few years to have available a body of these special intermediaries between the home and the school, whether they be visiting teachers or school nurses with special training in mental hygiene. One of her functions would be to be familiar with all the hospital and dispensary facilities of the community. In this way there would be placed at the disposal of the child the best advice and treatment which the community could furnish, the team work involving the teacher, the visiting teacher or school nurse, the dispensary with its staff of physicians and social service workers. As to what one might suggest for a community sufficiently intelligent to consider the education of its children as its greatest responsibility and with the first claim upon its budget, it is perhaps as well to be silent; this conference is more profitably employed in the discussion of practical recommendations, which should be driven home at the present time, than in formulating schemes complete but so remote of realization that workers are apt to be discouraged.

It is quite stimulating to think that, even with an unprogressive school board and with meager appropriations, the intelligent and sympathetic teacher can have such a beneficial influence on the life of her pupils; and nothing is more likely to help the progress of the school board, or to elicit the taxpayer's money, than to give them a good concrete demonstration of what real education is.

The School Is the Natural Health Centre for the Children of a District

So far I have discussed education chiefly in relation to the school period, but the education of the child has begun long before it goes to school. The education or training of the child begins when it is put to the mother's breast; the basis of the child's later reactions is being laid when the child is forming its habits with regard to food, and sleep and the toilet; traits

of character which are handicaps in later life may be fostered by injudicious management in the nursery; the basis of later repressions, of later inability to deal frankly with sex factors, is laid in repressions connected with the habits of the toilet, and with the first naive curiosity of the child as to sex differences, childbirth, etc. These early reactions of the child are familiar to the nurse and the mother; only the child psychologist is blind to them, or if not blind to them considers them not suitable for discussion. Adult traits of character of the greatest importance are often determined by the emotional relations to father and mother which are established early in life; undue fostering of the emotional dependence of the child on the parent may do much to cripple the individual's social efficiency as an adult, and may make him find the world a harsh stepmother. The child who finds he can dominate his small world by tantrums and other technique has to learn at a later day that the real world has certain inexorable laws, and may regret that the existence of these inexorable laws was not brought home to him in the nursery. The general ignorance of the principles of the correct training of children during this early period is a social fact of very great importance; it presents a situation which demands organized treatment. The most practical steps for dealing with it seem to me to be already suggested by our discussion of the relation between the school and the home. The school nurse or visiting teacher or social service worker, who has to take up the problem of a school child, has to deal not merely with a child, but has to deal with a situation; and to give the child the help it is entitled to, the situation has to be dealt with intelligently.

The nurse sensitive to the problems of the home cannot improve the situation for the school child without helping the mother in her general insight into the problems of childhood. She will inevitably have to consider the mother's attitude to the other children, will have to see along what lines she is moulding their habits and character; the mother herself will be only too glad in the presence of the worker, who has a sympathetic insight, to bring up her problems with regard to the younger children, and to avail herself of wise counsel. So through the school children the school workers will have an entrée into homes which will bring them into close contact with the children who are under school age, and in a community where the school is doing work of this nature, where some mothers have got help with regard to their 3-year-olds and 4-year-olds and 5-year-olds on questions of diet, and thumb sucking, and tantrums and night terrors, and other nervous manifestations, other mothers, whose children are all below school age, will come for help to the same source. Show some mothers that practical help is given; these mothers will look after the necessary propaganda, and the mothers of the children under five will soon be clamoring at the doors of the school clinic for help for their children. Can the school refuse their appeal and will it not have to answer it by seeing that the school clinic becomes the mental hygiene center for all the children of the district, no matter of how tender years the children may be?

When this situation is adequately organized, the community may at last feel that it has taken the education of its children seriously, and that it is giving to its children those aids to the development of personality and character, to which from infancy they are entitled.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

The question was raised as to what should be done with the present school system to meet the needs of the child. In replying to this Dr. Campbell stated, first, that he would recommend raising salaries of teachers from 50 to 100 per cent, so that they might get a living wage; that school teachers should be as intelligent as possible; he recommended having women on school boards; that efforts should be directed toward getting the community interested in school problems. Let the community see that it pays to give

attention to subnormal children. Do not look forward to a Utopia, but do what you can now. One good school is worth a great deal more than much haranguing. Dr. Campbell believes that the teachers and parents should come together regularly for consultation. Take up the backward children as individual problems, try them out with facilities we have now, steer them along; change their environment, if necessary; use present equipment and accommodate the program to existing conditions.

Dr. W. B. Cornell of Albany, New York, outlined briefly the work of the New York State Department of Education with mentally retarded children, which began in September, 1918, and provided for a central organization within the department. The aim of this work is to coordinate the work of special classes for mental defectives throughout the state as well as assist in the organization of new classes. A set of five blanks, Pedagogical Record, Personal History, Physical Examination, Psychometric Record and Summary Record, have been prepared for use throughout the state. It is expected that much valuable data will eventually be obtained as a result of the system that has been planned. Dr. Cornell emphasized the need of more teachers for special classes.

Mrs. Richard C. Cabot of Boston emphasized the need of a true psychology of teaching in our training schools for teachers and also the need of the development of the visiting teacher.

Mr. Norbert J. Melville of Philadelphia spoke of a bill which is now in the hands of the Governor of Pennsylvania which would give state aid to special classes (later approved). He also stated that when once the interest of the schoolmen and the public has been aroused on the issue of state aid for special education, then it is possible to get them interested in other phases of mental hygiene.

Miss Anna B. Pratt, Philadelphia, outlined an experiment in Philadelphia in educational guidance, speaking of the work of the White-Williams Foundation for Girls.

Prof. Burnham of Clark University emphasized the fact that the curricula of normal schools should be thoroughly remodelled. Each normal school should have a good course in mental hygiene.

Dr. Campbell of New York, answering a query, said that abnormal children should be segregated for study and they very often have need of hospital care; that there is an unfortunate gap at the present time; that these children should have adequate intensive study.

Mrs. H. M. Bremer, *Mr. E. B. Leonard* and *Miss Jessie L. Louderbach* of New York City and *Mr. Howard E. Clark* of Plainfield, N. J., also participated in the informal discussion.

FUNCTION OF THE SOCIAL WORKER IN RELATION TO A STATE PROGRAM

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During the last few years, state institutions have been increasingly broadening the scope of their activities and endeavoring to serve the community as well as improving methods of care and treatment within the institution. To this end the establishment of social service departments in the institutions caring for the mentally sick has played a very important role, it being recognized that social factors have a very definite bearing upon mental diseases, their causes, treatment and prevention.

Before analyzing the relationship of social work to a state program, it may be interesting to note the development of methods used since early days and the laws and customs pertaining to the care of the insane in the United States. One may thereby gain a deeper insight into the functioning of social service in connection with the state policy as regards care of mental patients.

The right to deprive an insane person of his liberty existed in England under the common law which was transferred to the colonies in America. It was regarded as justifiable to "confine, bind and beat in such manner as might be required under existing circumstances." Care by relatives consisted mainly in confining in cells, pens and cages in most unhealthy conditions. The policy was that of economy.

In Colonial times there was no machinery to enable the state to carry out its obligations to the dependent classes, therefore very few references

are made to the dependent insane. In New England the care of the insane devolved upon townships or city councils and came to notice only when they needed charitable assistance. The dependent insane were classed as paupers—the first known settlement law was in 1639. The earliest legislation in Massachusetts was in 1676 which delegated the care of the insane to the Selectmen and Overseers of the poor. In 1736 this power was transferred to the judges whose action was largely based upon the opinions of the overseers and selectmen. A law was passed in 1715 requiring near relatives to provide for insane members of their families: if they neglected to do so, a fine of 20 shillings was imposed upon them—the money being used for the dependent insane. Amendments to this law soon followed which were directed to the protection of the patients' property rather than to his personal comfort and safety.

Laws Relating to "Disorderly Persons"

In 1727 "disorderly persons" had become so numerous that a colony workhouse was built to which all disturbers of the public peace were committed regardless of their mental condition. A little later another law was passed to confine such "disorderly persons" in county jails—but in 1797 this section of the law was revoked. So far as known between the years 1793 and 1824, there was no public place in which harmless insane persons, not criminal, could be confined. In 1824 a law was passed whereby any Person could complain to one of the civil authorities if he found an insane person at large. If no action was taken in 3 days, a justice of the peace could confine such a person, providing that adequate proof of his insanity could be produced.

According to Mosher—the first statute in existence regarding the insane is an act passed in 1788 under the title—"An Act Apprehending and Punishing Disorderly Persons." This act provided: "Whereas, there are persons who, by lunacy or otherwise, are furiously mad and so disordered in their senses as to be dangerous to go abroad, it shall be lawful for two or more justices of the peace to cause to be apprehended and kept safely locked up, such persons in some secure place, and, if necessary, to be chained there if their legal settlement be in the city or town of that county."

Some of the earlier records describe very clearly the terrible conditions under which the imprisoned insane existed. The cells were literally dark dungeons—planks and straw were used as beds—inmates were clothed in filthy rags and were hardly recognizable as human beings. Air and light, if any, were admitted by means of a 2½ foot window opening into the prison. Frequently these persons were found in cellars whose windows were so in disrepair that snow and rain often fell upon the inmates and "there were times when it was difficult to keep them from freezing." Heat and cold were never tempered in these cells. It was not until 1827 that an act was passed providing that—"A lunatic shall not be confined in any prison, jail or house of correction in the same room with a person charged with a criminal offense."

Prior to the 19th century care of the insane in America was largely a local matter and was entirely custodial. There are no records in England, Europe or America to the contrary. The purpose of confinement was for safe keeping and was accomplished in ill-ventilated and inconvenient cells or pens in the basements of hospitals and other places. This was the only care that the medical profession and the public deemed necessary for this most wretched class of human beings. It is a well known fact that in many states, notably in New England, the contract for the pauper insane was awarded annually to the lowest bidder—not due to the fact that they were less considered than other dependents—it was the custom thus to make provision for dependents. In Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Hamp-

shire, the insane poor, being classed as paupers, were annually sold at auction to those who were willing to care for undesirable persons for a money consideration. If families were not available or the person was dangerous or untidy, he was placed in a jail or strong pen in the care of relatives.

First Private Hospitals

It is interesting to note that such treatment and the resulting conditions naturally appealed to philanthropic and benevolent people and many private donations were made for better care in private hospitals. The Pennsylvania Hospital Department for the insane thus developed into the present institution: the insane department of the New York Hospital thus became the present Bloomingdale Hospital; the McLean Hospital of Boston performed a similar service until the establishment of the Worcester State Hospital.

In passing, it is well to note that county care of the insane originated only as an emergency, when no suitable provision could be found elsewhere and county jails were simply an emergency provision. Nearly every state has a history of county care. The necessity of providing for chronic cases led several large cities—Boston, New York, Chicago and Philadelphia, to build municipal hospitals. These institutions were managed by local men, unexperienced and untrained, whose chief concern was economy rather than humanity. Lack of standards, abuses of various kinds and lack of uniformity are the outstanding features in county and municipal care of the insane and without doubt hastened the movement for state care.

The first pauper insane state hospital was established at Worcester, Mass., and opened in 1832. The next was in New York, 1843. In Massachusetts, three classes were eligible to admission: First, those persons who had been committed by justices of the supreme judicial court or justices of the peace, to jails; second, town pauper lunatics who were confined in poor-houses and those persons who had been contracted out to jail keepers and house of correction officials. The third class included all those insane not mentioned in the other two classes.

The development of the state hospital was slow and materialized after severe struggle. When humanitarian sentiment became fully aroused, its expression was noted in the erection of well organized buildings, pleasant situations, modern methods of heating and ventilation, but no pains were taken to study the personal comfort of patients. Airing courts, surrounded by high walls, did not add to the welfare of patients. A sort of laissez-faire policy existed in the hospital; patients who destroyed their clothing went without; those who destroyed bedding or refused to lie in bed, slept on the floor, etc. Until 1880 mechanical restraint methods were extensively used and were believed to be absolutely essential in caring for the insane. The theory of treatment was to "overcome patients through fear: to break their wills" and to teach them that stronger wills than theirs were in authority. Gradually non-restraint methods were introduced, first in Canada, then in Michigan, soon followed by New York, Massachusetts, and other states. For a long time these non-restraint methods were sporadic and not entirely successful as no outlets for the energies of patients had been provided; with the introduction of industries, recreation, amusements, etc., these methods became successful and within the last 25 years have made their way throughout the United States. In Massachusetts, the state policy of mechanical restraint (with rare exceptions) is forbidden by law.

It is fair to presume that the present methods of caring for the insane would have been long delayed but for the marvellous work of Dorothea Dix, whose strenuous battles for the welfare of the insane resulted in reforms, commencing in Massachusetts and spreading throughout the coun-

try and in some parts of Europe and England. In Massachusetts her efforts led directly to the enlargement of the Worcester State Hospital.

State Care the Ideal Policy

State care, which developed naturally, is the care of the dependent insane exercised by the state as state charges and is in no way under the care or management of county or town officials. The advantages gained are the welfare and wellbeing of patients and are the first considerations. As far back as 1811, Dr. Wyman, first superintendent of the McLean Hospital advocated the "judicious moral treatment of insane patients" in which he recommended employment, such as sewing, garden work and recreation as valuable for the minds and bodies of patients. He believed in and advanced the idea that "the law of kindness was the all-pervading power of moral discipline." But he was a man far in advance of his time and his theories met with considerable opposition. Those who visited state hospitals a generation or two ago found large numbers of patients whose condition was deplorable; they were noisy, destructive, untidy, incapable of employment because of more or less constant restraint and seclusion.

The state hospital of today, which is a far reach from the county jail and asylum of yesterday, is both custodial and educational. The policy of early days was economy in caring for dependents; the policy of today is based on humanitarian principles; then it was safety for the public, now it is the restoration of the patient.

In reading the history relative to the care of the insane, one is impressed with the fact that conduct disorder has ever been the cause of confinement. The early methods of treating such disorders, beating, binding and otherwise cruelly treating them, stand out in marked contrast to modern methods of caring for mental patients. Recognizing the fact that such patients are frequently free from bodily disease so far as can be determined, and that conduct disorder is the outstanding feature, the keynote of treatment is education—hence the various forms of industry, exercise, recreation and amusement which characterize the modern state hospital. Patients are now treated with a view to assisting them in matters of adjustment to the existing social order. They are regarded as patients, not paupers. In place of economy, social welfare is the basis of treatment. The state policy of today in the care of the insane may be briefly defined as one in which all those factors which have a bearing upon mental health are carefully and scientifically considered. Reformed laws removing the insane from the care and custody of justices of the peace, overseers of the poor and jailors make it possible to give such persons medical care. The conditions surrounding them in state hospitals are arranged for the purpose of promoting physical and mental health. The development of occupational therapy, mechanical arts, recreative amusement, etc., has had a quieting and helpful effect upon patients; the policy of boarding special patients in private homes under good normal conditions; the establishment of psychopathic wards in general hospitals and psychopathic hospitals for the study of borderline and incipient cases and investigation of mental diseases, and the recent establishment of social service—are all indications of an enlightened policy in state care of the insane. Such care insures efficiency, standardization and uniformity and makes for progress.

Social Factors

All the contributing factors, medical and social, which have played a part in the breaking down of the mental faculties should be intelligently considered. It is interesting to note that the causes of mental illness as given by the laity are largely social causes—poverty, hardship, worry, overwork, alcoholism, immorality, irregular habits, unfortunate love affairs, social maladjustments, etc. It is obvious that these factors cannot be lightly ig-

nored for they must perforce play a part in future treatment. Doubtless the importance of social factors has long been known to the hospital physician, but heretofore there seems to have been no practical way of dealing with them until social service, having proven its worth in the general hospital, was gradually introduced into the state hospital. The purpose of this department is for the social welfare of patient and community and for effective hospital treatment. This department of state hospital organization is young and a great deal of elementary work has been obviously necessary. The functions of social service in the state hospital will be guided largely by the interpretation which hospital superintendents and governing bodies give of the work. At the present time the main functions of social service are to contribute to psychiatric knowledge and to aid in matters of social adjustment.

The value of social work to any state hospital depends largely upon the quality of the case-work. Social problems under which the patient broke down, employment, habits, moral and physical environment, are all significant from medical and social standpoints. The knowledge of these factors plus the medical findings will generally indicate a form of treatment and aid in matters of social adjustment. Team work is absolutely essential between physician and social worker if good results are to be obtained. The psychiatric social worker, at the present time, largely confines herself to the study of environmental conditions and their relations to mental states. When this work is more firmly established, doubtless the study of personality will be equally important and effective, especially when one considers that problems of personality constantly occur in matters of adjustment to home life, community conditions and industry.

Social history work is an important branch of this department and means that the best outside resources are used in obtaining knowledge which the physician may require in matters of diagnosis. Such work aids not only the physician but assists the hospital in acting intelligently and constructively when placing patients again in the community.

Next in importance to social case-work and history-taking is community work. To a large extent, social organizations in the community supply the machinery for the readjustment of patients: The problem of the psychiatric worker is largely to co-ordinate their special services for hospital use. The contact with these agencies must be made in a close, intimate manner in order to secure efficient results. The hospital must be in close touch with the schools, charitable agencies, recreation centres, employment agencies, hospitals and churches, through its social service department. Another branch of work which it is the privilege of the social worker to perform is to contribute knowledge regarding the social laws of mental health wherever the need for such may appear. An interesting part of the earlier duties of the state hospital social worker has been to impart correct information regarding hospital methods. Ignorance in regard to state care of the insane is by no means confined to individual cases. Fear of state institutions is being substituted, in a most encouraging degree, by co-operation—once hospital methods are clearly understood by relatives and other interested persons. All possible encouragement is given to those in need of medical advice to use hospital resources. The interpretation of the hospital to the community and aid to individuals and social groups means that co-operation is being established and that hospital and community are joining forces for a common purpose.

Preventive Work and the Out-Patient Clinic

Recent studies have shown the possibilities of preventing many forms of mental illness—so-called borderline cases between the normal and defective groups—especially those types of disease connected with fatigue, anxiety and social maladjustment. In many instances suitable and early knowledge

would result in prevention of more serious conditions. The establishment of psychopathic wards and psychopathic hospitals may serve to open the way for much preventive work. The psychopathic hospital, established mainly for the study and investigation of mental diseases and for the care of early cases of mental illness, should have a well organized social service department in order that the social studies and investigations may contribute to medical knowledge. The out-patient clinic, which is the natural outgrowth of the modern state hospital, serves a double purpose of keeping in touch with ex-patients and acting as an educational center for inquiring needy individuals outside the hospitals. The future development of these clinics, at which the social worker is usually present, will doubtless mean that they will be as commonly used as those of a general hospital.

Social service, from the viewpoints of education and legislation, covers a broad field. The community should know more of mental disorders, causes and prevention, and should be encouraged and urged to assume much the same attitude which it now holds toward tuberculosis and syphilis. The proper education of children, especially as regards early mental development and social habits, is vitally important. School, or even college education as such, does not necessarily fit one to meet the difficulties of everyday life. The combination of physicians, clergymen, teachers and social workers along lines of mental hygiene will help tremendously to form public opinion in the field of mental health. Statistics, compiled by such persons, must eventually lead to special legislation in the department of mental health.

The movement to make social service an adjunct to psychiatric treatment is apparently gaining in popular favor and will doubtless become a recognized part of the state hospital organization scheme. In Massachusetts, the Commission on Mental Diseases has recently adopted social service as part of its policy in caring for mental patients and holds a place on the state program. This work is being gradually introduced into the various state hospitals connected with the commission; out of 14 hospitals, 10 are now engaged in some form of social service. A most encouraging feature of a recent survey of these institutions was the practically unanimous desire expressed by superintendents for such work. This section of the state's program indicates that social service, both intra and extra-mural, connected with the institutions under the commission, is to be established on a firm basis. A comprehensive plan for co-ordinating and developing the various phases of the work includes uniform records and statistics, standardization of methods and correlation with the various community resources. Subdivisions of the work are: Development of case-work, social investigation, history work, placing and care of boarding patients, after care work, special studies, etc. A division of the work yet to be developed is that connected with the outpatient clinics. The demand for workers is greater than the supply and necessitates the establishment of a system for training students and volunteers. A tentative plan is in process of formation.

The future development of psychiatric social service in connection with state hospitals will depend largely upon the organization of the work and upon the qualifications, natural and acquired, of persons who enter the service. The social service department of a state hospital, although distinct in itself, should be so organized and developed that it will fit smoothly and harmoniously into other departments of institutional work and enable its machinery to run effectively. In every respect its purpose is to fit into the general policy which the state has adopted in caring for its mentally sick and defective. The spirit of social service should pervade the hospital atmosphere and serve as a constant reminder to those interested in patients and in the general care of the mentally disordered that social welfare is more valuable than economic and scientific methods—that human kind-

ness is a more powerful agency than the exercise of temporary authority or the exhibition of power and in reality is "the all-pervading power of moral discipline."

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THE FUNCTION OF THE SOCIAL WORKER IN RELATION TO THE STATE HOSPITAL PHYSICIAN.

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It is probably quite unnecessary, before this audience, to emphasize so strongly as I propose to do the need for close co-operation and careful delimitation of function between social worker and physician, but this relationship is of such fundamental importance that I offer no apology for doing so. Social workers, in my experience, are usually anxious to consult and are fully conscious of the difficulties they experience when the physician fails to take his proper place, a failure which is largely due to diffidence resulting from lack of training. But I think we will all agree that it is just as much an error for the social worker to take charge of a case and call in the physician only when she meets with difficulties as it would be for a nurse in a hospital. It is the function of the physician to make the diagnosis and to prescribe the treatment to be followed, leaving to the technician, be she nurse or social worker, the technique of its execution.

At the last conference of this body I presented a specific plan for the organization of a state hospital for the treatment of the patient while within its walls. This present article must be considered as a corollary to that plan which endeavored to emphasize in a practical way the preparation of the patient for return to social life.

In discussing the relations between the social worker and the state hospital physician it is necessary to consider the duties of, and the problems which confront, the latter. These have, in recent years, undergone large expansion which is partly expressed by the growing recognition of the need for the employment of social workers.

Problems Before the Physician

Physicians in general are beginning to realize that their duties are far broader than the mere treatment of disease and that they must include the treatment of the patient as a man. This implies a study of him not merely as an individual composed of a number of organs, each of which is liable to structural disease or damage, but still more as a unit of a social organization in which he must so behave as not to menace his relation with, and the welfare of, the group of which he is a member.

While this statement is generally true for all medical work, it is quite specially true for that large group of disabilities which fall under the heading of mental disorders. For while the welfare of the individual depends primarily upon the health and proper functioning of the organs which compose his body, his successful adjustment to social life and the welfare of the social group itself depend upon his behavior, which is the use he makes of the bodily organs with which he is provided. Social behavior is nothing but the proper regulation of body activities and is rendered possible by the activity of the brain which is the mind.

Disorders of the mind are thus essentially disorders in behavior and of necessity imply greater or less social discord. Even serious bodily handicaps do not necessarily preclude a social adaptation, but mental disorder means that the individual is more or less extra-social and sometimes actively anti-social. The science of mental disorders, or psychiatry, deals therefore essentially with social problems, and conversely one is justified in stating that there is a psychiatric element in all social work. Dependency, delinquency and insanity may, it is true, be the result of bodily disease or defect and be therefore medical in the more narrow interpretation of that term, but in so far as these conditions are social problems they are psychiatric and the physician is concerned not only with the problem of restoring the individual to health but also with establishing a type of behavior compatible with the handicaps present and the requirements of social existence. The recognition of this psychiatric or mental element in social work is, I believe, of fundamental importance if we are to avoid in this field the errors of omission which have so long lowered the efficiency of medical practice.

The state hospital physician is primarily a psychiatrist, his special field being that particular group of mental disorders classed under the heading of insanity. The sole reason for the admission of patients to such hospitals is the disorder of conduct which renders them incapable of social existence. A paretic, for instance, is not sent to a state hospital because he has syphilis of the brain but because his conduct either already has been, or is liable to become, such as to render him a menace to himself or others. It is therefore somewhat astonishing to find that it is only now that we are beginning to appreciate the importance of employing social workers in connection with state hospitals. Like the general hospital, the state hospital has concerned itself with the treatment of the patient merely as an individual suffering from some "disease," obscure though this most often is admitted to be.

Many persons are even yet unwilling to recognize that insanity may at times be not associated with disease at all but be merely a mode of reaction to the conditions under which the particular individual, with whatever handicaps as to structure he may have, finds himself and thus be a social problem almost purely, the remedies for which must lie in the modification of the conditions to be faced and the training of the individual to better methods of meeting them.

Problems Before the State Hospital

The majority of state hospitals even today are concerned only with the care of the person insane and content themselves in their anamnestic study of the patient with a history of the bodily diseases and defects which have preceded the onset of the insanity. Should no disease capable of remedy be discovered the treatment is liable to become purely custodial. Under the simplified conditions of life which obtain in the hospital the patient often improves very materially and may sooner or later be considered fit for release. He is liable then to be permitted to return to conditions more or less the same as those under which he before broke down. Often, it is true, he has suffered a definite lowering of mental capability which, while it may possibly render the danger of actively unsocial conduct less, must nevertheless render the probability of dependency far greater. Such persons are much in the position of the old-time handicapped soldier. His wounds had healed under surgical treatment, but he had lost a limb or become otherwise crippled, and only too often he remained more or less helpless and dependent upon charity or descended to peddling shoestrings for a living.

To guard against a repetition of this state of affairs our present government has wisely decided to establish machinery, necessarily somewhat elab-

orate, which provides not only for the best possible medical and surgical treatment of the damaged parts of the body, designed to restore them to the greatest possible degree of usefulness (this corresponding with the most usually adopted view of the function of the state hospital), but in addition for the study of possibilities in the way of the useful employment and placing of handicapped men and for the training of these men for work which they can adequately perform and in which they can successfully compete with their more fortunate fellows.

Social History

The problems before the state hospitals are essentially the same, varying only because of the kind of disability. This difference, however, renders the study of the patient alone often quite insufficient for the definition of the causes, and hence the proper treatment, of the breakdown from which the patient is suffering. These are often extremely complex and may be compounded of disease and its consequences or defect of the patient's body *ab initio* with difficulties of social adjustment. Of these latter the patient can often tell little or nothing and it becomes necessary to discover the facts by a study of the environment in which the disorder developed. This environment includes not only the patient's home and relatives but also the conditions and associates of his work and play.

The investigation of these conditions is an important function of the state hospital social worker. To carry them out requires some knowledge of the symptoms of mental disorders and their relation to social adjustment, in other words, a psychiatric training. While much of the information to be collected may be more or less routine it is essential that, as in the examination of the patient himself, it be selected in the light of the needs of the individual case. For this reason there must be close co-operation and consultation between the physician and the social worker for it is only the former who, by reason of his psychiatric knowledge and study of the patient, can specify the needs.

In the course of the studies of the patient himself by the physician and of the environment from which he comes by the social worker it may well happen that conditions are discovered which have a direct influence upon the immediate happiness or distress of the patient, such as the dependency of his family upon relief, etc., or which may be of importance to society for the prevention of later difficulties, such as syphilis or other conditions which might lead to the breakdown of other members of the family. These it will of course be the function of the social worker to deal with either directly or by reference to other special agencies devoted to such needs.

Conditions for Release of Patient

Upon the results of the study of the patient combined with the facts elicited by the social worker concerning conditions which have prevailed prior to the onset of, and which perhaps have precipitated or even caused, the disorder in behavior which was the occasion for commitment of the patient, must be based the prescription of treatment. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that this must be purposefully designed to fit this particular patient for the resumption of social life under conditions which offer a probability of success, and I believe that much is to be gained by laying down, quite early in the period of the patient's residence at the hospital, the specific conditions which must be fulfilled before release can be considered.

Part of these conditions quite frequently concerns the outside environment of the patient fully as much as it does the patient himself. Treatment applied to the social surroundings, such as readjustment of home, work and play conditions, the settlement of family and neighborhood conflicts, prejudices or misunderstandings, the education of relatives and others as to their

attitude toward the patient, etc., may be quite as important factors in determining the return of the patient to social existence as the training of the patient himself. Such treatment should not be left until it is time for the patient to leave but should be initiated at the earliest possible moment after he enters the hospital.

The execution of this program is quite obviously work for the trained social worker, requiring a high degree of tact and skill combined with a knowledge of the possibilities afforded by communities in various localities. Here again it is evident that the very closest co-operation between physician and social worker is essential in order that unnecessary meddling and unwise changes may be avoided. The function of the physician is to make a diagnosis by giving due weight to all available facts and upon this basis to prescribe the remedies. The task of finding the way to accomplish the ends prescribed, in so far as they concern the relation of the patient to the social world, is the function of the social worker. Obviously these results can be materially favored by requiring the social worker to be present at staff meetings where the treatment of the patient is discussed.* To gain anything of value from such discussions, she must be familiar with psychiatric terms and the significance of behavior types.

After-Care

Thus far we have considered only the functions of the state hospital as they have largely been limited in the past. Its duties have not begun until the disorder was so fully developed that commitment was necessary, and too often it has ceased to concern itself with the patient after he left the hospital. Today it is realized that the state is to an even greater degree vitally concerned with the prevention of the need for commitment and with the after-care of patients when released. Since this means the study and treatment of persons living in society it is obvious that this field is especially one in which the social worker is a prime essential.

To be successful in any degree this work must be given the same careful consideration as to diagnosis and treatment as that given to the patient at the time of commitment, and hence again there must be the same close relation between social worker and physician. Let us consider first the question of after-care which is so obviously a part of the function of the state hospital that it is difficult to understand why it has been so much neglected.

If the plan, already outlined as part of the treatment of the patient, to modify unfavorable conditions in the environment as early as possible after commitment combined with purposeful training of the patient himself in habits of occupation and recreation within the hospital, with his limitations, handicaps and the surroundings to which he is to be released, clearly in mind, be followed, there is established a definite criterion as to the conditions for release, and this becomes part of a carefully planned line of treatment.

But, however carefully approached, this release must of necessity represent a more or less abrupt transition which needs the most careful supervision if it is not to result in failure. It is necessary that the social worker who is to maintain this supervision be thoroughly familiar with the patient, his difficulties and disabilities, with the general plan of therapy which has been, and is to be, followed, and also with the environment into which the patient is going; she must be informed concerning the possibilities as regards special dangers to be avoided and difficulties to be met which can be

*As a digressive corollary I might add that it would be well to have the responsible nurse and other therapists who will have charge of the treatment of the patient himself while in the hospital also present at these discussions so that all may work together more intelligently. The social worker, it is true, must of necessity work less under the direct supervision of the physician than the nurse and it is hence imperative that she be fully cognizant of the results desired and the reasons for the prescription,

given only by the physician. Provision must be made for reports at suitable intervals as to progress, for consultations upon desirable modifications or changes in the treatment prescribed and for interviews between patient and physician as occasion, foreseen or unforeseen, arises.

All these considerations must be made the subject of definite prescription, which should be given by the physician in writing. The reports of the social worker as to methods employed and results achieved must also be written. Only so can we ever secure data upon which can be founded a better and more rational treatment of mental disorders of this type.

If such a system is adopted and honestly followed there is plenty of evidence to show that many persons now considered as doomed to lifelong residence in a hospital can be restored to productive activity in a more or less restricted social environment.

During the war, when labor was scarce, we made the experiment in one of the Illinois hospitals of permitting a number of patients from the custodial, or as I would prefer to group them, industrial, wards to work in a neighboring factory where the management offered intelligent and sympathetic co-operation. The patients continued to reside in the hospital but worked in various departments in the factory at a full wage. The working conditions and the patients themselves were under the supervision of a social worker. The experiment was eminently successful and was entirely satisfactory to the employer, who asserted that he had never had more efficient help.

Unfortunately with the signing of the armistice and the release of many workers from war activities the labor unions objected, with some justice, that the competition was unfair, as the patients were still inmates of the hospital and received maintenance from the state, with the consequence that those who could not be released altogether had to be withdrawn. A practical solution of this difficulty may possibly be found by establishing, under the supervision of social workers, community houses in which such patients may live and be entirely self-supporting. It will require, however, the intelligent co-operation of both employers and labor organizations.

Prevention

Finally, we may consider briefly the function of the social worker in relation to the state hospital physician in connection with the problems of prevention. The interest of the social worker in this field is self-evident. That it equally belongs to the state hospital needs but little argument. The exact relationship between hospitals and preventive work is largely a question of organization, but the physicians of these hospitals are practically alone in having an opportunity for psychiatric training.

In some manner, which may be varied to suit local conditions, it is necessary to provide clinics outside the parent hospital as close to the community as possible. These will be of value also in providing for after-care. To these clinics can be brought for examination and advice any persons who show indications of the danger of a failure to meet requirements. It will be the function of the social worker to establish communications between these clinics and the communities and to supervise and manage such treatment as is recommended. The relation of the social worker to the community is to be discussed in another paper and hence will not be considered here.

It is, however, essential to realize that successful prevention depends upon the anticipation of actual breakdown and that the social worker must be prepared to assist in giving instruction to the community as to the importance of such manifestations and the need for expert advice. The possibilities from these activities have been well demonstrated by the psychiatric work of the army physicians who established communications with

prospective patients through line officers and non-commissioned officers, who thus served in the capacity of social workers.

In concluding it may be pointed out further that the field of social service outlined here for the state hospitals exists equally in other forms of mental disorder or social maladjustment, including dependency, delinquency and crime. Just as with insanity, though disease and defect may enter into their causation, the real reason for social interference is conduct disorder, and hence they belong in the province of the psychiatrist for diagnosis and treatment just as does insanity. The problems to be met, though different in detail, are still essentially the same, and the functions of the social worker as an aid to diagnosis, social rehabilitation, prevention and after-care are identical.

Summary

The social worker is a technician trained in the means for social adjustment and their application who, in relation to the state hospital physicians, will have the following general functions:

- (1) To collect information of social conditions which existed prior to commitment and thus permit the establishment of rational diagnosis and treatment.
- (2) To apply to the social environment such measures as will be calculated to relieve worry and apprehension on the part of the patient, to prevent further breakdowns in the family and to prepare the way for the release of the patient.
- (3) To supervise the rehabilitation of the patient in society by assisting him in his relations with others, finding suitable occupation and recreation and affording means of communication between physician and patient.
- (4) To establish relations between the state hospital physician and those who are in need of assistance by reason of habits of behavior which threaten danger of disharmony with society.
- (5) To carry out the treatment prescribed by the physician with a view to prevention of actual breakdown and commitment.

THE FUNCTION OF THE PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORKER IN RELATION TO THE COMMUNITY.

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The activities of a social worker in a mental hospital parallel such services given in connection with a general hospital, though with emphatic need of special training to deal with the mental problems involved. It is her privilege to assist in discovering the contributing causes of the patient's breakdown, and to render those friendly services which promote his welfare while in the hospital and help to re-establish him in normal life when he is allowed to leave. The function in the community of a social worker for the mentally disabled is less well understood; it is not so apparent where and how she will get into touch with those who need her services. Her proteges may not come to her listed and diagnosed as in a hospital. They may never have been in a hospital, and will not come with an outline of future treatment sent by the doctor. In many cases, they will not come at all. She must go to them. It is evident that besides the general means established to secure mentally wholesome education and environment for the community, there must be an intermediary who can deal with those who are beginning to evince mental abnormality. Dr. Augustus Hoch some years ago in an article on the "Social

Side of Psychiatry," said, "If we wish to adopt measures for prevention upon thoroughly practical grounds, we must recognize that our field lies in measures which are primarily aimed at individual cases; measures—which aim at getting at the cases much earlier than we do now," and again, "I am sure we could help such early cases if we could really treat them when such difficulties are seen to arise. Many could be saved if we could take them out of their environment, enter into their struggles, place them in an atmosphere where stimulation of healthy interests would be the uppermost aim."

Dr. E. Stanley Abbot says, "Probably from 16 to 20 percent of the yearly admissions to hospitals for the insane are due to breakdowns in persons who were unable to withstand hard continuous work, or the exhaustion of illness or pain, or the sudden and intense, or the long continued, stress of conflicts between opposing desires, ambitions, and duties, or the strain of prolonged responsibility," and again he says, "Perhaps a half, possibly more, of the manic-depressive psychoses might be prevented." (1)

Dr. Ferris, formerly president of the New York Commission of Lunacy says, "The fourth important cause of insanity consists of fatigue, stress and strain in specially susceptible individuals—stress and strain are very often due to improper environment, including housing, clothing, occupation, recreation, food, and habits of thought," (2) Surely here is indicated a sufficient and legitimate field of work for the psychiatric worker. To promote this preventive work which is the most valuable in terms of conservation, she must be prepared not only to help those who feel their need, but also to search out the incipient case, the borderline neurotic, and the troublesome unrecognized high-grade defective, whose maladjustment to society is not understood. With the advice of a psychiatrist she can proceed to readjust the personal, social, or industrial factors in each separate problem. A grounding in psychology, added to some training in psychiatry, and an acquaintance with the more frequent forms of nervous and mental disease, do not turn a social worker into a psychiatrist, or qualify her to deal single-handed with the mentally disabled. This training makes her more keen to detect early symptoms, and more anxious to secure the advice of a mental specialist. Under his guidance she can intelligently undertake the suggested restorative or protective treatment. The psychiatrist will welcome her assistance as cordially as will the family of the patient.

Cases of Prevention

The presence in a city of a worker knowing something of mental diseases, and known to stand ready to help with "worries," is often enough to bring to her the problems which would never be referred to a charity organization, or to public health advisers. Sufferers themselves may seek her advice, or the anxious family may come for help.

An intelligent girl of twenty-two working as a telephone operator found herself growing always more depressed and more painfully self-conscious. It was very difficult to adjust herself to ordinary conditions of work, and she felt herself different from other girls. Anxiety pressed upon her, and she feared to be unable to continue the work which helped to support her mother and sisters in a distant city. A chance pamphlet brought her to the psychiatric worker for advice. The family history was highly suggestive of probable breakdown. The father, a worthless man who had been guilty of crooked dealing in financial matters, had left the family to support themselves. He was said to have been always very nervous and irritable. The mother was over-anxious, depressed, and weak-willed; the five sisters and one brother showed various forms of mental lack of balance, such as passionate

outbursts, exaggerated shyness, seclusiveness, irregularity at work. In a word, a family providing fruitful soil for the mental catastrophes of adolescence. This oldest girl was examined and advised at a mental clinic, and was then placed in the social worker's charge to carry out a program which regulated her recreation, her diet, her books, and her companions, and directed her thinking. In three months she had gained five pounds, and had acquired a self-control which secured her normal enjoyment of wholesome pleasures. Her intelligent appreciation of what had been done for her induced her to bring later for advice other members of the family. For one sister the best that could be done was to delay the development of dementia praecox for a few months, but a younger child was cured of passionate outbursts, and a young brother tided over a period of exaggerated sex-consciousness.

Frequently the general practitioner realizes that a case of incipient mental disease demands constant intimate advice and supervision which he has neither time nor opportunity to give. Such was the case when a family physician referred to a psychiatric worker, a young Jewish girl who he feared was definitely insane. Examination at a mental clinic resulted in a diagnosis of a borderline condition, in urgent need of general supervision by a trained woman. The girl was sixteen and had been working since fourteen in a factory where she could not avoid hearing obscene stories related by some rough co-workers. These had made a lasting impression and were intensely repugnant to her clean sweet nature. The struggle to suppress these repulsive ideas has brought her to a state of collapse. She could not sleep, wept copiously almost constantly, would not eat, had lost twenty pounds in weight, and wanted to die to end the conflict. The family were sympathetic but helpless. A short vacation, a change of work, and above all several frank talks which placed the facts of life on a healthy normal basis, coupled with general supervision of diet, recreation, and companionship, were sufficient to work a remarkable change. In a few months she was rosy, smiling, happy at work, had regained her lost weight, and the family regarded the cure as a miracle. There has been no recurrence of the trouble in three years.

Protection for the Patient

Sometimes the one effective treatment will be urged by no one but a psychiatric worker. In a city well supplied with the usual philanthropic and advisory agencies, a woman came in deep anxiety to ask advice about her husband's condition. She was in constant dread of finding him a suicide. For a year he had brooded on self-destruction, his restlessness drove him into long walks until too exhausted to set out again, his indecision was a torment, his depression was abysmal. Three general practitioners in the course of a year's treatment had given him sedatives and advised open-air exercise. This man had broken down four years previously, and had been restored by prolonged treatment at a mental hospital, to resume his work as engineer on a fast express train. In an interview with the man himself he acknowledged, after agonized protest, that he knew he would be better in a hospital where someone other than himself would regulate his conduct. One day more of the exhausting conflict, and he came to say that if the worker would herself take him to a state hospital he would go at once. That was done; and after some months of treatment he was again restored and back on his engine. This was a frank case of manic-depressive insanity where months of suffering, and constant danger of suicide should have been spared him.

While the comfort and help given to the actual sufferers is a sufficient reason for any effort that may be made by a community worker, the protection of other unaffected persons may give a double value to her work. Workers untrained in psychiatry, and philanthropic societies unused to deal-

ing with the mentally diseased, are very likely to shirk responsibility in this difficult kind of problem. In this way dangerous conditions are often allowed to persist. An infant welfare nurse reported that the mother of a three-weeks old baby had been behaving and talking curiously for some months, and that the doctor said she was intemperate and perhaps insane. He had taken no steps whatever, though he said he was sure the infant would die of mishandling or neglect, and the condition was common knowledge in the neighborhood. The psychiatric worker secured an immediate mental examination of the woman which revealed an alcoholic psychosis with ideas of persecution and a tendency to impulsive acts, rendering her a most unsafe guardian for the child. The woman's sister was brought from another city, the legal preliminaries were hastened, and within a day the mother was in the State hospital, and the baby suitably cared for elsewhere.

Protection for Community

A similar case was that of a Jewish woman, haggard and worn, who came to say she could endure no longer the terror she had suffered for two years from the frequent threats of violence made by her husband, who was growing increasingly irritable. He had given up work, and on her had devolved the task of supporting six children and protecting them from his violence. His examination at a mental clinic showed well-advanced general paresis, and need for immediate action. Within two days the man was committed, and the family relieved from an intolerable strain.

A well-known physician telephoned asking a psychiatric worker to give the necessary advice and help to the family of a woman he had seen and treated only a week before. The woman, sixty years old, had been worried for a year by fears of misfortune, and had finally almost succeeded in an attempt at suicide. After a few days of semi-stupor, she had raved of persecution, and had hallucinations of sight and hearing. The doctor sent her to the country to a sister without warning of her dangerous condition, and it was not surprising that very soon she crept up behind the sister and struck her on the head with an axe. The blow was fortunately not fatal and the sister tried for some days, until exhausted, to guard the insane woman. Then it was that the psychiatric worker was notified. She was soon able to persuade the family that immediate commitment was the only course, and to help with the necessary procedure. Within a day further danger was averted by having the woman placed in the State Hospital.

The protection needed by the community is sometimes moral rather than physical. Since feeble-mindedness comes to mean an adult body governed by only a childish intelligence there will always be a moral problem while these defectives are at large.

A feeble-minded girl of fourteen, with a mental age of four, already a pupil in a class for defectives, was developing into a moral plague-spot, contaminating the other pupils and other children in the public play-ground. Her father was alcoholic, and her mother densely ignorant and suspicious of any institutions. No one seemed to be able or willing to deal firmly with the problem. It required many visits to the family, to their priest, to the city authorities, to the city courts, and to the school board, before the psychiatric worker succeeded in placing the child in an institution for the feeble-minded.

Assistance for Returned Soldiers

The instances of pronounced disease which require institutional care both for their own and the community's sake are often cases which might have been prevented had the earliest symptoms been recognized. The most

valuable psychiatric work that can be done in a community is obviously that which prevents the development of serious conditions. The present problem of re-establishing in civil life the discharged soldier is proving to have in it a large psychiatric element. More than one-half of the soldiers applying in one month for assistance at the Red Cross Home Service Bureau in a large city showed marked evidence of maladjustment which had existed in both their military and pre-war life. Of these a considerable number showed definite symptoms of mental instability. To deal with them effectively requires an examination by a skilful psychiatrist, to diagnose the condition and direct the worker in her work of supervision and reconstruction. These soldiers must be saved from unsuitable work, or more destructive idleness, and gradually re-educated to assume life's responsibilities. This war-time problem is not a new one. It is simply a thrusting into the limelight of conditions dimly perceived before. There exist always in the community a number of people who manage with difficulty to bear up under adverse conditions of life. Faulty environment, or ill-suited work, provides a wearing process that brings catastrophe. Timely advice and assistance from psychiatrist and social worker will often remove difficulties and give relief.

Expert Help for the Friendless

In a country which draws so many of its inhabitants from the old world, there occur many cases of lonely people for whom no one feels responsible when mental disease is seen to be developing. Employers and landlords wash their hands of responsibility when work and money are not forthcoming, and the confused irrational man or woman does not turn to ordinary channels for help. It needs a comprehending social worker to appreciate the needs and dangers of the condition, and to be ready to initiate the efforts to get it under control. If such a specially trained worker is known to be available in the community, someone finally brings the problem to her.

The owner of a rooming-house reported that an Englishwoman in one of her rooms had been heard talking to herself all night, was confused, exhausted, and apparently was nearly starving. Efforts for a few weeks to restore her through food, friends, and work were not successful because of her peculiarities, which steadily increased. Before long a psychiatrist diagnosed the condition as dementia praecox. She showed marked delusions, and had hallucinations of hearing which centered about a casual acquaintance, a decent mechanic. Very soon she was trying to put detectives on his track, and struggling desperately against the influence of his supposed voice. She was very reticent, but finally her story came to light. She belonged to a very prominent English family, now reduced in wealth, and had been a governess in her youth. Unfounded ideas of the significance of ordinary courtesy shown her by a curate, together with annoyance at her family's efforts to make her see reason, soon increased her early eccentricities of behavior. She left home against advice and came to this country without money or friends or prospect of work, and for five years had kept up a losing struggle for existence, always hampered by her suspicions. Her conduct finally became so troublesome that on the doctor's advice she was placed in a private hospital by the psychiatric worker until the family could be notified. They were filled with gratitude for her care, and permanent arrangements were soon made. Her sister has twice come to this country to assure herself of the care given, and will take her to England now that the war is over.

A young Polish girl without relatives in this country, but working as a servant here for five years, became deranged, full of fears, and twice tried to kill herself. For some weeks while doctors were unable to agree about her condition a psychiatric worker kept her under supervision, and arranged

for temporary work. Later, when the symptoms became unmistakable, the worker secured her admission to a state hospital, and had a guardian appointed to protect her savings.

After-Care

All these types of cases make up the great group who need preventive measures, or early treatment, to control their condition. There is also another group who need advice and supervision, which can be given only by someone who understands their needs. These are the patients discharged from hospitals for the insane, able to come back to family life, and to begin slowly to pick up the thread of normal living. The patient's family must be taught how to receive him,—neither as an object of suspicion, nor as differing from themselves. Some guidance must be given to deal with minor peculiarities of conduct which may yet linger. A right atmosphere in his home will do much to make his recovery permanent. Readjustment is gradual, and difficulties arise which do not trouble the mentally stable. Ignorant prejudices of the public must be overcome, and the patient's confidence in himself must be restored. Suitable occupation must be found; mental back-sliding must be prevented. This service for ex-patients is known as "after-care," and is daily proving its value in work done for many state hospitals. It must be given by someone who is alive to the special needs of the convalescents, and knows how to utilize the resources of the community. Where state hospitals have their own social workers this phase of the work more properly belongs to them, but very few state hospitals are so provided, as yet.

Educational Work

How shall one find the incipient cases? Comparatively seldom do they ask for assistance themselves. It is through social and industrial channels that the worker must seek them out. A brief explanation of the possible causes of abnormal conduct and of the early symptoms of mental breakdown will enlist assistance in locating them. Church visitors, school teachers, settlement workers, factory overseers and foremen, club-leaders, district nurses, police matrons and inspectors, city court judges, probation officers, truant officers, charitable organizations, playground supervisors, clergymen, all will find occasional need of her services in some unusual situation; medical men will gladly turn to her for the supervision they have not time to give a neurotic patient, and mental hospitals will be able to return sooner to family life the patient who still needs supervision.

While this worker for the mentally disabled stands ready at all times to give her mind and heart to their service, she may make a yet bigger contribution to the community welfare. Prevention of mental disease can best be achieved by spreading the knowledge of the preventable causes. Many opportunities can be secured by the worker to tell local clubs or societies of the disastrous results of alcoholism, syphilis, and drug habits, in producing insanity, and of the influence of heredity in increasing the number of the feeble-minded. The mental health of the community will be promoted in proportion as these dangers are known and avoided. The researches of the world's foremost psychiatrists have taught us the danger signals, and the pitfalls, in mental development, and a psychiatric worker will feel her responsibility to disseminate this knowledge.

To do effective work in a community a psychiatric worker must have opportunities for securing the advice of a psychiatrist. Only with his diagnosis and advice can she safely plan her course of action. Very many of her patients will not be able to pay for services of a specialist. Very many could not be persuaded that their condition justified such an outlay. A free mental clinic is therefore an essential if the worker is to have the

scientific basis she requires in dealing with these difficult individuals. On the other hand, a mental clinic can not be very valuable without a social worker. Unprovided with a clear picture of the personal, social, and economic surroundings of a patient it is often difficult to make a diagnosis or to outline the treatment. It is likewise of little use to diagnose and prescribe, unless there is a prospect of the directions being carried out intelligently.

What then should we say are the functions of a community worker for mental cases?

To search out the individuals who show evidence of serious nervous and mental strain, and induce them to secure the advice of a specialist.

To regulate the activities and surroundings of those incipient cases whose threatened breakdown may be prevented by prompt compliance with the psychiatrist's instructions.

To break down the existing prejudice against hospital treatment for those whose condition demands it.

To assist those who must obtain hospital care, by carrying through the often involved legal proceedings necessary to obtain it.

To act as the friend of the insane who may be friendless, giving them the protective care ordinarily given by the family.

To supervise and re-establish in normal life patients discharged from mental hospitals.

To act as a medium for the education of the public in the prevention of mental disease and defect, and in the general rules of mental hygiene.

If we are to deal more effectively with this great problem of mental disease and defect, we must multiply those agencies which offer prompt aid in conditions of mental abnormality, and which promote prevention. We must see established many more centres for advice to the neurotic and psychopathic. We must place within their reach the necessary help of the psychiatrist and of his assistant, the psychiatric social worker.

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INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Mr. E. D. B. Lynde of Grand Rapids told of the efforts of a group of people in Grand Rapids to promote better care of the feeble-minded in Michigan. The State Board of Health was prevailed upon to call a meeting in Lansing of all interested. A bill was to be presented asking for two to four additional cottages at the state institution for feeble-minded, but after conferring with the secretary of the State Board of Charities and the superintendent of this institution, it was agreed to request eight cottages, each to accommodate seventy-five patients. Mr. Lynde told of various activities of the group in arranging meetings at which legislators were present, and of the hundred or more telegrams sent in just before the adjournment of the legislature, which probably effected the passage of this bill by that body. The bill as passed provides for six additional cottages for feeble-minded.

Miss Mary Vida Clark of New York stated that something between institutional care and complete self-determination in unregulated life in the community is necessary. That perhaps this is even more so with the feeble-minded than with the insane. Miss Clark outlined experiments that have been made recently in New York State in connection with an institution for the feeble-minded. A house was taken during the war in the vicinity of a factory and feeble-minded women living there worked in the factory, where they received wages. They were under the supervision of a matron in the house and an assistant matron, who acted as forewoman and directed their work in the factory. Miss Clark stated that a great many institution inmates are capable of productive labor, that certain kinds of factory work are particularly suited to the feeble-minded. She told also of a group of domestic colonies maintained by one of the institutions where women were sent out by the day to assist with housework in homes. This is a self-supporting proposition.

Miss V. M. Macdonald of New York City referred to a suggestion made in Miss Taft's paper that a nurses' training might prove a detriment in the education of a psychiatric social worker. Miss Macdonald thinks that by this must be meant the

training a nurse would receive in a fourth-rate school—a ward-maid type of nurse. She believes that the educational capacity of such a person would not be up to the requirements for a psychiatric social worker. A good school of nursing gives an intellectual training, as is proved by the fact that in several colleges three years of such training counts as two years towards a degree of B. S. Miss Macdonald knows of no previous experience likely to be acquired at that early age which would be so apt to provide the emotional maturity and self-control desirable in a social worker dealing with psychiatric patients. She does not consider a training in nursing to be a sufficient preparation for psychiatric social work, but does consider that the training in a good school of nursing should give the best foundation to which one should add the training in social work and psychiatry, and the experience with psychopathic patients demanded by this specialized work.

DISCIPLINARY PROBLEMS OF THE ARMY*

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It has been, for some time, a well recognized principle among public welfare workers that delinquency and crime have certain aspects which make a psychiatric or psychopathological inquiry in each case almost a necessity. This work, which has been so firmly founded by the pioneer work in this country of Doctor William Healy, Doctor Goddard, Doctor Glueck, Doctor Guy E. Fernald and others, has, nevertheless, not received the attention and the public assistance that are required to put it on a more permanent footing. In spite of the work that has been carried on in the Juvenile Courts of Chicago and Boston by Doctor Healy, by Doctor Guy Fernald at Massachusetts State Reformatory; the work of the Psychiatric Clinic at Sing Sing under Doctor Glueck; it is still regarded by many as somewhat of a luxury, though perhaps a desirable one, in penal institutions. It is very encouraging to know that this work belongs to a group of enterprises which in the ordinary times of peace have had a rough road, but which through the emergency of the war are gradually coming into their own.

The military establishment of the United States could not ordinarily be considered to be a likely place to find important work of this sort being carried on. The popular conception of military discipline is such as to preclude much expectation of finding welfare work and personal service regarded as of sufficient importance to require special or elaborate arrangements. Nevertheless, the military establishment has not only given consideration to this important field but has actually exceeded the rather modest requests of the workers.

I am fortunate in having some personal acquaintance with the disciplinary work of the army and in having this opportunity to bring before the Conference some of the results of the work of the neuro-psychiatric section of the Surgeon-General's Office in connection with the disciplinary cases. Under the far-sighted leadership of General Crowder, Judge Advocate General of the army, a constructive program of development of the disciplinary service beginning in 1909, has been put into effect. As a first step in this connection the name of the institution at Fort Leavenworth was changed from the Military Prison to the United States Disciplinary Barracks. This clearly indicates the policy adopted by General Crowder—that punishment and the infliction of suffering was to be replaced by training and education and attempts at rehabilitation either in the army or in the civil community.

The United States Disciplinary Barracks a Model Reformatory Before the War.

In ordinary times the United States Disciplinary Barracks at Fort Leavenworth had about 1,700 prisoners; the Atlantic branch on Governor's Island had about 250 with a capacity of about 500; the Pacific branch on Alcatraz

*This paper embodies the author's personal views and is not an official report.—Ed.

Island, San Francisco Harbor, contained about the same number as the Atlantic branch, with a capacity of 500. The Disciplinary Barracks at Fort Leavenworth are located on a large military reservation and have been developed into an industrial training school where some seventy-eight trades are taught. It is unnecessary to describe the Barracks at this time, as most of those present no doubt took the opportunity at last year's Conference at Kansas City to visit the Disciplinary Barracks. They will remember the very beautiful farm, the active shops, the large and airy cell buildings, and the barracks and exhibition drill of the disciplinary battalion. They will recall that the main building of modern fireproof construction was erected at a cost of a little over \$700,000, entirely by prison labor, with a saving of almost \$2,000,000 to the Government.

Since the meeting at Kansas City certain things have occurred at the Barracks which have been reported with more or less bias, for or against, in the newspapers, which have caused welfare workers throughout the country to doubt whether the efficiency of the Barracks was all that it appeared to be or that had been claimed for it. It might, therefore, be of interest to detail some of the causes for this in the light of work that has been carried on at the Barracks during the troubled times just past.

Effect of the War Conditions on the Disciplinary Barracks.

In the first place, it will cause no surprise among you when you are told one of the first effects of the war upon the Disciplinary Barracks at Fort Leavenworth was the withdrawal of nearly all the competent officers and guards. The trained guards were replaced by limited service men, mostly from neighboring cantonments, and, with the stopping of recruiting, it was impossible to secure help. It was with great difficulty that the commandant succeeded in retaining the services of a handful of trained, competent officers in view of the great need for them on more active military duty. So great was the need for trained officers that even the large addition of reserve officers, among whom could be found numerous individuals of great value to this work, could not be drawn upon. To make the situation still more difficult, the expected increase in the number of prisoners soon began to become evident. Instead of a normal population of 1,700, there were, in July, 1918, 2,400 prisoners; by December, 1918, this had increased to 3,600; by February, 1919, it almost touched the 4,000 mark. Even this, however, would not have produced insurmountable difficulties had the population been of the sort that the Barracks were designed for, but a situation was created which presented almost an insoluble problem when in the course of a few months a group of some 500 conscientious objectors of various sorts were concentrated at the Barracks as military prisoners.

The Problem of the Conscientious Objector.

It is not necessary here to go into the problem of the conscientious objector, or to take the time to discuss what might have been done excepting in so far that the experience may have taught us what to do and what not to do in such or similar situations in the future. And by this we need not understand that these lessons apply only to the eventuality of another war. The problems and the difficulties in the disciplinary service of the United States Army are problems and difficulties that are with the community at all times—in peace or in war, and the methods that work in the one will work in the other.

The conscientious objectors, as is well known now as a result of the publicity that they have had, and especially as set forth in the book by Major Kellogg, represent a heterogeneous group of men. They had only one thing in common, namely, their resistance to the selective service act

and their unwillingness to bear arms. The reasons, the underlying motives, the previous experiences and training, the advantages or difficulties of each individual's career that lay back of the stand they took, are almost as many as there are individuals in the group. With few exceptions, these men had committed no real delinquency but were only technically lawbreakers. It is natural that their attitude towards confinement in a correctional institution would be quite different from that of the ordinary man sentenced there who, however much he may extenuate his case, must have some realization of the reasonableness of his confinement. The second point of importance here was that in general this group was in education and intelligence equal to the average unit in the army or in the community and in numerous instances far superior. As a result there were among this group a number of very able leaders who by skillful agitation and by perseverance were able to co-ordinate the various motives and activities of not only their own group but of the prison population as a whole, with the result that soon the entire body of prisoners was in a sense organized for offensive and defensive purposes.

Co-operative Management.

You have probably all read the report of the culmination of these tendencies and activities in the strike of last winter, which was published in "The Survey" by Mr. Winthrop D. Lane, who was present during the entire affair. Owing to the very far sighted and fair attitude of the commandant, in which he had the support not only of the competent officers of the Barracks but also of the commanding officers of the post and of the infantry regiments stationed at Fort Leavenworth, this critical situation, fraught with all sorts of danger, not only to the institution but perhaps even to the democracy of the country as a whole, was converted into a distinct gain in prison management. Representative government was re-established after a discontinuance of some years at the Barracks, and under conditions which had the appearance of making it impossible under military law in time of war.

Crude as is this beginning at a co-operative management of penal and correctional institutions, it has been, on the whole, eminently successful and is still functioning with benefit to the prisoners and the institution alike, in spite of many recurring obstacles which are thrown in its way by hasty and injudicious acts on the part of uninformed officers without sufficient previous experience and training in this work.

Neuro-Psychiatry and the Prisoner.

The one thing which has contributed more than any other perhaps to the prevention of the more serious dangers and difficulties, and which offers most hope for the future, has been the work of the neuropsychiatric officers in connection with this institution. With all due allowance for mistakes and lack of skill, which are evident in the work of some of these officers, it can yet be maintained that had there been no department of psychiatry and neurology at the Disciplinary Barracks, and had the system originally devised by Colonel Rice and Lieutenant Colonel Edgar King and greatly developed as a result of the constructive leadership of Colonel Pearce Bailey and the neuropsychiatric section of the surgeon-general's office, not been so firmly established, the results might have been far otherwise than they turned out to be and might even have ended in real disaster.

At the United States Disciplinary Barracks the work of the neuropsychiatric department is not confined, as it has been in some of the civil institutions where it has been used, to the detection of gross mental abnormality. On the contrary, it has been co-ordinated with every activity in the Barracks. Each prisoner is regarded as an individual human being and a personality survey is essential before any program is outlined for the

prisoner. At every change that is made in his treatment, whether it is granting of privileges, transfer to other living conditions, employment, education, release, reinstatement in the army, the neuropsychiatric officers are first called upon to examine into the facts and to make recommendations based upon the tendencies and the requirements of the individual prisoner. Many mistakes have been made in this and, as a result, no doubt, justice has not always been meted out; but, taken as a whole, the work of these officers has justified itself in view of the fact that the Barracks have been able somehow to weather the storm of the war and all the nefarious influences and bad conditions suggested above.

A Mental Survey of the Prisoners.

In the course of last winter, a special survey of the institution was made as part of the training course given to psychiatric officers in disciplinary work, under the direction of the neuropsychiatric section of the surgeon-general's office. The results of this survey are of some interest in connection with the penal and correctional problem as a whole.

Before speaking of these results, it may be well to know that large as was the prison population it was very much smaller than was anticipated. At the outbreak of the war the commandant in reply to a request from Washington, made an estimate based on the figures for the Civil War, for the Spanish-American War, and for the operations on the Mexican Border, as a result of which he reported that an army of 3,000,000 men would require provision for about 50,000 prisoners at the Disciplinary Barracks. Instead of 50,000, the Disciplinary Barracks, including the two branches, received about 5,000 prisoners; in other words, 10 per cent of the estimated number based on previous experiences.

This can be explained only on two grounds: First, the enforcement of prohibition in the army in general and especially in cantonments and their neighborhood. Second, the elimination, through the work of the neuropsychiatric officers, of the low grade defectives, insane and psychopathic men at cantonments and recruiting stations. It was not very astonishing, therefore, to find when the survey was made that the distribution of intelligence among the prisoners examined, which included about 3,500 men, was practically that of the ordinary division of troops. There was an absence of the high proportion of the defectives and psychopaths found in nearly all of our civil prisons. Instead of the 30 or 40 per cent of feeble-minded and psychopaths found in the latter institutions between 10 and 12 per cent were found among the prison population at Fort Leavenworth.

It was found that there was a correlation between education and intelligence. The educational median of the entire group fell in the 7th grammar school grade. The men in the disciplinary battalion were, on the whole, rated higher both in intelligence and education than the general average. The religious and political conscientious objectors were the best educated of all the prisoners and had the highest intelligence rating. The men convicted of sex crimes and crimes of violence had less education than most of the other groups and were rated lower in intelligence. The men convicted of acquisitive crimes had more education than the average and a higher intelligence rating than any other group except the religious and political conscientious objectors. The conscientious objectors of the alien-enemy and non-citizen group were very low as to education and intelligence rating, a third had no schooling at all, half of them did not get beyond the third grade.

Classifications of Personalities.

An analysis of the personality reactions of the prisoners was made, dividing the prisoners according to their findings into three general groups:

1. Those who had been in difficulty as a result of the lack of intelligence or judgment, or of some other marked mental defect. 2. Those who showed no decisive defect, but whose difficulties either in the army or previously could be traced back to emotional instability either in the direction of violent temper or loss of control, or of discouragement and depression. 3. Those whose difficulties could be traced to a marked ego-centric characteristic or trait.

When classified in this way it was found that 66 per cent of the cases fell into the ego-centric group; 24 per cent into the inadequate group; and 6 per cent into the emotionally unstable group. The small number of the emotionally unstable group can be explained by the fact that as a rule delinquents of this sort arouse the sympathy of fellow-men and the experience of the Disciplinary Barracks corresponds to that in the civil institutions to the effect that these individuals are rarely sentenced to confinement but are released at some point in the chain of events previous to commitment.

The inadequate group includes the feeble-minded and low grade cases that had passed through the elimination of the neuro-psychiatric officers at camps or had been sentenced before the work of the neuro-psychiatrists had become established. With the elimination or reduction in numbers of the insane or feeble-minded cases, there remained the large group of ego-centric individuals who probably represent the principal part of what may be justly termed the penal problem. The ego-centric type of personality, which is rather intolerant and set on his own point of view, insistent on his rights, ready to be offended and injured and always uncompromising, may be associated with any other ability or disability that the human personality is capable of. The group includes not only every sort of delinquency recorded at the Barracks, but also a large proportion of the higher grade conscientious objectors.

There is no attempt made on the part of the neuro-psychiatric officer to pass on the social value of this type of personality. It must be obvious to everyone that the ego-centric trend in itself is not an undesirable feature; that in many instances it is nothing more than another name for what we ordinarily term ambition. Furthermore, none of these characteristics or traits which have been used in this classification appear in themselves as abnormal manifestations or as isolated traits. Probably everyone is defective, emotionally unstable and ego-centric in varying combinations. No attempt, therefore, was made to apply a twelve-inch rule of analysis to human personality in general. It is important to note that this classification was confined to an analysis of the difficulties that the individuals had experienced in their environment, including not only their military experience but, so far as was obtainable, their whole record; that no attempt was made to determine whether an individual was emotionally unstable, ego-centric or defective in general, but only to attempt, as far as possible, to explain the difficulties experienced by the individuals in the course of their life on the basis of one of these general characteristics, or reaction types. As a result, one might set up a perfect scale in each classification of cases, with extreme manifestations at the lower end graduating into cases at the upper end which are hardly distinguishable from successful and eminently satisfactory individuals.

Each individual human being has his threshold value; his breaking point at which the balance between himself and his social environment may be upset. When it is upset, however, the inherent personality will manifest itself and the reaction will be more or less consistent with his makeup. It is not for us to say in every case whether the individual was justified in his reaction or not. In many cases time alone will tell whether the ego-centric trait, for instance, which manifested itself in an uncompromising adherence to the course of conduct once determined upon, was desirable or not. Many a feeble-minded person; many an eccentric, psychopathic individual, or even an insane person has contributed to the world's welfare; nor

does the element of personal sacrifice or suffering form any decisive guide in this respect.

We cannot undertake to deal with this phase of the problem. For those of us who are approaching this subject from the point of view of the psychopathologist it is sufficient to give an explanation and not to attempt an evaluation. With the advantages that the army has had in the elimination of the unfit physically and mentally, such as is never possible in civil practice, it must be apparent that one of the principal problems of the correctional and penal field, if not of sociology, as a whole, is the problem of what we have here termed the ego-centric personality which so frequently manifests itself as the insubordinate personality.

It is not necessary in the face of these statements, however, to be fatalistic or pessimistic about this subject, for, even though we may not at present be able to influence, to any great extent, the underlying personality and mental makeup of those who are placed under our care as a result of social difficulties, a great deal can be accomplished in producing an adjustment between the individual, whatever his peculiarities and however fixed these peculiarities may be, and his social environment. Even under the difficult conditions at the Disciplinary Barracks, it was easy to demonstrate that by a wise analysis of the difficulties, both on the personality side and on the environmental side, and by a recognition of the intellectual abilities and disabilities of each individual, such an adjustment could be effected and that it was perfectly possible to maintain order and secure co-operation on the part of the prisoners no matter which group of personality or which classification of delinquency or behavior they belonged to.

That seems to me to be the contribution of the disciplinary service of the army to all welfare work, which may be summed up in this statement that the solution of the behavior problems of the individual depends upon as accurate as possible a knowledge both of the individual and of his environment; that his knowledge can be obtained by the mental studies of the neuropsychiatric officer and the social investigations of the social worker, and that the findings may be combined into a constructive therapeutic program which will ultimately, and often rapidly, reinstate the individual in the community as a safe and self-supporting individual. While this program is more difficult in the case of the low grade defective, even there it is more hopeful than is generally believed and is economically advantageous in all but perhaps the most extreme cases of feeble-mindedness and insanity.

DISCIPLINARY PROBLEMS—METHODS OF PROCEDURE IN THE NAVY.

Lieutenant-Commander A. L. Jacoby, Medical Corps, United States Naval Reserve Force.

The problem of discipline in any military service is always one worthy of the deepest thought and consideration, and one which is far from being solved to the satisfaction of all its students. Some authorities approach the matter with only one object in view, the production of the maximum deterrent effect upon the mass; while others think upon the problem in terms of effect upon the individual in order to prevent a repetition of the same offense in that individual. There are officers in the navy who favor the maximum amount of punishment for every offense with the idea in mind of preventing the offense in others, and without consideration for the individual at court.

They believe that, generally speaking, the heavier the sentence, the less the likelihood of that offense being committed by other men. This policy is probably the easiest of application, because it requires no large amount of

deliberation as to sentence, if the accused is found guilty, as he is given the maximum sentence allowed by law.

Other officers believe that each case is worthy of study from all angles before a sentence is imposed, in order that justice to the individual may be done. This policy is one usually well tempered with mercy, and each case requires more time and effort than if the first policy is followed. For the most part, the officers who believe in the second policy are actuated largely by humanitarian motives and they believe that the military does not suffer from the mixture of the humanitarian.

In the navy during the pre-war period, the problem of discipline was of relatively small magnitude, because of the relatively small size of the navy. But when the United States entered the war, the navy jumped in numbers of men ten-fold, almost over night. With this great increase in the enlisted personnel there was to be expected a like increase in the navy's prison population. On April 1, 1917, there were 268 general court-martial prisoners under sentence at Portsmouth. This number increased, by leaps and bounds, until August, 1918, when the high water mark of 2517 was reached. The monthly admissions were highest in February, 1918, when 376 new men were admitted to the naval prison. The prison was built to accommodate between 300 and 350 men, so that temporary buildings had to be constructed to care for the rapidly increased admissions, but it was months before these new buildings could take adequate care of the housing situation. A policy of restoration to duty of large numbers of men serving sentences for the so-called military offenses, after a portion of their time had been served, was instituted, with the result that much relief was obtained by that means.

Types of Men and of Offenses

Some idea of the types of men who constitute the population of the naval prison may be conveyed by saying that, of 1895 admissions, 45 per cent are not over 21 years old, 76 per cent are not over 25, and 92 per cent are not over 30 years of age. Sixty per cent of them said they had reached the eighth grade in school; 5 per cent of them had completed high school. From an occupational standpoint, at least 75 per cent of them belong to the class of unskilled labor. About 25 per cent of these 1895 admissions acknowledge a court record prior to enlistment. Of the cases studied more intensively, we have found about 50 per cent to have resided at some previous time in a penal or insane institution.

A word should be said about the character of offenses for which men are committed to the naval prison. The list ranges from murder to drunkenness, and the sentences vary in length from life to three months. The majority of admissions are for desertion, absence over leave, and absence without leave. It is very difficult to say accurately just what percentage of the men are serving sentences for purely military offenses, but it is probable that about two-thirds of the offenses are of a military rather than moral character. However, the offense is of very little value, except in a very small proportion of the cases, in determining the diagnosis or prognosis in any given case, so far as social usefulness is concerned. In fact, the offense is often a very misleading bit of information upon which to judge a given case. I have in mind one man who came to the naval prison guilty of absence over leave a few days, who had only a day prior to his enlistment been discharged from a state prison where he served a sentence for rape.

Psychiatry in the Naval Prison

Organized psychiatric examinations of general court-martial prisoners was begun about November 1, 1917. Before that time interest in the psychiatric problems of general court-martial prisoners of the navy was only

scattered, and little organized effort was made to study the problem. In 1914, Passed Assistant Surgeon G. E. Thomas, U. S. Navy, at that time medical officer of the prison, undertook psychologic examinations of the men as they were admitted to the prison, together with the physical examination upon admission, but I am told that he was able to accomplish little in the way of altering the course of any given case of mental abnormality, so far as his sentence was concerned.

When I was detailed to psychiatric work in the naval prison, the lack of trained help, and the lack of a place to work, because of the tremendous overcrowding, were very serious difficulties. It was not deemed advisable, then, to undertake a more or less superficial survey of the whole mass of prisoners, because there appeared to be so many cases which had already attracted the attention of the prison authorities to their mental condition. An untrained yeoman was assigned to help me, and we started by making complete examinations of cases referred by the officials of the prison. A full history of each patient was taken and, where possible, statements as to previous residence in penal or insane institutions were corroborated by correspondence. Each patient was examined psychiatrically and neurologically, and in some cases a period of observation was used in the naval hospital before arriving at our conclusions.

We began to find that about two-thirds of those examined showed evidence of disorder or defect at the central nervous system level. Then the problem of what to do with these cases arose, and, in February, 1918, a series of recommendations were made to the Navy Department, chief amongst which was the request for the construction of a psychopathic ward in connection with the naval hospital for the observation and study of cases. This request was approved, with the result that now there is a psychopathic pavilion of two buildings, completely equipped for the accommodation of 50 patients as a separate ward of the naval hospital. This ward may serve the enlisted men who are not prisoners, as well as the general court-martial prisoners. There are now assigned to the work two medical officers, three yeomen who have become fairly proficient in the taking of histories and giving the intelligence measure, two state hospital trained nurses, and eight hospital corpsmen, who are especially trained in handling psychopathic patients.

Since August, 1917, the naval prison has been under the command of Lieutenant-Commander Thomas Mott Osborne, who introduced the Mutual Welfare League there for the self-government of the prisoners. Hence the conditions of living for the prisoners have been less exacting than under a strictly military regime, and there is less need for repression amongst the prisoners than in a strictly military environment. Easy expressions of individual characteristics, both good and bad, are available. This factor, I believe, makes the psychiatric study not only less difficult, but permits of reaching more accurate conclusions than is possible under what we commonly think of as the prison environment. Whenever a case is studied, a report of the diagnosis and recommendations, if any, is made to the commanding officer. These reports are intended for his guidance in dealing with that particular case. A report is also made in the man's health record, which is his medical department record in the service, and follows him from his enlistment until his discharge from the navy.

Now, a short interview is held with every man when he is admitted to the prison, and again when he is discharged from the prison. Upon admission, data are obtained concerning his age, civil condition, offense, length of time in the navy, arrests, diseases, habits, education, occupations, any complaints he has to offer, and he is graded, arbitrarily, on a scale of four, as to his fitness for the navy. Upon release from the prison a note is made as to his conduct record while in the prison, his statement as to the benefit

he has received in the prison, any complaints he has to offer and his intentions as to his future. These data are meager and only serve as a starting point from which cases are selected for complete examination.

During the period of nearly two years that this work has been carried on, we have made complete examinations of about 800 prisoners, and we have interviewed about 2000. We have discharged from the service by recommendation of a board of medical survey for nervous or mental disorders 108 general court-martial prisoners, and have transferred by the same means to St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, D. C., 26 cases. There is, quite naturally, some reluctance on the part of the naval authorities in discharging certain prisoners before the expiration of their sentences, because of mental abnormality, and there is always longer delay in obtaining authority for the discharge of a prisoner for medical reasons, than is the case of enlisted men who are not prisoners. However, an order from the Secretary of the Navy in June, 1918, directs that all prisoners, not physically or mentally fit for the service, be brought before a board of medical survey for recommendation.

Preventive Measures

There has been a lack of uniformity in the psychiatric work at the various naval training stations, but I believe that at most of the stations the psychiatrist has eliminated from the service many offenders who otherwise would have gone on to the prison through the regular channels. Unfortunately, not all have been diverted away from the prison who might better have gone elsewhere. Aboard ship, where trained help is not available, it is usual for an offender to be disposed of by a sentence rather than through medical channels.

In the navy when a man is convicted by a general court-martial, he is "read off," as the bluejacket says. That means that his finding and sentence are read aloud, in his presence, before the whole of the ship's company. This, undoubtedly, has a very definite deterrent effect, but just how much, no one, I believe, is able to say. It is not the successful preventative that we might wish. During the war, especially the first months of the war, the sentences administered were longer, for the same offenses, than had been given in peace time, and general courts-martial were given for offenses previously punished in other ways. So far as we were able to observe, in the prison, the increased sentences added very little to the deterrent effect, if any at all, and certainly not in proportion to the increase the length of sentences.

Conclusions

The psychiatric approach paves the way, I believe, to a less expensive method of handling the problem of military delinquency. If the navy is regarded as a large organization, with a definite function to accomplish, then it behooves us to conserve the usefulness of the members of the organization so far as possible, for the benefit of the navy, and eliminate those who are a constant expense. From the cases we have studied we find that about 50 per cent of them are men, in whom it was easily demonstrable that they are either nervously or mentally not fit for the navy, and as two-thirds of our cases are men who find themselves in the naval prison less than one year from the date of their enlistment, it is reasonable to suppose that these men were also unfit when they enlisted. Therefore, the best single point of attack to the navy's prison problem is at the recruiting office, and it falls upon the shoulders of the medical officer.

Unfortunately, our state of knowledge is not so perfect that we can eliminate delinquents at the recruiting station by means of a yardstick or other instrument of precision, but the taking of a short social and medical history at the recruiting station will eliminate most of the undesirable types.

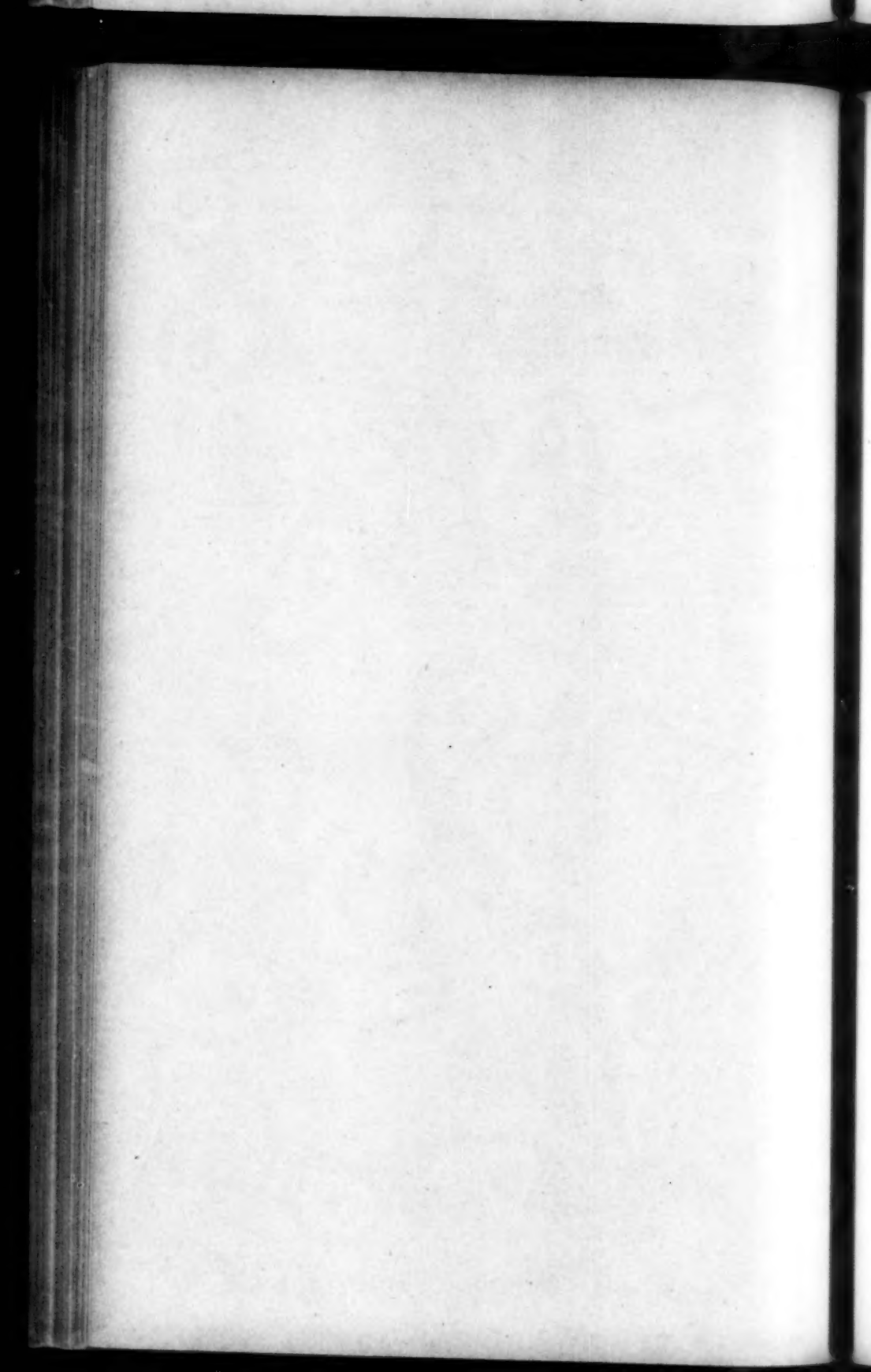
I hope to see more responsibility put upon the recruiting medical officer in this regard. This may be done by keeping him informed as to the disposition of his recruits, and by rating the efficiency of a recruiting officer by the number of useful men he enlists, rather than by simply the number of men of all sorts.

It is gratifying to see the active interest displayed by the medical corps in the possibilities of prevention of military delinquency, and I am sure that the results of this interest, which we are beginning to see, will serve to deepen it.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

The address by Dr. V. V. Anderson in this division on "Methods of State Procedure" is summarized as a part of his paper appearing on page 258.

In the informal discussion which ensued, the following points, among others, were: That it would be well to check up on delinquents a third time, that is, after they have been placed on parole, since action on parole is often far different from careers in the institution; that naval prisons established at Fort Royal and at Deer Island before the war had been used during the war for detention of offenders rather than as prisons, Fort Royal now being used more as a navy prison for disciplinary purposes; that Dr. Adler's address should be given wide circulation since it stated that the conscientious objectors examined at Fort Leavenworth were not subnormal people. The following persons participated in these discussions: Edith N. Burleigh, Boston; Amos W. Butler, Indianapolis; Dr. Rachelle Yarros, Chicago; Mrs. V. S. Nedurian, Philadelphia.



IX.
**ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL
FORCES**

DIVISION COMMITTEE—1918-19

Chairman, William J. Norton, Detroit Patriotic Fund.

Vice-Chairman, Wilfred S. Reynolds, Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, Chicago.

C. M. Bookman.....	Cincinnati	Sherman C. Kingsley.....	Cleveland
Allen T. Burns.....	New York	Bessie A. McClenahan.....	St. Louis
Beulah C. Bussell.....	Spokane	Benjamin P. Merrick.....	Grand Rapids
Otto W. Davis.....	Minneapolis	Robert E. Park.....	Chicago
Roscoe C. Edlund.....	Baltimore	Elwood Street.....	Louisville
L. A. Halbert.....	New York	William C. White.....	Milwaukee
Guy T. Justis.....	Denver		

DIVISION COMMITTEE—1919-20

(Members of this Division Committee serve for one year only.)

Chairman, William J. Norton, Detroit Patriotic Fund.

Vice-Chairman, C. M. Bookman, Central Council of Social Agencies, Cincinnati.

Secretary, Robert L. Frost, Centralized Budget of Philanthropies, Milwaukee.

Miss A. F. Brown.....	Oakland	Sherman C. Kingsley.....	Cleveland
Sherman Conrad.....	Pittsburgh	Bessie A. McClenahan.....	St. Louis
Otto W. Davis.....	Minneapolis	E. L. Morgan.....	Washington
Karl de Schweinitz.....	Philadelphia	Ralph J. Reed.....	Des Moines
H. L. Eddy.....	Des Moines	Wilfred S. Reynolds.....	Chicago
Rev. Francis A. Gressle.....	Cincinnati	Elmer Scott.....	Dallas
C. M. Hubbard.....	St. Louis	Charles C. Stillman.....	Grand Rapids
Fred R. Johnson.....	Detroit	Elwood Street.....	Louisville
Guy T. Justis.....	Denver	Amy Woods.....	Boston
Ernest H. Kavanaugh.....	Boston		

PROGRAM

At the meeting of the National Conference at Atlantic City June 1-8, 1919, 300 delegates registered as members of this Division. The Division Committee, as elected at the 1918 conference at Kansas City, is shown on the opposite page. Seven meetings for discussion were held, as follows:

	PAGE
June 8, 2:15 P. M. Reconstruction and Social Mobilizations of the War	659
June 2, 10:00 A. M. The New Community Organization.....	665
June 2, 3:00 P. M. The Place of Philanthropic Foundations in a Democracy	670
June 3, 10:00 A. M. Marketing Social Service to a Community....	679
June 4, 10:00 A. M. Organizing the Social Forces of the State and County	690
June 5, 10:00 A. M. Converting the War Chest to Peace Needs...	697
June 6, 3:00 P. M. Federations of Social Agencies.....	710

SOCIAL MOBILIZATIONS OF THE WAR

Lee F. Hanmer, Commission on Training Camp Activities, New York

In April, 1917, the burning question, if not the most burning question, that pervaded our entire country was: With what spirit will our American boys go forth to war; how will this peace-loving, non-military population measure up in the great test with the old military, warlike spirit of central Europe with which it needed to contend? We sent envoys to our allies for plans and patterns so that we might mobilize our military industries and social forces for the great task ahead. The boys came pouring into the camps from the farms and villages and the great cities. The question at once arose, How can they, taken from all walks of life, be whipped quickly and effectively into a great fighting army? The wheels of industry turned out war materials, and soon we were organized as a training camp nation for our initial entry into war. Already it was whispered among the allies that probably America would not fight very well, but America would furnish money and materials. Her chief participation in the war would be the material one. Germany thought so too. The world, and indeed ourselves, little realized the wonderful miracle to be wrought in our training camps.

It is a matter of history that the spirit of America reached Europe ahead of its men, that its men arrived in advance of their supplies, and that they distinguished themselves for their character, their courage and their idealism, quite to the contrary of all expectation and prophecies. How was this miracle wrought? The spirit of our troops, developed to a large extent by the mobilization of our social resources, has made a record of which America may well be proud. It is that side of the war that I want to discuss with you, and to point to some of the factors that entered into the making of the American army; that which all the world thought it would not be, an idealistic army that went across seas to take part in the struggle so far away that it did seem really to assume many of the aspects of the crusades.

Home Service

Food conservation was one of the first aspects of the mobilization, and the American spirit, the social spirit, took up the great undertaking.

A splendid response came, not to orders from the government but to the suggestion that we conserve food in order that our boys might be supplied and our allies might have the means wherewith to carry on the war. The details of that conservation of food supplies, how it got into every home and pervaded the family life, is in itself a subject for long discussion. Two little tads in my own home limited themselves religiously to three teaspoonfuls of sugar a day, and the zeal with which they addressed themselves to their part in playing the war game was really splendid to see. And that is typical of what was done in many homes, the spirit that prompted all that was back of our army and was what made it the army that it was on the other side. It kept America in the hearts of men. The impulse to do something for the boys was made manifest by local chapters of the Red Cross and similar organizations,—to do something for the boys, to add some comforts to their life in camp. The sweater and the knitted helmet may not have been necessary as far as physical wellbeing was concerned, and many said it was foolish to make them, but we know it was necessary. Down in the hearts of the men those tokens from the mothers and sisters and wives kept America in their hearts and put the spirit of America into the army. It is not the physical things always that are necessary. Those little tokens coming from home typified the physical presence of those back there thinking and working for them. Then, the letters that came through. We are sorry the service was not better, for the letters meant so

much to the boys, and no one who has not been in the camps can realize what the home letters meant. The boys kept them and reread them. It was a part of our social service and it really counted.

A man told me of an incident on the other side where he assisted in the burial of three heroes. The three were of a group sent out to take a machine gun nest. When they had accomplished their part in locating the guns, and the others went on and finished the job, they remained as mute evidence of that spirit that drove them forward. On one of them was found a letter, much fingered, evidently much read, which it was thought would furnish the clue to his identification, the identification tag having been shot away. But it did not help. There was no address. It was addressed to "Will" and signed "Helen." At the end of the letter were these words: "I am almost sorry you told me you have been sent to the front lines, but you know down in your heart I would not have you elsewhere. Keep America in your heart and remember we are thinking of you and praying for you every waking hour." That is what carried the boys through and made them the invincible army they were. They folded the letter reverently and, placing it in the inner pocket of his army shirt buried the boy with America next his heart.

Establishment of Army and Navy C. T. C. A.s

This is what in essence the mobilization of our social resources meant to the American army. Secretaries Baker and Daniels early in the war recognized the necessity of organizing those forces so far as they might and straightway appointed the Commissions on Training Camp Activities. The spirit back of that appointment is embodied in the brief statement of the purpose of the organization of these agencies. It is to supply the normalities of life to those in the training camps and to handle the problems of liquor and vice that have always flourished in the time of war. Secretary Baker gave a pretty clear statement of the feeling of responsibility the administration had for the men in service, when he said that this was different from other wars. The men were not going as volunteers but were drafted; taken from their homes to do this service for humanity, and there was a responsibility upon the government to return them to their homes with no scars other than those acquired in honorable warfare. That was the purpose of the affiliated organizations such as the Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, the Jewish Welfare Board, the War Camp Community Service, and others that assisted in systematizing the work and making it effective both here and overseas. Ninety per cent of the work was constructive, filling the time of the men with wholesome, interesting entertainment, recreation, athletics, reading, and all things that served to crowd out the other things that were not desirable. Ten per cent of the work was restrictive, such as law enforcement. The Law Enforcement Division was organized not to enforce laws but to devise ways to stimulate local agencies to enforce their own laws. That took a rather drastic form at times, but in the main the work was to get community groups interested in seeing to it that the local regulations in the vicinity of camps were put into operation and enforced. In addition to the Law Enforcement Division, the Commission had a Social Hygiene Department. The section on girls and women did constructive work. They found ways of keeping the girls and women in the vicinity of the camps busy about things they enjoyed doing,—in clubs and hostess houses,—work that meant the comfort and welfare of the men, and they responded as enthusiastically for their part of the service as the men did for theirs.

Agencies Affiliated with C. T. C. A.

The War Camp Community Service organized in the cities in the vicinity of camps to corral the social forces and make them play together. The various organizations did as a whole a wonderful piece of work. You can realize the difficulties that confronted the undertaking. It was necessary to take local groups, with their personal, individual interests and petty rivalries, and get them together. Joseph Lee, the head of the organization, sized up the situation when he said that these men are abruptly taken from their natural home environment and placed in an artificial environment. All home ties are cut off suddenly and they are set over here in a new and strange situation. We must pick up the threads of that broken rope and put them together by having the homes of the community take the place of the homes the boys have come from. You opened your homes, gave the boys new friendships, gave them entertainments, and that was the holding power that helped them over the most difficult time. You can realize what the influence on a boy is of knowing that there are people in this town who know him. He has been in the homes, and when he goes down town he will conduct himself differently than as though he were an entire stranger and unknown. The holding power of a friend was a large factor in helping to make the training camps what they were.

The Y. M. C. A. was already organized to do this kind of work. It had served in the Spanish War, on the Mexican border, and knew the needs of the soldier in camp. It had facilities that helped to fill in the leisure time of the men and supplementing this was the work in the communities that gave the boys opportunity to get away from the military camp. The Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, and the Jewish Welfare Board, operated within the camps, supplementing the work of the War Camp Community Service in the towns and cities in the vicinity of the camps. There was the Salvation Army, which earned a great place in the hearts of the boys. It was not only the coffee and doughnuts they gave, but it was the personal service that the men and women with the Salvation Army badge rendered to the men, sewing on buttons, mending uniforms, and taking a real interest in each boy's problem.

The American Library Association mobilized its forces early in the war and provided libraries and an almost unlimited supply of reading matter for the camps. This was a real service. In books those who loved quiet could get away from the exactions of the camp life, and in the technical books many a boy found the means of advancement in the military field. We have probably not appreciated the service of the Y. W. C. A. rendered in the hostess houses. These houses served as places where friends might meet the boys, and where the boys might repair to talk with women, to enjoy a good book or a bit of entertainment, to get the atmosphere of the home which was in sharp contrast to the army barracks of the camp. This service they carried overseas, the women serving over there in the huts close up to the front lines. The "honest injun" American girl meant a lot to the boys. The nurses, we cannot say enough about them. They were trained to be a part of the army. As the army learned to sing, so the nurses learned to sing. They learned the war songs and became a part of the organization in every sense of the word.

Camp Athletics and Dramatics

The Commission on Training Camp Activities, in addition to the law enforcement and social hygiene departments, had also an athletic department, theater department, music department and dramatic department. The athletic work was of a new sort. When we went into war we knew only the old physical training, calisthenic exercises. This was

done away with, and new and interesting games were selected to do what calisthenic exercises had done and more. Boxing was introduced as the basis for bayonet fighting, and the fighting games were used that call for much physical contact, in which if a fellow gets a bump he cannot stop and rub his elbow, but must go right on and get some more. In actual operation, the fellow who stops to rub his elbow never gets there. The questionable foot ball tactics that had been legislated out of schools and universities were brought back in the camps. The jiu jitsu was promoted and many a German might testify to its effectiveness in a trench encounter. The men were equipped to take care of themselves physically.

The theater division built theaters and called upon the theatrical profession to give entertainments. There was no war appropriation for this work, and it was necessary to charge admission to the Liberty Theaters and thus cover expenses. It was a hard struggle. At one time the division was in deep debt, but later when the machinery got to running and some of the overhead expenses were cut out, the theaters came back, and are closing up with an even accounting. The dramatics organized were a large factor in giving means of self-entertainment on the other side.

Camp Singing

Then, there was the music division. The men selected for camp song leaders were an unusual type of men. It was necessary to have men with a voice, with personality, and with power to organize. That combination does not always go with the professional musical temperament. However we were able to find a goodly number of men and have actually had about a hundred who have made a real success of camp work. The job was to put singing on a military basis and make it a part of the regular training camp, not merely to entertain, but to put punch, and spirit, and enthusiasm, and determination into the men for the work that was to be done on the other side. No one dictated what they would sing, no one dared. Our commission has been criticised more or less for allowing some of the popular songs, but the men selected their own songs, and in main they selected wisely. The stately old hymns at once came out as the popular songs for the more serious moments. The national anthems for ceremonial occasions, the old favorites for sentiment and the home atmosphere, and the jazz—much jazz—on all sides characterizing what was known as the "Kaiser Karols." They had a great run; then the tide was turning, and strange enough November 11 saw the burial day of the "Kaiser Karols." The change was quick and the old sentimental songs returned, just showing the change of temperament and feeling in the men as soon as the changed situation came.

In the early training days at Camp Upton there was a bunch of slackers—1,700 of them, sulky and ill-tempered. The song leader asked to have a chance at them; so they were brought into the theater, and he was told to take his chance. They were in civilian clothes, and were a sullen, mean lot. He sang for them a few of the old favorites, and they gave mild attention. Pretty soon some of them began to hum. He was quick to seize the opportunity, and he cried out, "Come on in if you want to," and soon they were singing with him. He led on and on until they were actually singing "Over There" with him. They did really sing it, and when they went out of the building they were singing the Battle Hymn of the Republic. Dudley said it made a big lump in his throat to see those slackers march back to their barracks singing, "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord." They were a different body of men. The power of song has more than once brought men together and made of them a group out of which an army could be built. At Camp

Meade there was a bunch of Negro recruits assembled in an outdoor amphitheater, still in civilian clothes, a rough and disorderly lot. Max Weinstein took the group in hand and in fifteen minutes had them laughing or crying at his will. He used their own spirituals, the old favorites, and the camp songs. For an hour he had them in hand, and the old colonel standing by said, "That boy is doing more for morale in this hour than I can do in a month." He had made a gang of them, and now the colonel could make an army of them.

Then there was the work with the non-English speaking groups. That was a hard problem. Thousands of men could not speak English, did not know the words of command, and had to be taught English. Singing helped there, too. The song leader would sing through one of the old songs, usually an old favorite; then would illustrate what the different words meant through pictures, and some, knowing a few words, would interpret to the others, and in a short time all would be singing. For instance, when teaching "Keep the Home Fires Burning," a song leader referred to the author, Mrs. Ford, who had lost her life in an air raid in London. He fired that group. A new light came into their eyes and a determination to go over and do something to the fellow who would perpetrate such an outrage. At one time there was a shipload of nurses just about to sail from New York. A transport was being loaded with men, and the nurses sang "When You Come Back, and You Will Come Back," and the men responded, "It's a Long Way to Berlin, But We Will Get There." For an hour before the ship sailed there was the singing back and forth. The troop ship slipped out first and as she went down the channel back over the water came, "When the Great Red Dawn is Shining, Back to Home, Back to Love and You." That was the spirit that made of them the fighters they proved to be. This is what the organization of social forces at home did. It kept America in the hearts of the men and made them an army that is the admiration of the world.

C. T. C. A. Now Incorporated in Regular Military and Naval Establishments

This work done in an experimental way in the camps has made for itself a place in the regular army and navy. Already in the Navy Department the Sixth Division of the Bureau of Navigation has been organized to put this into the regular work of the navy. The same thing will probably happen in a few weeks in the army. A large army reorganization plan is under way and this work will be made to fit in. In a conference just a few days ago of general staff and war college officers, a sub-committee made a report on the operation of these activities, and one paragraph recited what the agencies had done, and recommended that they should have a place in the military establishment. One general said, "Why, gentlemen, that is not necessary. We assume that this shall be done. The question is where and how to put it in."

The four million men returning who have had a taste of the product of this social mobilization are not going to be quite satisfied with the old order of things. There will be what we might call a wholesome discontent with the old things, and a striving for something of the new that they have experienced in the army. The opportunity is ours to capitalize that discontent, that striving, and to conserve the social interest and the enthusiasm of those four million men.

A WAR PROGRAM FOR PEACE*

Owen R. Lovejoy, President-Elect of the National Conference of Social Work

My interpretation of the papers and discussions presented at this conference is that we are attempting to indicate how the unsuspected strength and resourcefulness of our country, revealed by the war, can be made practically available in the solution of the greater problems that now face us. We have made the discovery that America not only has unmeasured resources, but that we have a government. We have found that we can articulate our will. It now becomes our duty to turn this tremendous machinery upon the intricate problems that have been discussed at this conference.

The war has taught us the value of certain policies, among them co-operation and the practical utility of sacrifice. We must now ask ourselves the question: Shall this giant fall down before the task of utilizing the power of united effort and of unselfish sacrifice in order to make this a country of opportunity for all its people? The union of races, creeds and nationalities standing shoulder to shoulder on the battlefield in the defense of a common ideal has been a manifestation of the ability of humanity to get together, which no one ten years ago could have believed possible. The facing of hardship and privation in camp and trench, the living up to a democracy of inconvenience, was a practical application of the theory that there is nothing too good for the army. Our task now is to show that there is nothing too good for the homes, the villages, the institutions, the laws, the liberties and the country in whose defense the army made this sacrifice.

I shall undertake to suggest but two examples of the lessons we have learned in the last three years that are even more vital to peace. First, health. We must frankly confess that never before have the American people taken the matter of health seriously. We have looked upon it as incidental and optional and its safeguarding has been considered a professional game. The rejection of twenty-nine per cent of our young men by the draft exemption boards because of physical defects, gave us a rude awakening. We suddenly discovered that health is not a personal matter but a social obligation; that so long as the public is satisfied to sit in the grandstand and watch the game played by the professionals, the doctors, nurses, druggists and undertakers, we shall continue to pay the frightful toll of disease and premature death revealed in these discussions.

The other example is education. More than five million illiterates in our American household is a humiliating confession—a confession that we have never yet taken education seriously. We have been satisfied with a curriculum at once padded and impoverished; schoolhouses unfit for our children and school teachers' salaries so meagre as to be a disgrace to the profession. The whole program of education must be faced with breadth and statesmanship. As social workers we have assumed a responsibility which cannot be shirked. The public has placed in our hands a sacred trust. We number in this conference skilled investigators and expert research workers. We are not blind to the fact that a spirit of unrest is abroad, nor to the further fact that this grows largely out of industrial conditions. If these conditions become strained in the readjustment to a national peace basis, what can our answer be to those who have commissioned us to these tasks? Capital may well say in the hour of trouble: Why haven't you told us the truth? We have furnished you the money and the facilities for a thorough inquiry. Why have you dealt in pallatives instead of searching for fundamentals? We honestly wanted the facts. Labor may say: Why have you refrained from probing to the bottom of our causes of discontent?

*An abstract.

If we have been wrong why have you not bravely told us? The present hour calls for calmness, courage and a generous spirit, the willingness to learn, and that quality President Wilson has so frequently emphasized in his discussion of international affairs when he pictures the era of universal peace that is to come by "the constant co-operation of friends."

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Wm. J. Norton, Secretary, Detroit Patriotic Fund

As the pomp and glory of battle fade and the fervor of a people consecrated to a noble end subsides, our social forces find themselves confronted with greater responsibilities than any they have yet assumed. Sombre by the struggle and the sombreness of war, and disturbed by the red torch of revolution flaring across the world, the whole nation realizes today that social problems are serious matters which must be met intelligently and vigorously. The best that is in American civilization turns an inquiring eye to find if their social workers are ready to offer the nation some guidance in her rough course over the reconstruction road.

Faced with such an opportunity it behooves social work to look to itself, to gird up its own loins, to examine its own armor, to find if it has a plan of battle, to see if its forces can be marshaled in an effective fighting array. This is doubly important because the task ahead is no easy one. In spite of the uneasy conscience of America's rulers, and in spite of their new knowledge that change, although perhaps not desirable from their point of view is at least inevitable, every advance towards a better ordered and more just society, will be bitterly opposed by powerful forces of social stagnation.

What has happened in the world is simply this. The tremendous pressure that men and women are under simply to live, due to the enormous destruction of the war, is bringing out in bold relief the imperfections of the prevailing social structure. Many men admit begrudgingly today what they would never admit and probably never knew before, that the economic organism needs readjustment. It must be made more democratic, more just in its distribution of luxuries and necessities, more safe for health and limb, more stable in its power to employ at all times and to distribute the costs of sickness, accidents, and inefficiency. Thousands who never saw or cared before know now as national needs, that our society must be purged of the feeble-minded, that epidemics must be curbed and eliminated, that better standards of every day health must be attained and sustained, that play must be made wholesome and extensive, that education must adjust itself to a modern world, that our millions of immigrants must be truly assimilated, that the remaining misfits in society must be cared for adequately and humanely.

The nation is worried. The straining pressure of life gives its vision. Social reform will go far in the coming years. And we, the social workers of America, might play the part of greatness in guiding our beloved country in a series of sane progressions if we were ready now.

But we are not ready.

The world today is an organized world. Business is organized for production. Transportation is organized to distribute the product. Credit is organized to lubricate the organizations of production and distribution. Capital is organized to protect its interests. Labor is organized to get larger rewards. Politics is organized to guard one or another of the great self-centered interests. Education is organized to pass on the old traditions. Everywhere one turns he finds giant organizations—everywhere but in the fields devoted to an impartial advancement of all the people.

I am disclosing no secret and uttering no heresy when I say to you that except in a few communities, the social work armies all over this great land, are organized in guerrilla bands only. In the main they closely resemble noisy rabble led by a few ennobled Pancho Villas, conducting badly organized and poorly executed raids against the solid phalanxes of poverty, inefficiency, ignorance, disease, crime, and injustice. If this disorganization is to continue the social worker's answer to the nation's cry is already written. "We cannot serve you in the big affairs of the day. All that we can do is to continue coaxing, coddling, and punishing the poor, the unfortunate, and the erring children of your family."

But some of us here, especially those who gather in this division, believe that such an answer is not necessary. We have watched in our mid-western communities, these guerrilla bands organized into regiments, the regiments into brigades, the brigades into divisions, and the divisions into a community wide army accoutred and ready to be marshalled against society's social enemies.

It is this community organization movement that I desire to discuss today, not because alone it is a solvent of our weaknesses, for eventually it must be supplemented with coherent and cohesive state and national organization, but because it is the best expression just now of that type of harmonious, disciplined, group power, which must be injected into social work.

Originating in the west the community organization is spreading rapidly. It has in its head social intelligence. It has in its heart social power. It has in its whole being the strength to grapple successfully with the present problems of social reconstruction.

Yet, being new, it is feared. There are those who regard it as a blatant usurper. There are those who think of it as an autocrat in sackcloth garb. There are those who fear it will disturb their own tenure of little power. And there are those who fear that it will take the emotionalism that tickles their nerves out of the scheme of charity.

We must silence these natural fears, for community organization is not a monster designed to give over to the enemies of social progress the body of social work. Let us, therefore, consider it in its historic setting and in its relation to the present scheme of such organization as philanthropy has.

To understand this fully it is necessary for us to go back and to trace quickly the growth of social work in America, which began in a time when the nation was settled only in the east and when life even there was largely rural. Social knowledge and the means of acquiring and spreading social knowledge were not extensive; and the thing which we have named the social conscience, that dynamo driving our professional wheels and belts, was hardly yet awake. Altogether our forerunners in social work began in an era when American society had not been forced into cohesion, and in a land and time where the doctrine of unrestrained competitive individualism was in the heyday of its revelry.

In this misty era, which seems so remote to us now, the spiritual life of the people concerned itself with individual morality, the winning of a pleasant personal existence after death, salvation of the heathen, and personal service and charity. This ideal of personal service and charity was the closest approach to a social conscience. It was founded for the most part in religion, and its exercise was a duty to be performed either directly by the person himself, or through the church as his agent. It was represented in action by the charitable societies and institutions of the church, especially of the Catholic Church. Such agencies formed the nucleus of that large body of church societies, hospitals, homes, and other institutions which we see today representing many denominations and dotting all of the communities of America.

In addition to the church agencies there was another well defined group of institutions in our early society. These were exemplified by the poorhouse, a very early American institution for the care of various groups of dependents; the jail and a few prisons to house delinquents; a children's home here and there; an occasional school for the blind or the deaf; and a few similar institutions. They were supported for the most part from the public treasury. They formed the beginnings from which has grown the great body of present day state and municipal welfare service.

The relief giving societies of the church, large in number, were also supplemented by similar societies either independent in operation or attached to some fraternal organization.

It was mainly an attempt to reduce excessive competition among these, to eliminate imposture by relief seekers, and to introduce the fundamentals of what has since become known as case-work that lead Robert Hartley and his associates into their attack upon social problems as they saw them and in particular upon poverty; which later grew indirectly perhaps into great proportions as the charity organization or family welfare branch of social work. Contemporaneously with Hartley's efforts, or possibly a little preceding them, another set of people began efforts towards prison reform and the aid of prisoners starting another line of effort which led eventually into another great branch of social work, modern humanized penology that concerns itself not only with improved institutional treatment of delinquents, but also with probation work and other forms of individual outdoor treatment of the offender.

Between these early groups, laying the background of our now very extensive work was a common tie of a common humanity. But aside from this mutual ideal each went their ways separately, organizing their works apart from the others. They revolved about three different centers, the church, the state, and private societies.

As time went on bringing changing conditions, the expansion of industry and commerce with their attendant problems, and a gradual enlargement of medical, penological, sociological, and economic knowledge various other social problems began to batter at the consciousness of the people. So there came following one year after another a series of new attacks upon new emerging social difficulties. Institutions for the insane and the feeble-minded expanded the public institutional field laying the foundation again for a specialized group of those interested in the problems of mental hygiene.

Home finding societies for dependent children and agencies to fight neglect of the helpless little ones, began to supplement and did, in some instances, replace the orphanages and children's homes and the almshouses as a place for children. A large cohesive group of workers specializing in the care of children gradually emerged from this.

The development of medicine brought a whole chain of new agencies for new attacks upon new problems. Hospitals appeared; a visiting nurses group; a hospital social service; dispensaries; a fight against infant mortality; a crusade against tuberculosis; and the end is not yet in sight.

In the course of time the social settlement appeared out of which has grown various types of educational work, the great recreational movement, and the Americanization effort.

Societies for promoting economic readjustments developed, such as the fight on child labor, the safety movement, and struggle for social insurance.

Time does not permit mentioning all the different channels into which the vigorous leaven of the new social ideas has pushed the forces of social work. Enough has been cited to show how and why the expanding structure of this new and not yet very well defined social service was naturally organized in little groups around separate fields and around separate problems.

Several points in this development are worth stressing for a complete understanding of the situation which history has handed out for the community organizer to break his lance upon.

One is that we have several distinctive lines of approach to similar problems which have not been very sympathetic to one another. There is the church or religious approach which promptly subdivides itself into Catholic and Protestant with entirely different motives. There is the state or public approach which has again quite another motive from either of the church groups. There is the racial approach, represented best by the Jewish charities. And finally there is the segregated individual approach which is far more personal in character than any of the others except the racial.

Another point is that most of these segregated individual movements arose first in some single locality, spreading out later to other places spasmodically, and only as a few persons in each place caught the idea sometimes quite hazily. Only after a series of communities had established the same form of service did a national organization of that specialty arise. The net result is a lack of standard processes and an uneven quality.

Still another comment is that many types of service frequently demand more than one agency or institution of the same kind in a community. Settlements, clinics, orphanages, and hospitals are examples of institutions so limited in capacity or by geographical usefulness that several may exist in the same area of population.

And finally we have to recognize that the majority of social workers and board members are not social thinkers. They come at their work looking at a single problem, and not at the social structure, or more frequently yet, looking at a few poor, or sick, or helpless individuals, and not at the community structure. Add to this the extreme individualism of Americans and we find a partial explanation for two settlements nestling close to each other in the same block.

We have then a historic setting to social work, wherever social work is fairly well started, which presents to the person with a community wide vision and a community sense, a situation somewhat as follows. He sees the field already laid out, not on a logical or a modern efficiency basis, but upon a basis of unrelated functional division, each function revolving about an attempt to solve some specific problem. He sees it complicated by religious, racial, political, and personal motivation. He sees that institutions were located geographically not with an idea to distributing service to all parts of a community according to need, but largely by accident. He sees social workers and board members, wrapped up in institutions, case work, dispensaries, feeble-mindedness, all the constituent parts of social work, but not in social work. He sees the group upon whom he must most rely critical of everyone's work but their own, wonderfully strong in their personal approach, and thoroughly undisciplined in mass action.

He finds that this existing system of organization by motives, by persons, and by problems, until it is supplemented by community organization, and community consciousness, creates waste of human resources and human lives. It generates friction which causes loss of power to the whole system. It breeds littleness of vision and littleness of action. It is the father of prejudice and confusion. It is the mother of selfishness in the house of generosity.

Yet in the face of all this that he sees, the community organizer if he is wise takes the situation as he finds it and attempts, not to destroy what has been done, or to do it all over again, but to accept the conflicting motives and personalities, to treat it with human understanding, and to organize it as it stands. For in spite of the fact that what we have described is really a sort of organized social work, it presents nevertheless a disorganized community.

The community organizer admits at once that the method of growth by organized problems with their three approaches, church, state, and personal, was logical for the times and was the best way to obtain a certain amount of progress. He goes further and admits that this same type of functional organization must be continued, only it must in the future be worked into harmony and be planned and controlled by a community consciousness. One of the approaches to the average intelligence is by specialization, and the human emotion is aroused more often than not by accident. The busy person accidentally discovering a tuberculous child and aroused thereby rallies to a tuberculosis crusade, and by specializing upon this simple problem maintains his interest. The community organizer also recognizes the dominance of religious and racial motives and traditions, and admits without question their rights to a place in the field.

The intention of the new community organization therefore is not to supplant the old but to strengthen and to supplement it. It aims to gather all of these specialized agencies with their different approaches and conflicting personalities together into a single community-wide co-operative society, with the purposes of creating a feeling of comradeship among them, of eliminating waste, of reducing friction, of strengthening them all, of planning new ventures in the light of the organized information held by all, of swinging them in a solid front in one attack after another upon the pressing and urgent needs of the hours. It says to a Protestant, "We know you are a Protestant and have a right to be one. That man there is a Catholic and has a right to be one. And that man there is a Jew and has a right to be proud of that. Stick to the points in your work where race and religion tell you to differ from others but admit the others' right to do the same and remember always that you are all of one clay, American citizens in this American community, and wherever you can do it without sacrifice of principle, work and plan as one."

It is the generation of this harmony about points of agreement, of this tolerance about points of disagreement and of this spirit of camaraderie that enables the new community organization to pool common functions of the various problem, religious and racial groups. Joint money raising is not difficult with such understandings as these, joint surveys, joint conferences, joint efforts at standard raising, joint defences of public agencies from political attack, and joint demands for improved social laws and law enforcement.

One of the weakest points of the old structure is an inadequate public attention. Nothing less than complete friendly attention by all the population in a community should be the goal of social work. Without modern organization methods this cannot be approximated. Without its approximation the social worker's leadership of ideas in the reconstruction period is futile. Yet through community organization it has been and it can be attained. Community organization does more than knit agencies together. It knits people, multitudes of people, about the agencies. It adds bands of volunteer salesmen. It adds bands of volunteer advertisers. Together with the old groups these new and virile people advertise and sell the wares and the ideas of social service into the most remote corners of a city.

Again community organization is not an attempt to change the focus of attention on special problems through existing agencies and motives and personalities. Instead it aims to keep this focus, while it adds another, through which all problems in a community are reviewed together in their relationships, through the concentrated lens of all the agencies. It pools many visions into one great synthetic view.

Finally the results achieved where real community action is secured are not new results, but larger results and more satisfactory. This is now demonstrated beyond question in such great centers as Cleveland, Cincinnati and Detroit.

To return to our starting point we are confronted with the task of giants. Giants really live today as they did not in ancient times. They are not solitary men and women though. They are great living organizations of many men and women, harmonious and disciplined to act together for great purposes. Foch is a great man but not a giant. Yet the Council of Versailles in creating an interallied organized harmonious army under his direction created a giant that was irresistible. And so must we act. Social workers cannot longer remain pigmies to be bowled over by a blade of grass. We must group ourselves into harmony of action until we have become one of these modern giants strong, triumphant, and irresistible in our progress for a better society.

THE EFFECT OF PHILANTHROPIC FOUNDATIONS IN FREEING ENDOWMENTS

J. Prentice Murphy, General Secretary, Boston Children's Aid Society

There can be no question of the great need of a general movement that will free charitable endowments of restrictions as to the use of their income. Anyone who studies the structure of social service agencies will be impressed by the large amount of capital, the use of which is restricted and limited by the donors to such a degree as to often hamper good projects, and even to command the creation of others wholly contrary to the making of good citizens and the developing of public welfare.

With the past few years a new influence has come into existence—the philanthropic foundation. This influence has had certain very definite effects upon one phase of charitable finance. Foundations of various kinds, created to meet or affect charitable needs, have existed in English and American communities for a long time. Of late years a new type has come into existence, different from the Carnegie, the Rockefeller, or the Sage foundations, in that it represents more than the interests of one family or person or a specialized field, but expresses an interest in the whole field of public welfare and aims to receive bequests and gifts from many people, the income from which is to be used in aiding a great variety of societies and institutions. But for the existence of this new type of foundation many of these bequests might otherwise have gone direct into the treasuries of various charitable organizations.

The scope and functions of this new type of foundation as it affects the financial support and work of social welfare organizations, especially in regard to endowments, are of interest to a great many people. Mr. F. H. Goff, President of the Cleveland Trust Company, was the one who suggested this new form of organization some five or six years ago. He then expressed an opinion that many men and women whom he knew felt there was great need of some plan for consolidating and protecting funds available for public good. The Cleveland Foundation, then organized, suggested or inspired the creation of similar organizations in other parts of the country, so that at this time they exist in approximately twenty cities in the United States. The foundations or community funds are under the control of important trust companies in the communities in which they exist.

The participation of trust companies in the field of charitable finance long antedates the formation of the first foundation in Cleveland. During the last fifteen years a definite movement has been under way whereby many large trust companies were engaged in the project of preparing wills for their clients and writing into these wills bequests often running into millions of dollars which were designed for charitable purposes. Many of these bequests stipulated the creation of special organizations for the care of persons in need, such as hospitals for the sick, institutions for children, etc.

Often regardless of the particular situation existing in a given city there would be authorized agencies whose functions and fields of work were all carefully determined in advance by persons not especially equipped by experience or knowledge to make such plans. Some of the results show in very large endowments restricted to very narrow, and sometimes quite unnecessary purposes. Yet they are being organized and must operate for long years to come.

In spite of the very large amount of educational propaganda we have had in this country with regard to essential and non-essential social work, far too many men and women of wealth know little of facts. In Philadelphia within the last twelve years there have come into existence two institutions for orphan or friendless girls, each representing the generosity and charitable impulse of a man of wealth. Each desired to create an organization that would be of fundamental help and assistance to needy children. The combined wealth of these trusts represents approximately \$10,000,000.00. They operate under wills that duplicate in great detail the ideas laid down in the wills of Stephen Girard, who founded Girard College more than eighty years ago.

Wonderful as was Girard's concept, one does not thrill to the thought of having it reborn in new trusts for children today. Great as is the good that Girard College is rendering to many thousands of children in Philadelphia, a far larger amount of good would result if the income were unrestricted as to use, saving in its general application to work involving the welfare of children. It is out of keeping with the whole spirit of modern child welfare work to remove purely dependent children of good habits and sound mind from good mothers, if the one drawback with the latter is their poverty.

The philanthropic foundation represents the first serious and powerful attack at this kind of limited and restricted bequest. There is, of course, the donor who will not seek advice, or follow it if offered, and who is bent on perpetuating a name or an idea regardless of its value. One cannot prevent their making bequests, but the number of such bequests will be greatly limited if the idea back of the philanthropic foundation movement continues to spread as it has during the last few years.

Individual trust companies have actively campaigned for charitable trusts without any special regard to the conditions surrounding the use of the trust. The philanthropic foundation, although controlled by a trust company, comes into existence on a very much broader and far more helpful spirit. The blunders made by certain trust companies in giving advice as to ways and means for the use of charitable funds have been, in instances, colossal in their seriousness. Some thoughtful students see some remedy for this state of affairs in the operation of the philanthropic foundation.

Of the latter form of organization one of the most recently organized is the Philadelphia Foundation, which is under the direction of the Fidelity Trust Company of that city. The foundation in Boston known as the Permanent Charity Fund, Incorporated, has since its beginning in 1915 come to play a most important part in the activities of a large number of hospitals, societies, settlements, research groups, schools, etc., both in and out of Boston; for under the terms of the trust which covers the operations of the Boston Fund the trustees are at liberty to serve not only Boston and Massachusetts, but other parts of the country as well.

The rapid development and extension of the foundation idea has led many thoughtful students to review various aspects of charitable finance, especially as they have been, and are affected by this concentration under the direction of a single group, of great aggregations of capital coming in the shape of bequests and gifts, many of which under the old regime would have been divided amongst many incorporated private societies and organizations. It is claimed that the essential idea back of this new type of phil-

anthropic foundation is the building up of unfettered and unrestricted funds, controlled by a board of trustees or directors selected particularly for their business ability, humanitarian principles and knowledge of social welfare needs; they in turn to apply the income to such movements or needs as will be of the most fundamental help in raising all living conditions.

For example, the trust under which Girard College operates would, if controlled by a philanthropic foundation, lead to much less crystallization of work; also to the use of a large amount of the income at which present is not possible because the terms of the trust rigidly limits the field of operations to a particular institutional group in the city of Philadelphia. Yet there are many, many thousands of children who are in need of the marvelous services which Girard's charity makes possible.

The two new children's trusts which have come into being in Philadelphia would not necessarily have to express themselves in the shape of bricks and mortar, without reference to the more than ample institutional facilities which are available in Philadelphia, but rather would the income be used to render services most necessary, of which there is very little and for lack of which many thousands of children will grow into adults permanently handicapped because their parents or guardians or others responsible for them were not able to provide the education, physical care, recreational opportunities, etc., which they needed.

It is said that the Cleveland Foundation has more than \$100,000,000.00 in sight. The Boston Fund has an endowment at this moment of more than \$3,000,000,000.00, and is appropriating the income to the needs of more than eighty different organizations.

The attitude of many men and women of large means and generous impulses toward the matter of bestowing charitable gifts is well set forth in the declaration of trust of the Boston Permanent Charity Fund:

Many persons desire to make gifts to charity, or to leave money in trust for charitable purposes, who are in doubt as to the proper means of doing so effectively. They believe that it is impossible for them to foresee charitable needs of the future, and feel that if they leave their money for a definite purpose the changing conditions of the future may deprive that purpose of its usefulness, and leave their gifts without a beneficent purpose. On the other hand, many persons fear that if they leave their money outright to a charitable institution to be used for its purposes, the management of that institution may not continue conservative and sound, and as a result the very principal of the gift may dwindle or even be entirely dissipated, and thus the usefulness of the gift be impaired or entirely nullified.

The Philadelphia Foundation expresses the same thought, as follows:

Perplexity as to the comparative worth and needs of the many philanthropic and civic activities is always great. The fear that his gift may not be wisely administered, or that the need for it may cease in the changing tides of human affairs, gives pause to many a generous impulse.

Both of these statements contain certain observations to which intelligent people will agree. These observations favor charitable endowments unrestricted as to use. As to whether all or a great deal of this capital should be concentrated in the hands of one small group and restricted as to principle are matters about which there will not be entire unanimity. A monopoly control of charitable funds bristles with objections and difficulties.

Just what are some of the things that will probably result from this liberalizing of endowments and at the same time their administration by Foundations? The foundation idea does represent a big step in advance for a great many conditions that exist in the field of social work. It is a definite move to eliminate the "dead hand" so prominent and so often pernicious in our endowments. It aims to make present gifts effective at some future time, with only such checks and restrictions as to purpose and methods as the charitable and informed people then living think wise and necessary.

Foundations will surely lead to a more accurate understanding of many social work problems by non-social workers, especially lawyers and bankers.

and this will mean better advising on their part as to which are the points of greatest need, as, viz: education, health, vocational training, prevention, research, improving professional standards, etc.—everything that stands for prevention as against alleviation. Social work as a hard-headed, and at the same time tender-hearted job, will be more intelligently related to other community activities; for the things that concern the social worker concern others outside of his field.

Many people will give to a central general or community fund who would not give to a specialized agency, and hence a considerable sum of money will be brought into the field of social work that might have gone elsewhere or have been tied up or restricted contrary to public good. It should be borne in mind, however, that many people will continue to make "personal" bequests; that is, they will prefer the giving direct to organizations with which they are acquainted. These same people view the philanthropic foundation as a serious evidence of impersonal charity as tending to less and less dependence upon various donors; as tending to an authority which will be dangerous years hence.

The foundations will tend to keep their capital as fluid as possible. Capital invested in unnecessary institution buildings, in brick and mortar that needlessly duplicates some other organization's equipment, will be a waste of funds. The foundation officials will think twice before crystallizing their funds into non-productive equipment. They will more constantly try to meet current needs year by year through personal service.

The foundations will tend to a more and more general application of the Cy Pres doctrine to obsolete, unwise and unnecessary bequests. The Boston Permanent Charity Fund in its first report is most explicit in covering this point, and I here quote:

In order as fully as may be to meet the wishes of persons who desire to benefit some particular charity, the Trustee may accept gifts, the income of which the donor desires to be devoted to some particular charitable purpose or to some particular charitable organization or corporation. The committee, as provided in the Declaration of Trust, respect and carry out this expressed desire unless, in the opinion of five-sevenths of its members, the changed conditions of the future make such application of the income no longer truly in accord with the wishes of the donor or unwise or impracticable. The main object of the Fund, namely, to provide a flexible means by which the income may at the time at which it becomes available be applied in those directions then most deserving of assistance, would be entirely nullified if such expressed desires as to the application of the income should be forever binding. It is desirable that donors should be free to express the particular charitable purposes or objects, organizations or corporations, which they desire to be assisted from the income of their gifts, but it is not desirable that the income should be forever tied up so that it may be devoted to the assistance of such purposes and objects only. No person should, however, feel that his expressed preferences will be wantonly disregarded by a committee whose members are of the character of those composing this committee.

At the same time, all of the foundations that have come into existence stress the idea that their capital funds must be kept intact—must never be impaired. Some provide that a certain percentum is to be laid aside for the purpose of providing against possible loss or depreciation in the future. If either of the latter does not occur then, following this plan, the capital will be doubling itself every twenty years or so. This principle of keeping capital intact will undoubtedly cause many boards of directors of private agencies receiving unrestricted bequests to add them to capital instead of applying all or part to current needs.

There is considerable difference of opinion amongst directors and social executives as to the use that should be made of unrestricted bequests. Many very well known organizations in the field of education, medicine and social work would have to curtail their activities very greatly, for the present at least, if they were to cease the use of unrestricted bequests to meet their current expenses. It is very important that we do the job that is brought to us

today. Was it not the intention of the donor of the unrestricted bequest to have the principal as well as the income applied to a need if those in charge of the fund thought such a step necessary? If every bequest is added to capital at some future time the income will be far larger than at present, but at the cost of a greatly lessened service during the interim.

Contribution from a foundation to an agency is an endorsement of its work, and carries with it great responsibilities and opportunities. Real public or state supervision of social welfare agencies exists in few states in this country. The inquiry which a foundation should make before granting aid to a society may be of the very sort that the state should be making. There is a very grave question as to whether the weighing and rating of social agencies in any community should ever be centralized in private hands, and where done it should not take the place of such a responsibility as expressed by the state. If publicity is given to a foundation's support of a society, the result may be to raise the society in the estimation of a certain portion of the public, and thus increase its drawing power to receive bequests for its own use.

Foundations will come to exercise very great power in shaping the social welfare plans of the places in which they operate. The wise use of this authority will not always be easy. It will be difficult for a foundation to grant support to a movement that may be fundamental but is also unpopular. Some very essential forms of social work lack attractiveness to the general public, and how the great public feels will have weight with the foundations.

A gift of \$5,000.00 or \$10,000.00 a year to a society may give a foundation a control over all the policies and methods of work followed by the society; a control leading even to supervision of the income from its own endowment.

The difficulty of getting funds on the part of private agencies will frequently place upon the foundation the responsibility of seeing that good professional standards are maintained, and this condition of affairs means the placing upon an outside group of an authority and responsibility which should be a primary concern to social work agencies.

Foundations will make possible some essential experimental work, as the Boston Permanent Charity Fund has done. It can support lines of preventive work that makes possible those things that frequently have little emotional appeal to the general public.

There is danger in the expression of efficiency supervision by business groups over social agencies. The best services are personal and difficult of statistical interpretation. Great care will have to be exercised to rate or grade agencies on other than a purely statistical or accounting basis. Good bookkeeping, good record keeping, are essential in the running of a social welfare organization; but these alone do not represent social work.

The selection of the governing board of these foundations is of the utmost importance. The plan outlined by most of the foundations, namely, having the majority of their members appointed by certain judges of the superior and inferior federal, state or local courts, or by the judges and certain public officials, will not necessarily insure against routine or purely formal appointments. The danger is that the appointees will bring very little knowledge of what their new work calls for. The foundations are first and primarily business concerns, and this is by far the most serious weakness. The factors of self-interest and concentration of power, the control of large sums of money, are not entirely out of sight. Funds unrestricted as to use of income, may under suitable direction, be entirely restricted so far as doing good work is concerned.

The committee of the Boston Fund is admirable from the standpoint of its own expert membership. It has members who know the theory and practice of social work; who are able to understand the methods and difficulties

that are met in social work; and who feel keenly that this is a new and essentially social work job and that unless great care is exercised almost limitless damage may be done to that which is best in social work. The Boston committee is in close and sympathetic relationship with a great many societies and with all social work in the city and state, and it has an executive officer who understands the scope and purposes of social work.

That the foundations are essentially business organizations first and then social, is borne out by the fact that no provisions are made for their supervision by state boards of control or charity or welfare. They come under the supervision of the banking commissioner or a similar state official. Certainly in their social plans they should come under the supervision of the state department governing the latter field. Provision will have to be made for direction or supervision on this score, or else we are going to have social work on a vast scale being supervised by officials whose only concern will be to see that the foundations are efficiently managed from the business standpoint.

In conclusion, certain of the accomplishments of the Boston Permanent Charity Fund may suggest possibilities. It has been in operation for about three years, and has led to uniform bookkeeping and to bookkeeping that really tells something about receipts and expenditures; to an annual consideration of the conditions under which trusts were being operated; to better interpretation of methods of work; to budget planning; to the supporting of movements looking to better co-operation among social agencies; to the support of a dietetic bureau and of a research bureau and to the revaluing of the work done by a number of the applying agencies. It has certainly injected a spirit of breadth and depth into the field of social work in Boston and has made for a spirit of thinking outside one's own organization, and it has reflected a large scale attitude toward the whole job, in contrast to a small scale attitude which is an inevitable accompaniment to the work of most private agencies. This small scale approach is a natural condition. Self interest keeps us alive. Keeping self-interest under control; not allowing it to become too assertive; being brave and willing enough to push the interests of some other organization equally vital in the community, is difficult to arrive at.

This competition leads to over-statement of the value of the work done; to imperfect emphasis in regard to plans; to an over-appeal to the emotional side of the giving public; to an attempt to become independent of the contributing public; to an acceptance of bequests and gifts of every sort, so that the organization finds itself shouldering a diversity of tasks, each so specialized and involved as to make it impossible to be reasonably efficient in any one of them.

The foundations are far from 100 per cent free from danger. Some group in the future will have the job of controlling such of their activities as may be against the public good; but they do represent an antidote for many things holding with private agencies that are against the public good. They are certainly hastening a most necessary movement; namely, that of freeing endowments from restrictions as to use. But the power they will come to have will be very great—often too great. It is very difficult, if not impossible for us to have power without abusing it.

THE PLACE OF PHILANTHROPIC FOUNDATIONS IN A COMMUNITY

Allen T. Burns, Director Study of Methods of Americanization, New York

Only a dozen years ago thorough, comprehensive social research was almost unknown and it was foundations that largely have made that possible in any adequate sense. To be more specific, you realize that the Pittsburgh survey was made possible by a foundation. Before that was made, there was not a single accident compensation law in any state of the union, and, since that time, and largely because of one of the reports, there have been nearly enough states passing compensation laws to amount to the number necessary to ratify a constitutional amendment. Pennsylvania was the twenty-fifth state to take that action, but immense impetus was given by the research made by Miss Eastman in this particular field. This inquiry had also a great deal to do with breaking up one of the worst city governments in the United States and producing one of the best. One of the most backward school systems was improved until the Pittsburgh school system now stands at the front. The inquiry into the taxation situation in Pittsburgh was responsible for the formulation of one of the most progressive taxation laws in any state of the country.

Another inquiry connected with the same foundation, that made in Springfield, Ill., has led many smaller communities to re-examine themselves.

One of the early inquiries made by a foundation, that on medical education in the country made under Mr. Flexner, gave to the country at large the benefit of his careful research.

Again the problem of the hookworm in relation to the special problems of the school was studied by one of the great foundations and this has brought the sections affected into the realization of the possibility of exterminating that problem.

These are only illustrations of the kind of thing absolutely essential for social progress that have been very easily made possible by the efforts of our foundations. It would seem to me that, in this field of thorough-going, scientific research, foundations have become absolutely indispensable for the development of our own technique for lifting to a higher level the general standards of the country in social matters.

There is another kind of activity of foundations which is of benefit and yet of secondary importance. This is the furnishing of sinews of war to more or less struggling movements which have germs of vitality among them. I refer here particularly to movements which do have these germs of vitality and where their requests for help can be definitely identified as coming from the groups concerned and being in no sense a camouflage for anything which a foundation wishes to put across. Such help given to the Anti-Tuberculosis Association or to the playground movement, the housing associations or the Committee for Mental Hygiene which are, without any question by the country, nation-wide in their scope and needed help. Foundations are insisting that the organizations show ability to do something worth while entirely on their own resources. Here again we need to be very discriminating between the kind of propaganda movement and that which is of the people concerned and made up of people that the community as a whole will not question or suspect of putting something over on the rest of the community. I have been interested to find out how experienced foundations have reached the almost universal conclusion that requests for requests must be from organizations that are going on their own momentum. That desire is going to obtain more and more with foundations for the very reason of the suspicion which attaches to both foundations and other movements having some connection with capital. To me, the most important social move in this country is the debate as to whether an organization can

afford to ask a foundation for funds because of the effect on its standing in the community. That kind of thinking about foundations convinces me that they are going to inquire more and more as to whether the organizations are able to sail under their own power.

When foundations have been thought of in the public mind in connection with people who have a particular axe to grind that is particularly their own, their activities have been called questionable and autocratic. Their usefulness has been largely limited. For instance, one of the foundations in particular has been under very severe investigation by Congress because it gave money to an organization that was primarily a propaganda movement. Its president happened to be also president of the foundation. The organization they intended to benefit was so affected and the foundation's own reputation, so hurt that it will never get itself or any smaller organization into a similar situation.

Another foundation has had at the head of its educational work a man very definitely identified with the introduction of the Gary system in New York city. After he tried to introduce it, it became a political issue and the advocates of the Gary system went out of the movement. Now, when the foundation proposed to make a survey of the Gary system, it found it very difficult and almost impossible to secure some of the educational experts it desired because these specialists could not be put in the position of making a study for an organization that had become so identified with propaganda for a thing that was then being publicly investigated.

At a Cleveland conference twelve years ago a representative of one of our foundations took a very decided position against mothers' pensions. Soon after his department made an inquiry into the work of these pensions. If that particular foundation had wanted to block the mothers' pension movement they would have done far more by refraining from that investigation.

About a year ago there appeared an investigation of financial federations. These have become more or less identified with foundations. The results have been similar to those of the last few illustrations. The report said: "Whether the gifts in each city had been divided between various organizations more wisely as a result of the federation's existence cannot be answered without much more intensive study." Two pages later it is stated: "Final judgment in the matter is impossible in regard to non-federated cities." Further on, they are afraid that no board of directors can safely accomplish so delicate a task with such results as to increase interest in social work. That task calls for wisdom greater than agencies have usually been able to summon for their own organizations. In other words, they do not believe the thing can be done any better than it is being done at the present time, although it is being badly done.

This same investigation is going to have something of the same effect on federations as the investigation of mothers' pensions had on those.

Speaking from my own experience, because it points to the limitation of the usefulness of foundations or federations, in Cleveland about a year and a half ago the founder of a foundation and a man who embodies it in the community mind got into a controversy with me regarding conditions of crime and vice. He referred me to the mayor, who, he was certain, would make an investigation and clear up the situation. It was interesting to me to see that within fifteen months the state government had to take over the administrative supervision of lawlessness in that city, with special prosecutors, jury and all.

All this points to the fact that foundations, as foundations, have got to confine themselves to a view where it does not seem to the public that they are promoting this or that or the other thing because of their own interests. In many instances, they have proceeded from the standpoint of partisans.

Foundations are new agencies, relatively speaking, and inevitably make

mistakes because they are only experimenting. Weighing these mistakes against the great contributions they have made, the conclusion is in their favor. If they are experienced, they will learn the great service they can render through helping activities and movements that cannot in any sense be called their own, and, through the promoting of scientific knowledge of society they will continue to render the great service they have rendered in the past, for fields of greater usefulness are before them.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Mr. William J. Norton of Detroit (in opening the meeting): Foundations are merely extensions of the old thought of endowment, of how inheritances shall be used, restricted and organized. When we started out to put this subject on the program we asked representatives of some of the foundations in the United States to come and talk, but they all appeared to be afraid of it. Consequently, we have Mr. Burns and Mr. Murphy, who are going to talk about the subject, not as representatives of any federations, but as people interested in them. Mr. Murphy has paid particular attention to this matter, being interested in the Boston Permanent Charity Fund.

The real thing that gives us difficulty is a great ignorance about endowments and inheritances. This is a serious and important social question. A democracy in which people are supposed to be free and intelligent, to live their lives in peace, may pile up surplus wealth which is taken care of in four different ways:

First, the family inheritance where the money is given to the children and grandchildren and carried on into the families of the people who pile it up. This is somewhat contrary to the original intentions of some of the founders of our country. Inheritance taxes are gradually going to curb this.

Second, a distribution among the people. This is brought about by the steady encroachment of organized labor in raising wage scales, which will perhaps eventually curb the larger earnings of capital.

Third, the possibility through government of working out some scheme of taxation and for the immediate expenditure of those great funds, not to put them away, but to use them today. We have enough knowledge of certain needs now so that we could spend wisely more of the capital funds than we do at present.

Fourth, the process of organizing inheritances in foundations for social service. Many wealthy men under certain social stimuli are thinking about establishing private or community foundations. In many states now they are organized about as trust companies.

This meeting has indicated to me that we are not only not thinking about these things, but are totally indifferent to them. As questions of social organization, they are of sufficient importance to demand a few thoughts on the part of social workers.

*Mr. Wilbur C. Phillips** of Cincinnati: Isn't the difficult question in the whole problem of foundations this—how can money which people wish to give for social purposes be expended most wisely? Money cannot be expended wisely for any social end, unless the plan is wise. No foundation or individuals can spend their money wisely unless they are pretty well convinced that their plan is wise. We are going to have no wise plans on which wise expenditures can be made unless we have wise community planning. I believe the group is the logical unit for forming plans. It is a perfectly logical plan for a community to ask a group of nurses to form nursing plans for the community or a group of accountants to form plans for municipal accounting. Such a plan should get the reaction of plain, common people. In other words, I believe that in the last analysis we must organize some people of our community, in order to find out what are the plans under which foundations and private individuals also, should proceed. The fundamental weakness in our present system of expenditures is that the heads of foundations who control expenditures are compelled to fall back on those in smaller positions to get suggestions for forces that need financing. A very wise investment for foundations to promote would be the advancement of community movements for the formulation of plans.

Mr. Lawson Purdy of New York: Mr. Burns has pointed out that, if a foundation becomes connected in the public mind with some question which is in controversy, the foundation connection becomes a liability instead of an asset to its friends. The only danger I can think of is that their money might be spent in some way to undermine political liberty. If they cannot do that, it would seem impossible for foundations to use this money so as to be a political danger. No political organization, in the widest sense, can afford to be identified in the public mind with any great aggregation of capital controlled by a foundation. It would be fatal to the immediate progress of the reform. My conclusion is that, so far as we can see, no foundation can be of any real danger to the community.

Mr. Ellwood Street of Louisville: There will be very little danger from great foundations because income and inheritance taxes will restrict amassing of great private fortunes in the future. The coming thing will be that our federations of social agencies

*Notes uncorrected by speakers.

will be depositaries for sums of money in trust. This system will be more flexible in meeting current expenses and special needs.

Miss Amy Woods of Boston: The difficulty with foundations is that the social organizations have constantly got to keep up a certain standard set by people who are thinking along financial lines rather than social. For example, organizations helped by a foundation should be able to pool their strength to get good housing for everybody. Instead there is a tendency for each agency to concentrate on methods of taking care of more and more victims of bad housing in order to live up to the financial standard of efficiency which the foundation has set.

Mr. Sherman C. Kingsley of Cleveland: There is no gainsaying that there is need of some effective plan for community work. Foundations undertake to render a dual service—(1) business-like management of funds; (2) to provide an elastic way of making them serviceable. However, the Foundation as an instrumentality to gather and administer funds is yet in an experimental stage. To the extent that they can provide a means of blazing trails and piloting social movements, they may be an improvement over funds left to individual agencies. The test on them will be whether or not they fulfill this function or whether they become large aggregations of capital that hold the possibility of exercising an actual financial power and control.

Others who participated in informal discussion were: John M. Glenn, New York; J. H. T. Falk, Montreal; Alexander Fleisher, New York; Edwin D. Solenberger, Philadelphia, and Mr. Burns.

CURRENT METHODS OF SOCIAL SERVICE PUBLICITY (STERE-OPTICON ILLUSTRATIONS)

Elwood Street, Director, Welfare League, Louisville

Publicity is used by social agencies to secure two things—money and co-operation. The co-operation may be two-fold—on the part of the public, as when the social agency is attempting to secure certain reform; or on the part of the people whom the agency desires to help, as when an Anti-Tuberculosis Association distributes illustrated leaflets of its clinical facilities among workers in a factory.

The most usual kind of publicity secured by social agencies is newspaper publicity. It is of two kinds, from the financial point of view—either free or paid.

Free newspaper publicity is the kind which is secured through the editorial departments of the newspaper; paid, through negotiations with the business department.

Free publicity is entirely legitimate. Every social agency has a great deal of material of value to the newspaper, because it is sure to be interesting to the public. All the newspaper wants is that the social agency make this material available in usable form.

Perhaps the simplest form of free publicity is the news story. An account of a play which is to be given by the children of a social settlement, the action of a committee, the submission of a report, the engagement of new workers or the departure of old ones, any event which is new and hence "news," may be used as the basis of a news story. In presenting this material, it is important that it be made more than a mere recountal of facts; the facts should be so presented that they are interpretive; publicity alone, without interpretation of the social point involved, is of little value.

It generally is a good plan for the social worker either to write out the story in newspaper style, ready for handling by the newspaper, or else to have the facts written down, so that the reporter may have less difficulty in handling them. A few conferences with the city editors of newspapers will quickly teach the social worker the way in which the paper would best like to have material submitted.

Use Pictures When Possible

Pictures always are a great help to news stories and to other newspaper publicity. They help interpret the point which is being made, they

attract attention and they make the newspaper much more likely to use the material submitted. While it is obviously inadvisable to use pictures of recipients of charity, who are likely to be humiliated if recognized by their acquaintances, still there are plenty of subjects for pictures still available—photographs of clubs and classes and other groups; of children at play and at work; of people connected with the work of the agency; and so on through an almost infinite number of ways of pictorializing the subject for which understanding is desired.

Of perhaps even greater value than news stories are "human interests" stories, based, not upon a happening, but upon the human aspects of the agency concerned. Such stories are "case stories," telling in more or less detail the human dramas in the lives of people benefited by the agency, stories telling of quaint characters, and so on.

"Feature" stories must have human interest, but they are generally based not so much on an individual as on a general characteristic of a certain type of work. For example, a human interest story might tell of the way in which a crippled child had learned to help himself, while a feature story might describe the excellent results attained by a certain organization for crippled children. It is quite obvious that feature stories lend themselves exceptionally well to photographic illustration.

Editorials on the work concerning which publicity is desired are exceedingly helpful. Ordinarily, opinions cannot be "put over" in the ordinary newspaper article, excepting in quotation from some person who has been interviewed, but in an editorial opinions may be stated. Usually, the social worker does not write the editorial, but tells the editor the lines along which editorial comment would be helpful.

Cartoons, also, are exceedingly valuable, and often may be secured by conference with the cartoonist.

Special Kinds of Newspaper Publicity

Special departments of the newspaper may be used to help in publicity. The society editor likes pictures of prominent women with a statement of their connection with the work which is being boosted; the newspaper poet or humorist may be encouraged to special effort in behalf of the cause; the sporting page may carry news of recreational activities; while the artist who goes around drawing pictures of prominent personages may be persuaded to put in his gallery the faces of people connected with the work in hand. Other possibilities will readily suggest themselves to the inventive social worker.

The daily newspapers should be supplemented by publicity in other papers, such as foreign language newspapers, neighborhood papers, journals of organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce, Federation of Labor, etc.; weekly papers, and church papers.

Paid advertising in newspapers is generally desirable only at times of campaign, or to carry a special appeal which cannot be put into an ordinary newspaper article; or, in other words, when a presentation of the subject in hand is wanted, not on its merits from the point of view of the newspaper, but because the social agency has a special message which it wants to get across in its own particular way. At such times, it is well to get the help of experienced advertising agencies, either on a paid or volunteer basis, to prepare the "copy" in the most effective possible way. An important thing to remember in such advertisements is that it is better to stress one point at a time in a series of advertisements, than to try to make all the points at one time in one advertisement; better to divide the money available into payments for a series of advertisements, than to spend it all in just one. The use of pictures is of extreme value in paid advertisements, to get attention and to drive home the point. In some of the large cities, where

newspaper space is very hard to get, charities run continually small paid advertisements, asking for funds for particular families or purposes, but such year-round paid advertising is hardly necessary in the smaller cities, where, for such purposes, direct mail advertising is more effective.

Direct Advertising Important

Just as important as newspaper publicity, is direct advertising, or, in other words, advertising aimed, through the mails or other means of delivery, directly at specific people whom it is intended to influence. Direct advertising may be either educational alone, or have a financial appeal as well.

Of the educational type of direct advertising are the annual reports, monthly bulletins and similar "house organs" published by social agencies. Of these publications, the annual report probably is the least valuable. It generally is a dreary compilation of statistics, financial statement, list of officers, list of givers and forms of bequest, with a stilted statement by some officer. Annual reports can be made effective, if lightened up with photographs, charts, diagrams, cartoons, with "human interest" stories, with lively interpretation of the financial and statistical statements, and with omission of a lot of the mere formal matter. Once a year is too infrequent for publication of material to educate givers and prospective givers, and the most successful agencies now are getting out quarterly, monthly, semi-weekly or weekly publications, full of pictures and interesting reading matter. It is far better to split up the money usually spent on an annual report for such more frequent publications, than to get out the annual report alone, and still better to supplement the annual report with smaller publications, published at shorter intervals. The agency which does this intelligently will find its money come back in more gifts, larger gifts and gifts more readily renewed.

Descriptive folders very often are effective, either for enclosure in all mail, or for enclosure with appeal letters. Brevity, the use of pictures, insistence upon large type, and simplicity, are among the features valuable in such folders or "inserts." Sometimes, public service corporations or merchants can be persuaded to enclose them in their bills—a very economical and effective form of publicity.

Advertising value can even be carried into the letterhead of the society. A good photograph or series of photographs, combined with the necessary type matter, will help to get the purpose of the society over in a vivid and appealing way.

Pictorial calendars sent to contributors, certificates of membership which can be hung in the givers' desks or on their walls, and similar devices, are other useful types of direct advertising.

Motion Pictures as Publicity

Motion pictures should be more used than they are for social service publicity. Reels of film, showing the subject under discussion, could be shown, by arrangement, through regular motion picture theaters, and, in a portable machine, with non-inflammable film, could be taken around and shown to audiences in churches, libraries, clubs and other places of assemblage. The cost would be more than repaid by the increased vividness of understanding which would be created in this manner. Motion picture theaters often are willing to show special slides, either at time of campaign, or to help in some special movement.

Outdoor advertising includes painted signs, on sign boards and walls, which can be secured by arrangement with the outdoor advertising companies; printers posters, generally in two or more colors, placed in show windows by accommodating merchants and pasted on walls and fences by

bill-posting companies; and window displays and exhibits in vacant store windows or by special arrangement with merchants—practically all only worth bothering about at time of a campaign, too costly for year-round use.

A most effective kind of publicity is to be found in the organization of a bureau of speakers, on social subjects, made available through a printed list to churches, clubs and other organizations. These speeches will be even more effective, if illustrated with lantern slides. Speeches are valuable because they give the force of personality to the subject presented and because they give an opportunity for questions and answers, which help to clear up many misunderstandings.

In this connection, mass meetings, with speakers on live subjects, properly advertised, are often very effective in getting across a special point of view. It is important not to let the meeting be too long; and better to have two or three short speeches than one long run. Such mass meetings can often be arranged at the time of the annual report and election of officers of organizations.

Ministers of churches can often be persuaded to give sermons on social subjects. In some cities where there are federations of churches, special social welfare Sunadys are arranged, at which most of the ministers give special sermons and all of them make announcement of the day. At such times, it is well to send the ministers, a week or so beforehand, a syllabus of material to serve as the basis for sermon or announcement. The young people's societies, adult bible classes and other groups in the churches often can be persuaded to undertake special courses of social study with material furnished by the social agency. Such classes are productive both of understanding and of volunteer workers.

Exhibits are a splendid means of publicity if properly prepared and staged. The subject is one all by itself, and can best be studied by reading. *The A. B. C. of Exhibit Planning*, by Evart G. and Mary Swain Routzahn (Russell Sage Foundation, 1918).

Special forms of publicity are found in parades, the use of street car cards and hangers, in the putting of stickers on automobiles windshields or cards on their radiators, in the giving out of tags for contributors to wear in campaign time, in the use of space contributed by merchants in their advertising, and so on through a larger number of devices interesting in themselves, but not of particular value in a year-round publicity program for social purposes.

Publicity Must Be Continuous

The chief thing to be remembered is that publicity, to be effective must be unremitting. Spasmodic efforts are worse than useless. The publicity must have a plan, and hence be consistent and coherent. It must be couched in terms that will be understood by the common people. It must be simple and graphic. It must be plain and straightforward; evasion of the facts will not fool the people for long. It must be too pessimistic; people would suspicious of "sob-stuff." Publicity must not be too pessimistic; people would rather support a going concern than one which is apparently tottering to speedy dissolution. Further, it is better to tell the good things your work is accomplishing, than the horrible things it has to face; perhaps, best of all, to combine the two.

Obviously, publicity must be backed up by worth-while work. It does no good to advertise a product and to sell a large quantity of it, if your customers, after trying it, find it is of low quality and not worth the money they paid for it. Good publicity and good social service should go hand in hand; and each will ably supplement the other.

CONVERTING WARTIME EXPERIMENTS IN PUBLICITY TO COMMUNITY USE

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The subject assigned me for this occasion evidently assumes that the heightened plane of feeling, of thinking, of aspiration, which today characterizes the American people, may be turned in the direction of community betterment through the medium of publicity. With this assumption I am in hearty agreement. If I may judge from the program of this convention, nearly all of us are of like opinion. Fortunately, therefore, to argue the point is unnecessary. It remains only for me to devote myself to that special field assigned me, namely, the part publicity may play in community service. Presupposing, then, that the community may replace the nation as the focus of patriotic interest, what can we learn from the great organized movements of education and appeal, which during the war period, re-heated the American melting pot, burned away the dross of selfishness and partisanship and disloyalty, and temporarily, at least, fused the great mass into a nation with a single will, a single high and dominant purpose.

Both the methods and the results of the publicity campaigns of the war period are still fresh in our minds. Probably never before have the means of influencing public opinion been organized on so large a scale nor with such widespread success. The processes go by various names—propaganda, publicity, press bureau work, advertising, etc.—and later we shall view them all more narrowly and attempt to define them and differentiate among them, but for the present we may class them all under the broad term publicity. We Americans have observed and experienced both the evil and good sides of such systematic campaigns for influencing the public mind. Early we watched the insidious work of German propaganda; we saw with dismay its effects on Italy and Russia; we witnessed attempts of similar nature here in America, attempts which failed before the good sense and innate patriotism of the American people, strengthened, to be sure, by our own propaganda. Likewise, we have observed those wonderful concerted movements for the sale of Liberty Bonds, for the support of the Red Cross and other philanthropies, for food conservation and all the rest—movements for the organization of popular opinion and for stimulating concerted action the like of which has never been known, on our side of the Atlantic at least.

The organization of public opinion in America during the war period was accomplished through elaborate and complicated machinery. It included national, state, district, county, and local organizations with minute divisions and subdivisions. It was but loosely co-ordinated since every unit more or less exercised its American prerogative of independent action. Yet the processes as a whole were similar rather than dissimilar, and illustrated the fundamental homogeneity of our people. Moreover, the methods and processes were novel or unusual in their magnitude rather than in their nature. For fundamentally these great movements did not differ from the normal peacetime campaigns set in motion by American business houses for commercial purposes. But their effects were so patent, so widespread that they commanded an unprecedented amount of attention from the general public. Never before had advertising been so well advertised.

What, then, I ask again, can we learn from the war time use of the forces of publicity that will serve the social welfare of the community?

Organising for Good Will

The first and foremost lesson, it seems to me, is the need of publicity for social movements. Public opinion, that is to say, ought to be organized and guided whenever any project is contemplated which affects public welfare, and this, I suppose, covers the whole field of social service. Let us

never again lapse into the *laissez-faire* attitude. We know now, that in the public mind as in the individual mind, if right views are not cultivated, wrong ones flourish. Weeds spring up where useful plants are not fostered.

While this principle is widely appreciated in the abstract, and indeed appears self-evidently simple, its rightful application is not always understood. For instance, the way to oppose an evil tendency in the public consciousness is not merely to oppose it and point out its error. Something positive must be promulgated and supported to take its place. Countless suggestions have been made that tendencies toward Bolshevism in America be checked by pointing out to the public the fallacy of its ideas. But that is not enough. If its course is to be checked in a community, first the underlying causes must be corrected—with positive agencies for good substituted.

The presence of Bolshevism in America should indicate, it seems to me, that our eyes have not been open to opportunities for social and industrial progress. Not suppression of the movement, but whole-hearted co-operation by all classes in the community toward definite social and industrial betterment would seem the sensible plan.

For the heightened tone of public consciousness already referred to contains elements of danger as well as of opportunity. On the whole, the effect of the patriotic movement has been for good. It has both broadened the public mind and united it. It has tended, for the time being at least, to level social barriers. Men and women of every class, of all degrees of wealth and poverty, of every kind of religion and unbelief, worked side by side in the various Liberty Loan campaigns and other patriotic causes. This exercise in altruistic work cannot fail to have left its mark on the nation's heart. Yet in the increased susceptibility to mass influence which these movements engendered in the public consciousness there also lurk elements of danger. The same emotional condition which has made it easy to sell Liberty bonds also makes it possible for the unscrupulous to sell wildcat mining shares and oil-well stocks. The same workmen whom the call of patriotism stimulated to redoubled production during the war, are now in danger of being lured into all sorts of economic vagaries no less wasteful than is investment in worthless securities.

I have wandered a little from my text, which is the need of publicity in social work. We must have "open covenants openly arrived at" in community affairs as well as in international. More than that, we need the intelligent organization and directing of public opinion with regard to each social undertaking.

To express much the same idea from another viewpoint, social work should always cultivate the good will of the general public. Even when the final verdict rests only with a limited number of individuals, it is often immediately economical, as well as valuable in the long run, to cultivate a favorable attitude on the part of the entire community. Members of a jury sitting in an important criminal case are not allowed to read newspapers bearing on the subject, not only because they might get a distorted view of the points at issue, but also because their own opinion would most likely be influenced by the general attitude of the public, as mirrored in the newspapers. Or to take a commercial instance, a vast amount of advertising is done to secure general good will for elements in automobiles in which elements the public itself can scarcely be stirred to more than a passive degree of interest. But the engineers who actually make the decisions in favor of one element rather than another are profoundly influenced by the conscious or subconscious appreciation that their choice is supported by general good will.

However, as I have said, the need of publicity either for specific ends or for securing general good will is pretty generally recognized. Its case

was admirably presented before this organization in its convention last year by Prof. Robert E. Park, of the University of Chicago.

The practical suggestion of Prof. Park was for the establishment by the social agencies of a press bureau whose chief functions, as he explained them, are first to mobilize and organize the social agencies, by establishing among them morale and community of purpose, and second, to make news concerning their work. Following this line of thought, I propose to dwell somewhat on the scope, purpose, and practical workings of what Prof. Park calls the press bureau of the social agency—extending his ideas, and perhaps at times, voicing some difference of opinion.

The term press bureau which Prof. Park uses, is probably too narrow in its meaning. It suggests a department which functions by giving out so-called stories to the newspapers. That is, it presents social news; and the basis for this news, Prof. Park suggests, should be *made*, as for instance through social surveys. While Prof. Park touches on paid advertising, he evidently looks on this as a side issue, of importance mostly because it helps in getting the news-stories into the columns of the newspapers.

I hope I have not done an injustice to the position of Prof. Park in this particular respect. At any rate, he at least is in excellent company. For such is the conventional view as to the proper use of publicity and the best methods of achieving it.

Educating the Public

Let me oppose to this view of a press bureau what I shall term a publicity department, for want of a better name. Unfortunately, the word publicity is used in two different senses, thus sometimes introducing confusion into discussions in this field. In the larger sense of the word, in which we have so far been employing the term, it includes all the various agencies for influencing public opinion. These include the news stories above referred to, and advertising of all kinds, together with booklets and other literature; included also are the commercial use of moving pictures, speeches, and so-called features, or stunts whose purpose, primary or incidental, is to cause public comment and secure newspaper attention. In the narrower sense, the term publicity is used, mostly by professional advertising men, to designate those news-stories, the insertion of which they themselves secure in the public press. Oftentimes, this can be accomplished simply by working up the facts suitably. Sometimes it is done by deliberately creating a situation or happening which deserves recording in the news columns. To take examples of each from the same field, the one type is illustrated commercially when the Packard Motor Car Company gives out a typewritten interview, emanating supposedly from one of its officials, on some subject of popular interest. If the name Packard is printed in the newspaper article, the publicity thus secured for the name of the product is considered of value to the company, and thus to justify the efforts of the publicity man. Again, the Packard Motor Car Company subsidizes Ralph DePalma to drive a car embodying one of its engines. When he wins a race, this automatically becomes desirable news for the public press, and naturally mention by name is made of the car he drives. Thus the Packard Motor Car Company has secured publicity for itself by *creating* news.

Now a press bureau, it will be seen, concerns itself primarily only with publicity in the narrower sense. What the social agency needs, it seems to me, is a publicity department competent to handle and direct all the forces of publicity in the larger sense of the term as above outlined.

For press bureau work suffers severe handicaps as compared with that of a publicity department. Obviously, it has a narrower range of appeal. At best, it can reach only the readers of the public press. Powerful as the press is, we must not overrate its ability. We must take into account the

startling number of illiterates who of course cannot be reached through the newspapers, remembering that the draft statistics disclosed that some 10 per cent of the men inducted could not read or write. How such persons can be reached will be touched on later.

Speaking generally, the greatest value that accrues to a social agency through a publicity department is the opportunity for controlling its publicity. This is best seen by comparing press bureau stories on behalf of a social agency with the use of paid advertising space. Even when editors are most generous—and they were generous to a fault in the war period—they must still abide by the basic principles of journalism. A series of advertisements may harp upon the same theme, hammering home its lesson through an oft repeated slogan. This in fact is its characteristic method with repetition as its greatest aid. But repetition is the one thing the editor must avoid—in this crucial respect, advertising and news fundamentally differ.

Again, advertising is at its best when it is hortatory, imperative, using the direct command. The appeal to action, physical or mental, is of the very essence of advertising. But this again is directly opposed to all the canons of the news story. All such material belongs on the editorial page—but unfortunately, the editorial columns of newspapers have lost their old-time potency with the American public.

There are many other elements of advantage which the publicity department holds over the press bureau. But more important than all of these individual elements is the essential difference in their points of view.

The press bureau tends to work from the inside outward. It reflects the various activities of the social agency, and since in its endeavor to get its stories into print, it naturally seeks out the novelties in the field of its work, its tendency is centrifugal, and hence scattering.

The Constructive Viewpoint in Publicity

The publicity department, on the contrary, can and should, so far as possible, maintain the outside viewpoint. It should, that is to say, always keep in mind the attitude of the general public, without which it cannot fulfill its proper function, of interpreting the social agency, its work and its needs. Possessing then the viewpoint of the public, the efficient publicity department operates constructively. Its constructive attitude may affect not only the public, but the social agency. For if the public is ignorant or wrongly informed as to the social agency, its publicity department naturally seeks to educate and to correct the prevalent views. But if public opinion is unfriendly to a social agency, and justly so, then its publicity department seeks primarily to correct and reform the social agency. In this it conforms to commercial analogy, for a very natural accompaniment of advertising an article to the public is a bettering of its quality.

In fact, one of the most useful things a publicity department can do for a social agency is to make a periodical survey and report on the condition of the public good will toward it. This ought to be considered as necessary as the customary annual inventory of its physical resources.

Without attempting to carry further the comparison between the advantages of the press bureau and those of the publicity department, some additional possibilities and benefits accruing to a social agency through organized publicity may be cited briefly.

At last year's session, both Prof. Park and the presiding officer, Mr. Roscoe C. Edlund, in introducing Prof. Park, spoke of the democratizing effect of publicity on social work. This advantage can scarcely be over-emphasized. As Mr. Edlund said, publicity has a value in itself because of its educational effects. I cannot forbear quoting his impressive words:

I wish to suggest that publicity and educational work are an important end in themselves. The charity organization society, for example, has not

only the obligation of caring for families in distress and organizing sympathy and effective help for them, but it has also the duty of arousing the general public to a consciousness of the existence of large numbers of such families in their midst and of the further fact that such families owe their difficulties very largely to society's failure to realize the problems involved and take steps to prevent the conditions that lead to poverty, disease, crime, and all other forms of distress.

The sooner we realize that educational work is an end in itself, and that all our organizations should consider publicity as a primary duty, the sooner and more surely will we bring about a state of society in which such efforts as ours will no longer be necessary.

In order to reach the greatest possible numbers, the war-time publicity campaigns used a very wide variety of mediums. Newspapers, magazines, house-organs, trade-journals and other publications formed one great class. Pamphlets, booklets, folders, etc., were distributed by mail and by various other means. Bill-boards, signs, street-car cards and posters were utilized in all sorts of ways. Speakers and features such as parades and other public ceremonies reached vast numbers of people directly and also many more indirectly.

Not all of these can ordinarily be used by the social agency for peace-time publicity. Due selection must be made according to the purpose, the amount of time and money available, and other factors. Above all, strength and depth of appeal must not be sacrificed to mere breadth.

The means ordinarily employed by social agencies for local campaigns include advertisements and news stories in newspapers, window placards and posters, and booklets and similar direct literature. But, as already explained, there are always large numbers of persons who cannot be reached by such use of the printed word. For this reason and also to reinforce the other publicity agencies, public meetings of various kinds are organized. Thus from the pulpit, the lecture platform and even from the stage of the theatre and moving picture house, the spoken word lends its support.

Such spectacles as parades and so-called stunts or features not only serve to interest people directly and set them talking, but also aid in securing stories in the news columns.

In the interest of economy, many compromises must often be made. Naturally, volunteer work must be largely relied on. Yet, if my own experience in this field is of any value, it has brought home to me the importance of having at least one responsible person who is paid for his services. One such person, devoting all his time to a public service movement, can organize the part time work of a great many volunteers, with a resulting increase in efficiency out of all proportion to the small financial outlay required.

Examples of Publicity Campaigns

Lest these remarks may seem too academic and theoretical, let me briefly call attention to some recent campaigns for purposes of community betterment.

One interesting example was furnished early this spring in Pittsburgh. A sharp increase in rentals scheduled to take effect May 1st, brought suspicion that landlords were taking unfair advantage of the difficult housing situation, and were indulging in profiteering. As the increase was avowedly based on the increase in city taxes, the Mayor and Council inaugurated a vigorous advertising campaign to set forth the facts, which in many cases showed decrease instead of increase in taxes. The campaign, which was prepared under professional direction, consisted of advertisements of a little less than half page size in the daily newspapers—for a period of only three days. As a result, tenants held a mass-meeting, organized for protection, and a bill was prepared for the legislature providing legal means of adjudicating alleged exorbitant rents. The case demonstrates how a brief pointed

campaign can focus public attention on an abuse, and set in motion forces to remedy it.

An advertising campaign of much more comprehensive purpose was recently inaugurated in Lawrence, Mass., in order to arouse better community spirit and particularly to Americanize the foreign element in its population. The following quotation from the first advertisement shows the purpose:

We want to end for all time the industrial troubles from which our city has suffered every few years.

These troubles make life and property unsafe. They cost all of us more money and energy than we can afford. They give Lawrence an international bad name. The time has come for us to get right at the heart of this problem and to find and destroy the causes.

If all conditions in Lawrence were all right—satisfactory to all citizens—there would be no trouble.

We must either change conditions or convince those who are dissatisfied that they have no just cause for complaint.

The first thing for us to do is to invite frank, free, fearless discussion of all our problems in a friendly, constructive, helpful, neighborly manner.

What is needed is not condemnation of what is evil.

What we need are constructive suggestions that will when carried out make Lawrence a cleaner, finer and better city in which to live and work.

Thomas Dreier, who describes the campaign in *Printers' Ink* (March 20th, 1919), makes this significant comment:

The most interesting thing about this campaign is its spirit. It is not a fight against Bolshevism. That word will never be used in any of the publicity. It does not deal with the local strike. It does deal with the fundamentals of our Government.

The committee believes that those who conduct campaigns against Bolshevism, in which that name is spread all over advertisements and circulars, are as foolish as a manufacturer who spends his advertising appropriation telling what a bad product his competitor manufactures.

In Lawrence the committee will attempt to sell American ideals and American institutions to all persons in the city, and, at the same time will work to better conditions so that things that are admittedly bad will be wiped out.

In Boston an organization for securing employment for returning soldiers and sailors is in operation. In its work publicity evidently plays a very important part. Concerning it, the manager, Mr. W. Stanwood Field, writes in a recent issue of *The Survey*:

The importance of the Publicity Division cannot be over-estimated. Jobs have been secured through publicity in newspapers and trade magazines; through circular letters sent out by the governor, the mayor, business and trade organizations; through printed appeals distributed by clubs; and through an announcement of the activities of the bureau sent out, with the co-operation of the Boston Retail Board, to more than 200,000 citizens with monthly bills of retail stores. Personal solicitation has not been resorted to. The bureau has depended for its flow of jobs upon the publicity and the service which it was able to render employers.

In Detroit, various advertising campaigns of a public service nature have been organized. They include an extensive clean-up campaign, culminating in a clean-up week; a safety-first campaign, of a month's duration, which is still in progress; also several movements of less significance. Of another character are the efforts of the Detroit Patriotic Fund to maintain installment payments on subscription pledges; these center mainly around the monthly page known as Patriotic Fund News, which is published as a part of the four leading dailies of the city.

I need not refer to other examples. Those which I have mentioned have doubtless brought to the mind of each of you similar instances of the use of publicity to further community welfare.

It remains for me only to say in conclusion that just as advertising men throughout the war gave unstintingly of their service in the great popular campaigns, a few of which I referred to in my introduction, so they stand ready today to work with similar devotion and unselfishness for the good of their communities. A few weeks ago I called together a group of

advertising men who had constituted one of these committees for war-time service, for what I supposed would be our final meeting. I explained that the work for which we had been organized had been done, and that while similar work for civic benefit would probably be in demand, it was not necessary to ask the same persons for additional sacrifice of their time for this purpose. To my surprise and pleasure, the committee refused to be disorganized, but to a man declared themselves ready for any public spirited job whatsoever.

This attitude, I believe, is typical of the advertising man everywhere today. In every community he stands ready to give of his best for any worthy public cause. Realize, then, that in his chosen field he is an expert, that his assistance can be of untold value to you and to the cause for which you work. Do not hesitate to call upon him, for if our experience in Detroit can be trusted, he is willing and even eager to direct his general knowledge and his special experience gained in wartime publicity to the use and benefit of the community.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION*

"Newspapers are hungry for news," was the opinion of *Dr. Cyrus L. Stimson* of New York, but executives of social organizations neither feed reporters news nor have they developed sense of what news is. *Mr. W. C. Howell* of Dallas also believed that social organizations furnish news from their own point of view rather than from the viewpoint of what the newspapers' ideas and what the public's ideas of news is. On the other hand, *Mr. Cavanaugh* of Boston believed that the editors and newspapermen generally had to be educated as to the existence, purposes and functions of social agencies.

Des Moines social agencies, twenty-six of them in the federation, received adequate publicity through the monthly reports of each organization furnished the newspapers and through short, catchy articles prepared continually during the entire year. *Mr. H. L. Eddy* during the campaign had the assistance of the "Ad" Club, a condition true of Louisville, according to *Mr. Elwood Street*.

Mr. E. G. Routsahn of New York did not encourage the use of exhibits and other graphic forms for publicity and education, unless they are skillfully prepared and made parts of a sound plan for accomplishing some definite results.

It was generally agreed that newspapers would take stories if they were real "news," and that editors and newspapermen should be cultivated. *Mr. Alexander Fleisher* of New York pointed out, however, that social workers should carefully analyze the subjects on which they desired publicity and that the people to be reached should be studied so as to apply the proper publicity in the most effective manner.

Miss Amy Woods of Boston struck a new note by declaring that fundamental causes of distress should be emphasized rather than individual histories and that she felt that the trend of publicity in federated cities has been to focus the public eye upon the agencies instead of the causes of the conditions which the agencies were called into being to overcome. Such publicity gives a false security to the contributor and lessens his feeling of personal responsibility to eliminate causes.

Others who participated in the informal discussion were: *Mr. Hathonet*, Kansas City; *Miss Marjorie Evans*, Minneapolis; *Mr. Matson*, Cleveland; *Mr. W. L. Hatch*, New York City; *Mr. Cavanaugh*, Boston; *Mrs. Pfeiffer*, St. Paul; *Mr. Byron R. Long*, Columbus; *Mr. Elmer L. Scott*, Dallas, and *Mr. Wm. R. Stewart* of New York.

*Reports given in first two paragraphs reproduced without authors' corrections.

ORGANIZATION OF SOCIAL FORCES OF A STATE

Elmer Scott, Executive Secretary, Civic Federation of Dallas, Texas

A writer in the New York Evening Post with the pen name "Methuselah" is moved by the frequent and varied demands on his luncheon time to complain humorously of newly fledged forms of reconstruction and of raucous voiced "Challenges." He catalogues the former all the way from "Reconstruction of the Female Silhouette" to "Reconstruction of Reconstruction," and the latter by days of the calendar.

Not knowing this writer's back-ground of intelligent understanding, one cannot say whether this attempt to emphasize the ridiculous is intended to be constructive or destructive. The fact remains, however, in the serious game of human advancement that the grand-stand has an increasing number of applauding on-lookers, but a lot of them are running down into the field—not all to help the trained players to carry forward the ball of social progress—but many to roll individual peanuts with a toothpick.

Present Lack of Organization

The present social organization in most states is that an undermanned and poorly equipped factory with the general stockholders indifferent as to whether they make a profit or not. There is no real accounting department and never a complete and understandable inventory. No one really knows whether this workshop is making a profit or not. That there is a human waste becomes a matter of common knowledge, not—except with a few—as a result of thoughtful regard, but because the workshop is obstructed. Thus not only is the machinery for making a finished product subject to criticism, but the procedure for taking care of and utilizing the by-products of this wasteful process is both negligible and unrelated.

This preface contains no new thought. It is merely written to emphasize the fact on which the whole paper is predicated, viz.: that the social forces of a state should consist not alone of those elements which we denominate as agencies or institutions. These are insecure and ineffectual if they are not supported by a well ordered and fixed public opinion.

In an ideal state there are but three social forces that have a justifiable existence, viz.: the family, the school and the church. If these three were to function ideally for as many generations, prisons and insane asylums and charity organization societies would be historical curiosities. But because these have not functioned, the catalogue of other social agencies is a long one. Ordinarily such a catalogue recites the state institutions for the physically and mentally diseased and for the delinquent and dependent. To these are added such institutions as counties and cities provide for their delinquent, dependent and sick. Then there are the numerous private and sectarian agencies, local and state-wide—many of which have visions of prevention but which are usually so undermanned that "social ambulances" are all they can maintain.

It seems an idle and unprofitable effort to formulate a theory of organization where the units which would compose the organization may be either faulty in themselves or give little promise of coherence. Back of this and of primary importance lies the possible background of an apathetic or even anti-social citizenship. The natural sequence then of plans looking toward organization of social effort is first the cultivation of a sound and ripe public opinion and second the correction of inherent faults in the functioning of the units of component parts of the ultimate machine.

Basis of Social Organization

We therefore feel completely justified in predicating organization on preparedness in these two particulars.

First. The part that the people must play. This is not a question merely of the volunteer social worker or of the friendly visitor. It has to do with the universality of social ideals and with the public conception of community responsibility. It is not that each of the three million adults of Texas, for example, should be active social workers, as we presently interpret that term, but that each one can and does affect his fellows and that each should have an enlightened understanding of and a common interest in social progress. The tendency of some organized social agencies has been to superimpose an opinion or a method upon an unreflecting and unresponsive public. It matters not if these opinions or methods are right. The public is indifferent and hostile to innovations or new ideas unless it is taken into the propagandist's confidence. The consequence is that those who elect themselves as the social monitors of the state seek through a multitude of statutes and of organizations to determine social progress.

This last is not in any way to be taken as a condemnation either of statutes or of organizations, but to say that they are essential in no way proves them presently workable. If they are not productive of constructive service, their present justification is hard to prove. We are wont to deplore the long period of struggle through which an agency or a law must go before its value is apparent to the general public. We sometimes say that "this trial period is well, for out of the conflict and effort comes the better plan." It seems a pity that we must waste the years experimenting on helpless folk before deserving or getting public approval. To tell the truth, that which we later call public approval is really not that at all in the finer sense. It simply means that that particular effort has become "popular" and popularity is a dangerous adherent to tie to.

We have a tendency to blame the public too much for negligence. The truth is that when we have a social gospel to preach we sometimes maintain a "superior" attitude, or "speak in unknown tongues" or otherwise fail to tell all people in words or one syllable what it's all about. We are so anxious that our program should go through right now that we allow no past experience to guide us. Prohibition is the outcome of a long educational program and only comes about when a marked majority of the people have been so enlightened that they agree that it is a good thing for people to be temperate—at least so far as liquor is concerned.

The first fault then that needs to be overcome before there can be a proper organization of the social forces is that of neglecting the public. Let us "above all things get understanding." Then will come social vision and with it—likemindedness for social justice. When this prevails, there is always public approval, co-operation and support.

Institutional "Ego"

The second fault lies in the agencies themselves. This fault may be properly divided into two forms, one of which is the lack of perception of true functions. As examples of this one may well cite destructive prison systems, unsocial care of the aged poor or institutional neglect of children.

Then there is that other serious and even more deplorable fault—that of "institutional ego"—shall we call it?

We have much talk of overlapping and duplication. We do deplore both, where they exist in reality. Back of these lie very often a jealousy of prerogative, a quarrel over the most responsive clients or an assumption on the part of one that another agency is inefficient. The fact is that many private, as well as public agencies, would appear to have a greater concern for a popular esteem of their institution than for the ultimate rehabilitation of their "patients" and for the latter's reentrance into society as valuable and integral parts.

The sole purpose of social agencies is not to build institutions, but to

play their part in the broad scheme of social effort to lift up, to build up, to foster social justice and to make good citizens out of the by-products of society. There is no true sincerity or consecration in any social agency of rehabilitation that does not seek every means whereby its need for existence may disappear. In pleading for abolition of institutional ego, we are not proposing an absence of institutional pride, but that pride must be in known results of "social profit." Neither do we suggest that form of indifference or incompetency that makes of the agency a way station for passing on its problems. Each to his duty but each with a proper conception of correct sequence in social effort. This matter of sequence is one of vast importance. Having before us solely the vision of a completed social task, only then do we begin to set proper value on the other links in the chain of constructive service. Note these sequences: *Sickness*—the church visitor, the social worker, the district nurse, the hospital, the hospital social service, the visiting housekeeper, the social service worker, the friendly visitor; *crime*—the police, the courts, the prison, probation, prisoners' aid society, industry; *delinquency*—the neighbor, the social worker, humane society, juvenile court, the psychiatrist, probation officer, industrial school, probation, big brother, industry.

These examples of sequence of service could be carried on indefinitely and in infinite variety until it would readily appear that there is not a single justifiable social agency that exists, public or private, sectarian or secular, which is not in one way or another open to the constructive helpfulness of some other in working out the human problems and getting the correct answer.

Thus it appears that there is not much hope of successful organization until each social force has not only studied its own work, especially at "the points of intersection" with other agencies, as Miss Richmond has said, but shall have evinced an intelligent interest and concern in the function as well as efficiency of other agencies that precede and follow in the sequence of processes. Thus only will we, as Miss Richmond again says "strengthen the whole fabric of social reform."

Lest some one may make the hasty criticism that too much time is given to the thing to be organized, let it be said that the whole principle of successful organization is based on a consideration of all the elements first, and of the scheme second. Even a mediocre plan of operation will work out well in willing and competent hands, where the most ideal system is a shabby failure in hands not competent or sympathetic.

There is no doubt that even a hasty survey of all the states would reveal a graduation in organization of social forces—from none at all to quite a well ordered tendency toward such a result. The writer has relieved himself of the embarrassment of appraising able efforts that have been made and of undertaking to set out that example which seems the most promising. The assertion that the social forces of no state have ever yet been organized is not to be interpreted as a failure to recognize intelligent and fervent efforts in that direction.

Program Calls for Broad Vision

We do, however, maintain a speakers privilege to interpret in his own way the subject assigned him. It contemplates an undertaking of great magnitude and many ramifications. It cannot be narrowed to the institutions supported by the state, for these are only created because of local conditions throughout the state and are but a presently essential part of the whole machinery.

It takes some courage to accept a subject of this importance and then to admit frankly that in the speakers mind there is no present answer. This admission and frankness are predicated on a fairly good understanding of all the elements that enter into such an undertaking and the belief that a task

of vast magnitude and possibilities calls for a big program. If the danger to the state is as great from its inside social conditions as from international foes, there is certainly no reason why social machinery should not be overhauled and adjusted with the same completeness as undertaken by a nation at war.

I trust that this plunge into a pool of unknown depth has not led to a too unusual splash of words. There is no alchemy of social method. I simply don't know how to organize the social forces of the state and I don't believe any one else does. Furthermore, I don't believe any scheme of organization can be superimposed successfully upon a state. I therefore offer the following as the natural sequence of necessary efforts looking toward a well ordered, effective and workable social organization.

Commission on Social Organization.

Create a commission on social organization of one hundred men and women, public spirited citizens of the state, selected for their known qualifications and experience, ten each to be chosen because of their special interest in the ten problems. That there be created an ample fund—one-half supplied by the state and one-half by the private, sectarian and fraternal agencies of the state. That the commission be appointed for two years and to accomplish the following, through thoroughly organized divisions or bureaus:

(a) To catalogue the following social problems and to determine their natural boundaries—that each bureau may not unnecessarily overlap the other:

- (1) Public health and housing.
- (2) Child welfare.
- (3) Industrial welfare.
- (4) Education.
- (5) Correction and reform.
- (6) Mental defectiveness.
- (8) Recreation.
- (9) Public morals.
- (10) Rural welfare.

To assign each of the above to a committee or bureau of ten, each bureau to elect its own chairman, the ten bureau chairmen to constitute the executive board of the commission.

(b) Each bureau to make a comprehensive survey of all agencies or social forces related to its problem—governmental, state, county and municipal—private, sectarian and fraternal.

(c) Using the counties as units, to make a complete and comprehensive survey of the actual conditions existing under each problem. In other words, to take a social inventory, to the end that for once we may set a value on our human assets, measure their deterioration, and have society give an account of its stewardship.

(d) To seek out and study social effort of every sort wherever undertaken, taking account not only of its expressed intent, but of its actual profit. To codify and analyze the state's social legislation and in the light of knowledge and research to recommend necessary revision and additions.

(e) To carry on through platform and pulpit, press and printed matter, a campaign of enlightenment that every man, woman and child in the state shall be fully acquainted—not with vain theory, but with known facts and aroused to a social consciousness with a quickened public conscience and an intelligent approach to social method.

(f) With the above data in hand, to work out a social program for

the state, a comprehensive yet not an overloaded machinery, simple, yet touching the humblest community; interrelated, yet denying to no justifiable agency, organization or institution its proper independence of initiative and function.

Not Formality but Efficiency

Whether the ultimate state organization would take the form of a state board of public welfare, or a bureau of social efficiency, or a permanent commission representing all the social problems, I am not here to say. That I would not pretend to say is evidenced by the sequence of events herein outlined as necessary before a wise judgment could be rendered. I do know that wise decisions are made only after you get the facts. Is it not time that we should stop crying "Wolf! Wolf!" knowing full well, it is true, that there is a *wolf*, but finding it impossible that many others should dread its presence as we do?

"It can't be done," you say. What you really mean is it can't be done—much of it—in your lifetime. You say that even if such a commission were organized and did make its survey and its deductions and analyses and propose a program, the social forces would demur and quibble; the "two and seventy jarring sects" would stand aloof and political boards would chafe—"Now, my friends, didn't I warn you of just that?"

The lessons of the war are obvious to those men and women of America who have come to this conference. In the midst of constant activity you have cultivated both observation and reflection. You have witnessed the gradual awakening of this sleeping giant nation. You have noted that each succeeding liberty loan became freer and more spontaneous, that the spirit of giving became almost universal. You have applauded the immeasurably greater offering—that of service and life itself of brave men and noble women—and have been inspired by the evidence of a people united in a great cause.

We are now at the "cross roads of history." It is for those who are unselfishly concerned in the very life of the nation to set up the true guide posts. Every nation that has risen or fallen in the world's history came to just such cross roads. Not a nation has there been whose rise was due to wealth of money, but to the richness of its manhood; nor whose fall was through material poverty, but through decay of men.

There is no marvel of organization or mobilization of men and money which has been produced during the stress of war that cannot well be duplicated in the greater problems after the war. These latter are not new. In a sense they are not accentuated. They are simply more apparent because a greater number of people are more or less cognizant of them. Some of them, however, are more dangerous in the aftermath of international conflict, when as a mass we seem to be perplexed and confused. Between the driving power of a strange propelling force on one side, and an appalling cliff on the other, nations are as stampeded cattle.

Nations or states which stand too long asking what can be done—or seek strange cure-alls or pursue the ostrich's tactics in the face of danger, need well be ashamed of incompetency which prophesies disaster. Great causes, national problems, race progress, are in the test tubes of America's laboratory. What America or its states shall do must follow a social program as broad, as carefully planned and as far visioned—yes! far more so than that program which has engaged the best minds and the united efforts of one hundred million people of America for the last four years.

ORGANIZING A COUNTY.

E. L. Morgan, National Director Bureau of Rural Organization, American Red Cross, Washington.

During the past few years there has evolved the organization idea in social work. When we have used the term organization in the past we have thought of organizing something new, that is, creating some new board or institution. The new interpretation of the word in relation to social work is that organization consists of the adjustment of factors one to the other and to a social unit as a whole. When an overseeing expert organizes an industry he takes account of the various factors of the industry, that is, the light, heat and ventilation of the building, machinery used, source and cost of raw material, labor employ, price paid, his conditions of living, how the finished product is packed and transported, as well as the selling price. He takes account of all these factors, adjusts them, one to the other, and leaves behind him a plan for development of the industry. The same idea applies when it comes to organizing the county. This same sort of work has been done by social workers with families for many years. We really need to develop this same sort of definite, measurable case-work with counties. In a plan of social development it must be given a place for several reasons:

1. It is a social and administrative unit. There are many problems of county-wide nature, such as schools, roads, law enforcement, poor relief, etc., which may be worked out on a county basis.
2. It is a link in a chain of the country life development program. From the state to the local community is a step too great. The county must be developed to fill its place in the chain which includes nation, state, county and community.
3. The county is the direct approach to the community. There are many county-wide agencies whose function it is to work directly with the communities within the county. The county, of course, should then be thought of as a means to the end which is the development of satisfactory substantial communities.
4. The time has come for a larger application of statesmanship in our social work; more especially is this true in any approach to the rural aspects of the question.

Much of our social work in the past has been of a wreckage-work nature with many of the ear-marks of the work of a mechanic rather than the trained social engineer. All of this so-called wreckage-work must continue at least during our time, but we must, if possible, evolve redirective measures which will reduce the amount of case-work with families which will be necessary. To do this effectively and on a broad scale may be rather of a large order, but the time has come to make such a beginning as will command the respect of thinking people interested in social work. There are those who question whether we have this today.

County organization has been carried on in various parts of the country in various ways. There is sufficient similarity, however, in the general plan used so that we may think of the following as being somewhat typical:

1. A get-together of the existing county-wide agencies for an exchange in plans and projects.
2. The discussion of the needs of particular communities.
3. A study of the county and the forming of some sort of a county get-together medium. Sometimes this has been in the form of a county council comprised of one person from each county-wide agency.

4. After these county organizations have worked into each other's plans for a time, the people of the county have been called together by these agencies in what has been called a county conference. This conference has heard reports of the work done by various agencies during the year past, as well as proposed plans for the future. It has heard discussions of various outstanding problems which come before the county. In many instances it has decided to make a thorough-going study of some phase of a problem which may need attention. This may be agriculture, education, health, child-welfare, roads, or recreation. In almost every instance the long look ahead has been given a large place, an effort being made to determine, as far as possible, what is the probable future of the county from the standpoint of industry, population, etc.

In many counties this sort of county conference has come to be an annual affair and is looked forward to by leaders all over the county. The goal in county organization is such a coming together of the organized agencies and volunteer leaders of the county as will result in a working program of development for the county as a whole and various towns individually. The program is worked out by the people and carried out afterward by existing county organizations, boards and institutions.

The writer appreciates that there are many hundreds of counties over the United States where it is impossible to proceed, at least with such a thorough-going plan. Let it be understood that in developing work of this sort, every county has its starting point. This may be nothing more than a county conference on child-welfare, health, education or agriculture. There are many counties which have no county-wide organizations. It may be that one of the functions of a county movement will be the supplying of the county with such permanent organization instruments as it may need.

Our experience has been that where the common sense view has been taken and leaders from various parts of the county have been called together in an honest effort to discover the needs and bring about remedial measures that results have been forthcoming. It will be well for us to assume the same idea toward county organization as Socrates advised his friend concerning going to Mount Olympus, which was "that he do all his walking that way."

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Mr. Henry C. Wright of New York: It is time for us to do something more than just care for the wreckage. We have been so busy that we have had but little time for anything but post-mortem work. It is vital that we get at the sources of distress and attack them. Country districts constitute one of our largest problems. Fifty per cent of our people live in the country. A large proportion of the organized effort in cities comes from country-born people. They should certainly be able to work out some way of applying their knowledge to the country districts.

Prof. Dwight Sanderson of Ithaca, N. Y.: I would like to know just what county organizations are to be considered social agencies. We have been looking at this thing too much from the standpoint of the city. We have over 900 granges in the country. We have our local schools, churches and farm bureaus. How are we to get them all together? Our city agencies have very little contact with the granges. We ought to get acquainted with them and work out some social program. Otherwise, the farmer will have no great interest. He is rather suspicious of so-called "uplift work."

Mr. John Daniels of New York: The first fundamental principle of community organization is that there is no patented method of organization; the second, that there are two kinds of organization—first, that which is inherent in a certain situation, and second, that which is intentional. We must attempt to get the maximum possible results out of these kinds of organizations—first, by using the thing which is homeliest and plainest to be seen; second, by securing the actual participation of the people; and third, by getting support from within the community rather than looking outside for it.

Mr. Sherman C. Kingsley, Cleveland: Mr. Fred Croxton of the Council of National Defense, at the instance of Governor Cox, called a meeting of all agencies doing state-wide work, in the spring. They each in turn told what they were planning to do, and submitted schedules of the general scheme of their work. I never saw anything apparently better for the people who did it than this conference of state-wide agencies. I would

like to see it on a bigger scale for the nation. There certainly ought to be a better mutual understanding of programs on the part of national agencies.

Mr. Walter W. Whitson, Evanston, Ill.: We ought to differentiate between rural and urban counties and between the different stages of development of the various counties.

Dr. D. B. Tucker of Stillwater, Okla.: We must have in mind the great distances in the country districts, which make organization there different from city organization. Our county agricultural agents and farm demonstrators ought to be very valuable in country organization.

Miss Mabel Brown Ellis of New York: One good way to promote the development of social work in the country is to provide for the establishment of a county board of public welfare, closely related to a state board of public welfare, which can supervise and standardize the rural work. Another good way is to train workers who understand the psychology of country-bred people and who are willing and able to undergo the physical inconveniences, which living in the open country sometimes necessitates. The American Red Cross is working along this line at Berea, Kentucky, where a class of sixteen mountain-bred young people are being prepared for work as Home Service secretaries in the mountain counties of Kentucky.

Others who participated in informal discussions were: *Cheney C. Jones*, Philadelphia; *Mrs. L. S. Thompson*, Red Bank, N. J.; and *W. S. Brown* of Birmingham, Ala.

CONSERVING WAR TIME SPIRIT AND ORGANIZATION FOR PEACE TIME NEEDS

Sherman C. Kingsley, Director, The Welfare Federation of Cleveland

The first thing to be said about War Chests is that they were an unqualified financial success. The country was confronted with unprecedented responsibilities. Subscribers to war charities faced the additional obligation of meeting quotas for bonds and thrift stamps and unusual taxes levied to meet war requirements besides.

The War Chest idea arose quite spontaneously out of the needs of the time. It had a prototype in the Federations of Jewish Charities, which had been in operation for a number of years, and the experience of a number of other cities which had federated their general philanthropic agencies. There was thus an example of team work and community interest and effort as a suggestion for the War Chest activity. The unifying motive supplied by the war made it possible to apply these principles in a large way to the greatest community endeavor and money-raising enterprise ever undertaken in the United States.

War Chest success was two-fold. First, the vast sum of money needed was raised. Not a single War Chest failed to make its quota. The writer has just completed a study of War Chest results. Replies were received from 43 cities. These cities aggregated a population of 7,068,750. Of this number of people, 2,273,216 were enrolled as contributors. This means that 32 per cent of the entire population became contributors. They gave an average of \$9.79 for every man, woman and child in these respective cities and an average of \$30.40 for each one of those who did the contributing. These figures are substantially the same as those reported by *Mr. Henry M. Wriston* in his book on *War Chest Practice*.*

It is to be regretted that data is not in hand which would make it possible to compare these figures with similar data concerning those who support the usual peace time agencies. Very few cities have this information, but in the cities where there are Federations, this data is fairly accurately known and it is probable that the percentage of population contributing to usual peace time philanthropies is somewhere between three and five per cent. This disparity at least challenges interest and is worthy of careful study.

The second, and perhaps greatest result of War Chests, was the achievement of solidarity. People laid aside lesser considerations and worked

*See *War Chest Practice*, by *Henry M. Wriston*, Council of Defense, Hartford, Conn. A valuable treatise on War Chests. 157 pages.

together for the greater things. It was a civic achievement, for both individuals and groups realized that, when they were thus working with one another, their community was functioning at its best and that they were experiencing a satisfaction and joy in service such as they had not known before.

In any effort to study and interpret this subject, one should always bear in mind the peculiar circumstances that obtained during the war. One would not expect any other urge to equal the Win-the-War motive that prevailed at this time. This was, of course, one of the supreme factors in the case.

There is a second consideration to be borne in mind and that is the unusual degree of employment which prevailed at this period as well as the high wages that obtained. This, in spite of the high prices and the heavy demands of the time for bonds, thrift stamps and other war needs, made it possible for industrial workers, with few exceptions, to join the ranks of givers and help to swell the totals that made up these unprecedented results.

In addition there was a third very important element, namely, the unified plan of action and team work which enlisted every element in the community, which gripped the imagination and enthusiasm of people in all walks of life and led them to make a consolidated effort, to think of one thing at one time and to unite as one for the achievement of a common result.

In spite of the elements peculiar to the war, it ought not to be impossible for people who believe in ideals to utilize this third element in their approach to peace time problems, namely, the utilization of the unified effort at understanding and support. The fight against the age-long enemies of mankind—disease, poverty, ignorance, bewilderment, degradation and injustice—is not won and needs, for a successful issue, the same kind of unity of spirit and team work which were demonstrated as possible in the war period.

The success or failure of efforts at conversion of War Chests into Federations will be determined largely by the attitude of their Boards of Directors. There is a proneness with some towards the fallacy of autocracy. The assumption of authority and the inspiration for imposing benefits on others are alluring and seductive impulses. The next step in the process is to give enactment to these assumed attributes and powers through the application of a similarly assumed scheme of control. According to this school of thought, this can be done most expeditiously through a small group. The sanction for this procedure must likewise be assumed or come from somewhere. The Kaiser claimed to have secured his directly from God. The managers of War Chests or of the federated social agencies of certain American cities would get theirs from the Mayor or from themselves.

In view of what has recently happened to the extreme exponents of autocratic procedure there should be no excuse for making such mistakes in the delicate and complex field of social service. This field has its own peculiar problems and they are largely those of dealing with human beings in adversity. For this reason they need an unusual degree of patience and sympathy and of subtle understanding. We often speak of "scientific" charity, but nothing in this whole field of endeavor is scientific which is not human, and the more deeply human it is the more truly scientific the work becomes.

There can be no excuse for high-handed, autocratic measures based on the assumption that the raising of money or a ready way of applying so-called scientific efficiency methods are the chief and only needs in the social service field. Neither can there be hope of success without the recognition of participation and representation by those who are chiefly concerned. The whole purpose of the war has been for the aspirations and the rights of little nations and of little people and we cannot expect success in the social service field unless this principle is recognized on behalf of those who are applying these broad principles to the men, women and children in our various communities who need an application of these same doctrines in their behalf.

We have stressed this point perhaps to a degree which may seem unwarranted by some people. We have done it, however, because it seems to be a pitfall most likely to be fallen into and the most outstanding danger. However, these past two years have seen an unusual degree of co-operation and team work. War activities of many kinds have brought people together in many other ways than through common service in War Chest campaigns. These experiences ought to have moved us along the lines of co-operation much more rapidly than in any other similar period of time.

After all, the social service agencies have been at work in their respective communities for a long time. It does not seem much of an answer to make to those who want to see a better mobilization of these forces, to plead that the agencies ought themselves first to have time to get together and to urge that it does take a long time. This is the answer that is given in many places where public-spirited people, who have worked with War Chests, dislike to see the splendid spirit and methods of the war activities demobilized and discontinued while there are still so many things to be done in their respective communities. If the agencies can make no better answer than to say that it is very difficult for them to work together and that they ought first to have a period of Central Council or some other activity, is not a fair question for those who wish the more effective mobilization to ask the agencies when they expect to begin their more effective co-operation, their Council, or whatever form of activity, and about how long it ought to take.

There are two other questions that ought to be considered in connection with the conversion of War Chests into Peace Chests. First, that of foreign war relief. The conditions in many of the foreign countries are still appalling and the distress is greater than can be pictured. Vast sums of money are needed. Whether this is to come from popular subscriptions or whether, as many believe, should be the case, it will come from governmental action, is not yet decided. In case there are further large demands upon the country for relief to be met by popular subscription, it is likely that our various communities will have quotas levied and will face the problem of raising this money. War Chest managers should have this question in mind whether the decision is to disband the War Chest altogether or to continue it in some form of Peace Chest.

The second question is that of financing national agencies. Each community needs to face the question as to whether or not it wishes to determine for itself its obligation to these various organizations on the basis of a careful study and knowledge of the purposes and needs of these organizations, or whether it will respond to quotas and expectations levied one at a time by these respective bodies through individual campaigns and drives. It would seem to us that the situation here requires a more thorough understanding and united action on the part of our different communities. We elect our President and our national representatives, and have that much voice in the policies which they carry out. These officers can be changed at the end of their terms. There is no such procedure had by local communities with reference to these national bodies and there will be none unless the various communities of the county study these problems and are able to require from the national bodies, individually or collectively, some comprehensible statement of their plans and needs.

These elements, it seems to us, should at least be considered and understood by communities when they are contemplating converting a War Chest to a peace time basis. We are undertaking in this paper, not to make recommendations, but to state the different elements and facts and present data which, it is hoped, may be of some help to communities in deciding their local problems. The principles involved are the same whether or not there is already a Federation in a given city or whether it is non-federation, but the

steps to be taken may differ somewhat, depending upon whether there is Federation or not.

In a city which already has a Federation and which has a War Chest, there could be a merger. If there are eligible agencies not already in the Federation, they can become members through election by the Federation and choosing their delegates. If there are members on the War Chest or War Council who are not already members of the Board of the Federation and who ought to be on this body, such persons can be elected either to fill vacancies or additional places can be made through changing By-Laws. The War Chest machinery can become the Finance Committee or collection body of the Federation.

It would seem to us that the problem of handling further war needs or the budgets of national bodies can be cared for either in a joint drive or as separate drives, according as the conditions of different communities determine. The local social service agencies cover the permanent needs of the situation and just as everybody gladly gave war needs the preference and made them the major issue, the war needs become now subsidiary. At least this will be true after a year or so.

In cities where there is no Federation the plan of organization could be the same, viz.: providing for representation and participation by the constitution agencies. It would seem that if there is no Central Council of Social Agencies or other body which would naturally be looked to for initiative, this might come from the War Chest itself, which might call a meeting and take the lead in the process of converting the War Chest to peace needs.

Here again representation should be had on such a board from the accredited social agencies in the community, and such representations, together with the War Chest Board, would constitute a General Board, whose initial duty would be to elect from its number, or at large, a Board of Trustees, which should become the body responsible for government and leadership in the work proposed. The General Board would constitute a sort of specialized town meeting forum for the discussion of problems, the recommendation of movements, and of promoting constructive measures and right standards of work. Annually it would elect the portion of the trustees whose terms expire. The War Chest machinery here also could become the Finance Committee and money-raising body.

Returning to the subject of budget study and work planning, which is regarded as an absolute essential in Federation practice, the processes, as practised by Federations, can be stated briefly (as included in the folder on Methods and Principles of Community Organization issued by the American Association for Community Organization), as follows:

1. Each organization should be furnished before the beginning of the year with a budgetary form upon which it can list in detail its estimate of income and expenditure for the ensuing year.
2. These budgets should be analyzed by the Budget Committee or a smaller committee appointed by the Budget Committee for this specific purpose. Each organization should be called before this committee so that it may explain its budget. In this way duplications and gaps in the social program may be corrected.
3. The result of the analysis of the budgets by the Budget Committee should form the basis for the appeal to be presented to the community.
4. The Budget Committee should require from each agency a monthly statement of income and expenditure according to the items listed in the original budget; also a service report each month outlining the social work and the social service accomplishments.
5. The original budgets agreed upon by the committee may be changed by the Central Budget Committee as conditions justify.

In addition to the annual study and review thus carried on, Federations are in constant touch with the agencies through monthly service and financial reports and this in effect constitutes a continuing survey.

It is our recommendation that if a Federation or Peace Chest be started, opportunity be given to designate at least to the local agencies. The organi-

zations have built up their work and their constituency through pains-taking efforts and over varying lengths of time. Many people have special interests and strong predilections and they should be given opportunity to express them. When, however, Federations have existed long enough to have demonstrated that this is not necessary, then will be time enough to discontinue this practice; but neither agencies nor contributors should be asked to forego this exercise of choice on the inauguration of a Peace Chest or Federation.

The Welfare Federation of Cleveland, through an arrangement with its local agencies, is employing a common auditor and arrangement has been made whereby this concern will aid the Federation and the agencies through a careful and sympathetic understanding of their needs, and through bringing to each of the agencies the best that is to be had in the social service field. It is not expected that this will bring about uniformity in detail, but that it will make available the best principles and practices for all concerned, and will help to make possible an interpretation to the community both of the facts about the money received and expended and in addition will give them an understanding of what this money does in terms of service to individuals and situations needing attention.

An important question not usually dealt with financially by Federations is that of buildings and extensions and taking care of mortgages. It is important, as is generally conceded, to make budgets and careful plans for current expenses in order that money may be matched against needs. It would seem that it is equally or more important to study and plan new buildings, new projects and extensions which call for current expenses.

The Welfare Federation of Cleveland has a committee that came into existence at the call for co-operation from the Federation by a number of settlements which are to move to new quarters and to build or to rebuild on old quarters. They realized that many problems are involved. First, the question of population and the trend of business and residential sections; also the distribution of nationality must be considered. Still another question concerning settlement activities relates to whether or not they are or should be modified by the tendency on the part of public schools to conduct social centers and to equip school houses with gymnasiums, auditoriums, playgrounds and swimming pools. This same question relates to the development of public parks.

Accordingly this committee is making a study not only of these questions, but of the achievements of settlements; what literature and pamphlets have issued from them; what their successes or failures or shortcomings have been. This is the kind of a study and the manner in which the committee is meeting the co-operation asked for by the settlements.

Similarly it is possible to know whether a city is under or over hospitalized; likewise whether or not it has too many or too few or the right kind of children's institutions. Cleveland proposes to make similar studies in these fields.

This whole question assumes further importance through the tendencies in our individual relationships. Accident prevention and sanitation in shops and factories are tending to make fewer sick people. Typhoid fever, as a producer of widowhood and orphanage, has practically been wiped out. Other triumphs in the medical field have been achieved and still others are on the way. Employers' liability and workmen's compensation have taken care of many families in a natural and a more satisfactory manner than was once the case. The relationships which have already been worked out and are in process between employers and employees, and higher standards of pay will take still others off the books of charitable organizations. Many other movements are in process which will greatly affect the field of social service, and whether it is wise, because of sectarian and denominational division, to include the matter of raising money for buildings in any drive or federated effort

is a profound question. At least, the community should be able greatly to profit by study on the part of its wisest, most interested and most sympathetic people on this question. Some determination and leadership will issue which will make more certain and vital the uses of such projects because of the greater certainty that they are intelligent means applied to needed ends.

Another point that should not be overlooked and which was prominently emphasized by the authors of the book, *Financial Federations*, is the matter of trained and sympathetic ability in the executive leadership of the Federation or Peace Chest. This point cannot be too strongly emphasized. An unfortunate personality can greatly damage a well defined and standard business. Still more in the field where there are so many delicate problems relating to race, to social traditions and to forms of expression of the social impulses, is the right kind of leadership indispensable.

It should be kept in mind, too, that the person who is placed at the head of a movement of this kind is occupying an important position. The combined work of the various social agencies even in a small town may equal the magnitude of the largest society in our three or four largest cities. The budgets in a city of two, three or four hundred thousand may exceed the budgets of the largest city organization. While the head of a Federation is not called upon to exercise any administrative functions that refer to the individual agencies, yet he must understand the needs and peculiar problems of each of them and be able to exercise intelligent leadership in any one of the fields and altogether be able to be useful by his knowledge and experience and vision in the whole field. The community that can secure such a person should feel no hesitancy in paying a salary commensurate with the requirements of the office, for the right kind of man can be of great value in such a capacity.

There is, in our opinion, a very definite need of a forward step in the social service field. Every community, according to its size, has tens, hundreds or thousands of social service agencies. These agencies had small beginnings. In this country it has been very easy to start organizations, for we have believed in individualism and freedom of expression, and one of the forms of expression has been to build organizations around various ideas.

This fact, applied to our altruistic impulses, has given rise to the large number of social agencies. Some of our cities do not know how many agencies they have collecting subscriptions and doing social service work of some kind. Most cities do not know how much they cost, what work they accomplish, how much property they own, what percentage of their budgets is received through earnings, or how much endowment they have. In most places there is no effective way of profiting by experiences gained in this vast amount of work or of interpreting the facts and making them socially useful. A day's work by the social service workers in Cleveland, for instance, deals with an average of twelve thousand people. These workers go everywhere over the city. There is no phase of poverty, disease, bewilderment or degradation which these people do not encounter, no neglected out-of-the-way places which do not receive their visits. This information certainly should mean something. It would be a poor army that did not record the facts and observations gained by its scouts and signal service and the information gained from its skirmish lines and make use of it both in its immediate and long time campaigns.

It is likewise poor social service that merely buries this vast information in voluminous records in thousands of communities all over the country. The social service agencies, to be sure, have their localized, individual responsibility to discharge but there is something plus this responsibility, namely, the clear interpretation of their experience. Together these do constitute one of the large fields of service and one which better than any other in the whole community finds the weak places and furnishes the real test, because it shows

how the situation is resting upon the weakest and most defenseless members of the community—the babies, the little children, the sick, the aged, the people who have been spent in exacting processes of modern industrialism.

Orphan asylums and relief agencies, infirmaries and other expressions of the charitable impulse are ornaments to society, not as facades and memorials to architects, or to individuals, or to families, or as avenues for the application of an unblemished technique. They are ornaments and a credit to civilization only as and if they render vital, regenerative and rehabilitative service to those who for the moment are victims of their own shortcomings or who have succumbed to the various vicissitudes of circumstances and environment, and also as they utilize the knowledge and experience gained to bring about constructive and preventive measures which tend to keep others from falling into the same distress.

Social service agencies have accepted the task of trying to serve people in their bewilderments and trouble. We feel that it is time for these agencies to introduce processes which will more effectively realize upon the larger possibilities. A Federation, organized as we have suggested it, becomes the larger self of the individual agencies and provides the mechanism through which financial reports and news from the social service field may arrive automatically. It ought to afford a developing and continuing process whereby this information becomes more vital because of interpretation of experiences and facts and thus affording a possibility of their social application and use. The call to workers in the social service field is that they understand the problems and elements with which they are dealing and that they so mobilize the forces at their command that their efforts will issue in results that promise progress and victory to the field for which they are responsible.

LESSONS FROM ENDORSEMENT WORK IN RELATION TO WAR CHARITIES

Barry C. Smith, Director, National Investigation Bureau, New York.

In the early spring of 1917 the Charity Organization Society of New York, through its Bureau of Advice and Information, undertook a somewhat unusual experiment for a private charitable organization. For a year or more previous the bureau had been receiving a large and constantly increasing number of inquiries concerning war charities. Many of these were national or interstate rather than local in scope. Organized hastily to meet emergent needs, directed more often than not by people with little or no experience in the administration of social agencies and without knowledge of business methods, lacking any form of supervision, official or voluntary, these organizations had adopted all sorts of curiously inefficient and thoroughly unsatisfactory methods. The urgency of existing needs had appealed strongly to the generous. It had called for quick action and had resulted, was, indeed, continuing to result, in the hasty organization of committees to raise money for every imaginable purpose.

The need was spectacular in the extreme; the charitable public was only too ready to respond. Money poured in; local committees became great national agencies almost over night. In short, a great mushroom growth had sprung up in which, by the time the United States entered the world war, had appeared evils of every variety—duplication, extravagance, inefficiency, lack of responsible management, inadequate and unbusinesslike financial control, unnecessary and foolish purposes, and, to some extent, actual fraud,—although in my judgment the extent of this last has been greatly exaggerated and over-emphasized. Perhaps a single instance of well-intentioned,

honest, but sadly inefficient management may suffice to indicate the sort of thing that was going on. A well-known woman who had in 1915 organized a small committee for a certain war relief purpose found that she had started a wonderfully popular idea. By the beginning of 1917 her organization was known everywhere, had unquestionably accomplished a great deal of good, and had raised and disbursed a very large sum of money. In April, 1917, she admitted to me that no receipts were ever given to contributors, that no exact records were kept, and that she had really not even an approximate idea of the funds handled. To turn to a different sort of thing, there occurs to my mind a New York physician who organized a society to supply anaesthetics to military hospitals of the United States army. It seemed to him a wise and good purpose, and he went ahead without asking a question. The fact that the United States authorities had arranged to care fully for this need never entered his head, and it was with difficulty that he was persuaded to give up his undertaking even after he knew the facts.

Need for a Remedy

Instances of this kind might be elaborated in great number and detail. For two excellent reasons, among others, it was obvious that something should be done to remedy the situation. In the first place, the charitable resources of the country must be conserved for the greater needs which it required no prophet to foresee early in 1917. I suppose to most of us the statements of suffering and want abroad have become almost trite—we read or hear and understand—but very little do we appreciate. Yet if we pause and give thought, we can but realize that vast as has been the sum which the people of this great country have gladly given, it has been but a drop in the bucket of misery and suffering and despair which has existed and exists today in Europe. When Major Ford of the American Red Cross recently told me as we approached a village that one could not tell that a town had ever existed there, I scarcely believed him. Yet fifteen minutes later, when our car stopped at a cross roads with no human habitation, or sign of one, in sight, I was astonished to read a sign, "This was the center of the village of _____." Nothing that I have seen in the devastated region pictured so completely to me the absolute ruin, the incredible human misery which the Germans have caused. Such ruins, such sufferings have steadily and rapidly increased during four years of war, nor are they greatly lessened yet. That wastefulness and foolishness and inefficiency should go unchecked in our war charities meant not alone the direct loss through such wastefulness and foolishness and inefficiency, but it also meant that slowly but surely the American public would tighten its purse strings. For no people so keenly demand a dollar's worth for a dollar. It would give and give generously, but let it once become convinced that its liberality was being abused, unintentionally or intentionally, and its generosity would cease. For that reason, if for no other, better methods in the war relief field were essential.

But there was another less acute but more far reaching result to be expected. May I quote from a very brief article prepared for *The Survey* of June 2, 1917? "When one considers the wide influence of the war relief organizations, the important work they are doing, it can not fail to appear that they are bound in the long run to wield a tremendous educational power. It is of vast importance that that power be properly applied. Otherwise it may do great harm. It may so far lower administrative and financial standards, it may so depreciate the popular valuation of skilled social work as distinguished from relief as to undo twenty years of painstaking education of the people of this country." Right here is the crux of the whole matter. Our leading social agencies, our local charities endorsement committees, have striven valorously and with marked success to raise the standards of work and of

management to which social organizations should adhere. But the war charities might easily undo it all.

The problem to be faced, while simple enough as to purpose, was, however, far from simple as to method. In the first place, the war charities were largely national and even international in scope. There existed no national body which corresponded to a local charity endorsement committee. There existed no federal legislation of any consequence and, indeed, as I hope to show later, it is questionable whether such legislation is desirable. Under the existing conditions, we were inclined to believe that the Council of National Defense was the logical body to undertake the necessary supervision. Almost simultaneously two plans for the establishment of endorsement of war charities by a bureau of the national council were presented to it. Neither caused the council to turn from the even tenor of its way and it speedily became apparent that there was no hope in that quarter.

Meantime the Bureau of Advice and Information of the New York Charity Organization Society had become convinced that it must itself undertake the task. With some misgivings and reluctance it therefore enlarged its staff, laid down certain very elementary requirements, and began as careful and thorough investigations as circumstances and its own resources permitted. These were continued during May, June and July, 1917. It is not my desire to give any detailed account of this work. It had very distinct limitations within which, however, I believe it was useful. While the job of acting as a national endorsing agency was a distinctly undesirable one for a private charitable society, nevertheless no great opposition developed, and at least a beginning was made out of which perhaps something of greater value might grow. On August 8th, 1917, the first bulletin of approved war activities was issued and published in the New York "Times." During the following year several editions appeared. While they represented a vast amount of work, the fact that the bureau was strictly limited in the extent of its investigations made them only partly satisfactory. Nevertheless, the bulletin was useful as a guide to contributors, as was indicated by the very wide demand for it, and also as a means of establishing elementary standards of administration. The greatest limitation was the inability of the bureau to conduct investigations abroad, which was vitally necessary in this field.

The National Investigation Bureau

The work was continued, however, until October, 1918, when eight of the leading war chests joined in organizing the National Investigation Bureau. The organization of the bureau was simple—necessarily so. It dealt with war activities exclusively and was national in scope in two senses: It did undertake investigation and endorsement work of any national or interstate war activity; it excluded from its field all local organizations, except in the city of New York, where for convenience it has made an exception. The bureau was organized after consultation with the Secretary of War, and with the full approval of the War Department, and also of the Council of National Defense. By arrangement with the latter body bulletins, and on request, reports have been furnished to all state councils of defense.

The war chests of Cleveland, Philadelphia, Syracuse, Rochester, Indianapolis, Detroit, Toledo and Columbus were the charter members of the bureau. Its membership speedily extended to other war chests until some thirty of the largest had joined. While organized by war chests, however, the bureau did not remain exclusively a war chest body. Important commercial organizations such as the Merchants' Association of New York became members, as did also many individuals. No special effort has been made to extend the membership, however.

It will be noted that the bureau represented the giving public exclusively. The executive committee, composed of war chest representatives,

after careful consideration determined upon the following requirements for endorsement.

1. Active board of directors (both American and foreign for foreign organizations) of at least five unpaid responsible people holding meetings at least quarterly.

2. A necessary purpose with no unnecessary duplication of the work of another efficiently managed organization. To be determined after investigation by the bureau.

3. Reasonable efficiency in conduct of work, management of institutions, etc., and reasonable adequacy of equipment for such work, both material and personal. To be determined after investigation by the bureau.

4. No solicitors on commission or other commission methods of raising money. No street soliciting or selling of buttons, tags, etc., except during "drives."

5. Non use of the "remit or return" method of raising money.

6. No entertainments the expenses of which exceed 30 per cent of the gross proceeds.

7. Complete audited accounts, both American and foreign, prepared by a certified public accountant or the foreign equivalent, showing receipts and disbursements classified and itemized in detail for a six or twelve month period. New organizations which cannot furnish such statement must submit a certified public accountant's statement that such a financial system has been established as will make the required financial accounting possible at close of prescribed period.

8. Itemized and classified budget estimate for succeeding or current six or twelve month period.

The committee believed that these represented the minimum that any worth-while organization should attain.

Complete and careful investigations were at once begun and it was possible to issue a preliminary approved list in February. Meantime arrangements had been completed for a thorough study of general conditions and of individual organizations abroad. The bureau was fortunate in securing for the purpose Mr. W. Frank Persons, for two years director general of civilian relief of the Red Cross. He has recently completed his survey, to which he devoted more than three months and during which he has seen the actual field work of many organizations. His final report was placed in my hands in Paris on May 10th, and the bureau has now in press a bulletin of approved war activities which should be of great value.

Value of Private Initiative

This work in the field of war charity—the first real effort toward supervision of national social agencies—calls attention to a number of conditions under which American social and philanthropic work has been conducted. It has been the custom in the United States for much necessary work to be undertaken by private initiative along those lines in which governmental forces, local, state or federal, have not been, for various reasons, active. Whatever be one's opinion as to the relative value of public and private effort in social work, it is sufficiently clear that private initiative has accomplished a great deal of value; that there is and will continue to be a wide field for it. The American public has rightly believed that this initiative should not be hampered or checked unnecessarily. And so, for the most part, there has been very little attempt to place legal restrictions upon organizations which depend upon voluntary contributions for the support of their work. This lack of restriction has undoubtedly been of value. Nothing so quickly dampens the enthusiasm of people for the organization of some socially valuable work as the existence of numerous legal regulations which, once established, are likely to be administered with little elasticity or to

become purely repressive. No better illustration can be given perhaps than that of a bill introduced in the United States Senate last October by Senator Ashhurst which made such requirements as would, had it been enacted, have automatically forced nearly every war charity, good, bad or indifferent, to discontinue its activities, through the mere impossibility of compliance.

Need of Supervision

If the value of private initiative has been generally recognized, however, it has of late years been equally recognized that it may run wild. Unnecessary, foolish and bizarre activities may be and have been started. Numerous perfectly sincere people have attempted social organizations that were in no sense needed, have conducted them with entire inefficiency. There has been unwise duplication, little co-ordination, weak administration, actual fraud. In what way can this sort of thing be prevented?

So far as local activities are concerned, something of real value has, of course, been accomplished. Harmful restrictive legislation has been avoided for the most part. Chambers of commerce have taken the situation in hand, as have federations, and conditions have been greatly improved. But when we come to the question of national and interstate organizations, practically nothing has been done. The field is as free and open as the air. Anybody can start anything, and apparently anything will live. There are not only many distinctly undesirable organizations in existence, but there is a lamentable lack of co-operation and co-ordination among those which are really doing good work. What shall be done in this national field?

At the outset let it be said that there is no counsel of perfection in the matter. If private initiative is to be left sufficiently free to do the valuable work of which it alone is capable, doubtless some mistaken organizations will continue to exist, there will still be no millennial condition as to unified and co-ordinated programs.

Nevertheless, the experience of the National Investigation Bureau has, I believe, demonstrated that exactly as federations and endorsement committees have done much to improve local conditions, so it is possible to organize the larger field. In the field of war charities the bureau has accomplished some things of both negative and positive value—the latter of which from the standpoint of social progress are after all of by far the greater importance. Frauds, duplicative societies, unnecessary organizations, have in various ways been eliminated. There lies the negative value. On the positive side, reasonable standards have been established, co-operation has been promoted, and some progress toward complete co-ordination achieved. It may be interesting to know that several conferences have been recently held in the bureau's office at which were present representatives of the various Serbian relief organizations. At these conferences the work of each organization was discussed with a view to establishing co-operative methods and avoiding duplication. There is at present organizing an association of French relief organizations whose avowed purpose is the co-ordination of relief work in France. I have recently had the opportunity of conferring with the Department of the Liberated Regions in France on this very topic, and there is little doubt of the success of this plan, which will mean a great increase in the efficiency and value of the dollar given for sufferers in France. I may say in passing that no organization will be admitted to this association by the French authorities which fails to meet the standards of the National Investigation Bureau.

I do not wish, however, to be misunderstood. The National Investigation Bureau—which, by the way, rejoices in a name which is almost the worst conceivable to describe its purposes—has hardly more than scratched the surface of the situation. It has, however, done enough to indicate the

possibilities of the job. If I correctly understand the real task of an endorsement agency, so called, it should do something more than merely pass upon the integrity of social agencies and determine their individual efficiency apart from all relation with other agencies. It should be a real constructive and co-ordinating force, working with the many organizations, studying their interrelationship, promoting their co-operation, helping to establish teamwork.

If this work has been necessary in local communities it is, I think you will agree, doubly so as to the national field. The National Investigation Bureau hopes to undertake it. It is a huge task, and it cannot be accomplished "tout suite," as our doughboys would put it. Neither is the bureau at present ideally constituted for the purpose. Certain changes will be necessary.

Reorganisation of the Bureau

The bureau, as now organized, is purely a contributors' organization. No social agency as such is directly represented in its management. If the bureau is to be of the greatest usefulness, this form of organization must be modified. In its present form it smacks of autocracy—something which is in exceedingly bad repute in this country at this moment when we are assisting in the obsequies of the greatest of autocracies. May I say, however, that in the conduct of its work the bureau has not been autocratic? It has worked with and not over the agencies, has sought and in most instances received their hearty co-operation. A good illustration is that of a French organization which had done much good work and yet realized that it lacked in efficiency. Voluntarily the president of this society came to us to ask that the bureau's foreign representative make a careful survey of the field work and make recommendations for necessary and desirable changes. The organization has undertaken to see that these changes are carried out. Such is the spirit which the bureau has attempted to maintain in its relationship to the organizations with which it deals.

Nevertheless, to accomplish best its purposes, the bureau believes it should be more democratic in its organization. It desires the counsel and assistance not only informally, but formally of the very agencies with which it will be concerned if its work is to continue and to be extended to include not only war charities but national social organizations in general. The executive committee has been planning and considering this project for some time. It has felt that there exists a great need for a constructive endorsing agency in the national field. But it has also felt, and with greater force, that such an organization must not be superimposed upon our social agencies—that to be most effective as a constructive and co-ordinating influence provision for the representation of the agencies in its government and in the shaping of its policies must be made. The reorganization is not therefore as yet effected. We have proceeded slowly, have consulted with executives and others connected with prominent and generally recognized national organizations, and have endeavored to draw up a plan which will provide for equal representation on the executive board both of the contributing public and of the social agencies. It is the desire of the committee to associate with the bureau men of experience in varying social and philanthropic fields whose advice and suggestions will be of value in promoting the gradual improvement and perhaps standardization of methods in different types of work, in strengthening team play, in co-ordinating work and programs, in careful preparation of budgets, and last, but by no means least, in thoughtful consideration of local community interests and points of view.

This extension of the bureau's work is not yet an accomplished fact. But we are proceeding in the belief that the plan is fundamentally sound and will be so accepted. New by-laws have been drafted providing for the type of organization I have described. These have been submitted to many

people of wide experience in philanthropic work for suggestions. The project has been favorably received and within a few days representatives of a number of national agencies will meet in conference with the present executive committee. At that meeting I hope the new bureau will be born.

If so, we trust it may prove a valuable means of service. But it will face a difficult task which, if it is to be achieved, must be through the earnest support and through the patience and forbearance of those who are interested in social advance. Such I feel sure it will receive.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

The informal discussion consisted mainly of answers to questions concerning statements made in the leading addresses.

In this connection *Mr. Smith* said, referring to the state law in Maine requiring license by the State Board of Charities and Corrections of agencies doing business outside of their own municipalities, that the filing of statements is not in his judgment a sufficient basis for state supervision except in case of institutions. Legislation is apt to put unnecessary restrictions in the path of social work. It is likely to be either too mild or too severe. *Mr. Smith* said further that the reorganized National Bureau will include all national and interstate organizations in the scope of its work. He said further that the National Bureau would expect to consult local agencies in formulating any program affecting local conditions. Special interest was expressed in the supervision of Standard National Agencies by the National Investigation Bureau, and *Mr. Smith* indicated that these would be included in their field of efforts. He said the National Bureau would have a distinct educational program in respect to public support of questionable agencies.

Mr. Sherman C. Kingsley of Cleveland said in answer to a question as to whether the introduction of national agencies into local federated campaigns would make contributions uncertain, that this will not occur if the national agencies are upon an annual basis. The effect of having a single drive will be to hold the community up to the standard of giving set during the war.

The chairman, *Mr. Norton*, added that the question is not one of protecting the giver, but rather of increasing and expediting contributions made for community purposes.

Mr. Kingsley said further, in reply to the suggestion that the federation plan might tend to perpetuate private agencies to the detriment of governmental extension, that the purpose of the federation is to analyze the community's need as an organic whole. This will help toward public control of social work. It is only through close cooperation that agencies can determine their real fields. Further, with respect to the relationship of federations to councils of social agencies, *Mr. Kingsley* said that Cleveland realizes the inter-dependence of the two ideas. Referring to the slow development of the central council idea in St. Paul, which had been mentioned, *Mr. Kingsley* said there was no reason against starting of a federation immediately.

The capital expenditures plan of Detroit was described, and it was stated that not only should agencies planning permanent improvements get the endorsement of the community federation, but that the federation itself should anticipate their needs. A committee on capital expenditures of the Cleveland Federation likewise was mentioned.

In reply to the suggestion that the federation plan is not sufficiently flexible to meet emergency needs, *Mr. Kingsley* said that it is a more efficient way of anticipating changes than most of the methods now in vogue. The federation is a representative of all agencies, professional workers and contributors. For that reason it is democratic and fosters rather than diminishes initiative.

Those not mentioned above who participated in the informal discussion were:

Miss Dorothea C. Davis, Expert, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.
 Prof. Irving Fisher, Yale University, Department of Political Economy.
 Prof. James Ford, Harvard University, Department of Social Ethics.
 Mr. Hugh S. Hanna, Bureau of Applied Economics, Washington.
 Miss Jessie R. Haver, Executive Secretary, Consumers' League, Washington, D. C.
 Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Chief, Federal Children's Bureau.
 Mr. Leifur Magnusson, Expert, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.
 Prof. William F. Ogburn, Columbia University, Faculty of Political Science.
 Prof. Jessica B. Peixotto, Department of Economics, University of California.
 Miss Effie I. Raitt, Department of Home Economics, University of Washington.
 Dr. Henry C. Sherman, Department of Chemistry, Columbia University.
 Dr. Edgar Sydenstricker, Statistician, U. S. Public Health Service.
 Miss Emma A. Winslow, Secretary, Committee on Home Economics, Charity Organization Society of New York.

PLAN FOR A STANDARD LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION FOR A COMMUNITY FEDERATION

C. M. Bookman, Director, Council of Social Agencies, Cincinnati

The federation is an attempt to co-ordinate the activities of the independent, and for the most part, unrelated agencies without disturbing their individual initiative and responsibility. Joint action with local autonomy is its goal. The federation, which is the concrete expression of all the agencies of the community and which is not in itself a separate organization, should be certainly and surely built upon a representative foundation.

Although I shall stress central finance in a section of this paper, I do not want it to be understood that a social service federation considers centralization in this particular anything more than a necessary element in making possible more efficient social work. Neither do I want it to be understood that I am outlining a plan that will meet all conditions and all times. Changes eventuate so rapidly that a few years from now newer methods may make our present one antiquated. When establishing a federation we should recognize that each organization and its board of directors is interested primarily in the particular problem that called it into being. In some organizations not only successive generations of the same family have been helped, but they have been assisted by successive generations of the same family. Some of these board members do very little toward the success of the organization they represent, but nevertheless they enjoy the little they do. They must not be asked to surrender their authority and interest. They must be taught the real spirit of service and helpfulness. In some instances new blood must be infused into the sclerotic veins of a few existing senile boards. Membership on a board of directors should mean more than the mere lending of the influence of a name. However, on practically every board are to be found men and women who give much time and thought to the work of their organization. Their interest must be maintained. They must have the same vital part in the affairs of the agency with which they are connected as before federation was established. At the same time they must be brought to see that they are carrying an unnecessary load by allowing some of the board members to be inactive, and it must also be made plain to them that their own particular work can be improved when closely co-ordinated with the work of the other agencies of the community. Many individuals, men and women, formerly unconcerned with or not interested in social work, are through the development of their social consciousness now sitting on boards in federation cities. This infusion of new blood greatly strengthens the boards and enlarges the social vision of executives and workers alike.

The federation, regardless of the way it has been established, must not attempt to be an overlord administering the affairs of the constituent agencies. The federation should be the machinery by means of which the agencies and their social workers function together. When new standards of work are being developed, the federated agencies interested in those standards should help formulate them. The federation can safely exercise administrative direction, but should not exercise administrative control. From this it clearly follows that a social service federation should be entirely representative of the agencies, having only such powers as the co-operating agencies delegate to it.

The following Model Constitution for a Community Federation is presented as embodying a method of establishing a community organization.

*An abstract. Full address may be secured in pamphlet form from the National Conference office.

The experiences of a number of federations have been drawn upon for the material that follows:

MODEL CONSTITUTION

Article I

Name

The name of this organization shall be.....

of

Article II

Object

The object of this organization shall be to build up and promote normal standard in living, citizenship and health on the part of the residents of and vicinity and to eliminate such social conditions as tend to create dependency, delinquency and defectiveness by co-ordinating the activities of such social agencies, civic bodies, business organizations and public departments as deal with social and civic problems; by promoting cooperation, efficiency and economy among them; and by promulgating and promoting studies, plans and programs whereby the various social and civic problems may be better understood and more scientifically and intelligently dealt with.

Article III

Membership

Section 1. This organization shall consist of delegates from the bodies which subscribe to this constitution and of individuals from the community at large who are elected to membership from time to time by the delegates.

Section 2. Each member body shall be entitled to two delegates one of whom shall be the executive social worker on the staff of the respective body, the other a member of its directing board.

Section 3. No delegate shall be entitled to represent more than one agency.

Section 4. Membership for delegates shall inhere in the body represented. Each member body shall certify to this organization not later than one month after the annual meeting the names and addresses of its two delegates for the ensuing year.

Section 5. The number of individuals elected by the delegates to represent the community at large shall at no time exceed one-tenth of the number of delegates.

Article IV

Meetings

Section 1. The annual meeting of the organization shall be held on the day in of each year, at which time an annual report of the organization shall be submitted and members of the executive board shall be elected as hereinafter provided.

Section 2. There shall be quarterly meetings of this organization held in the months of, and

Section 3. The president may call special meetings of this organization from time to time and shall call special meetings upon a written request, signed by ten members, within five days after receiving such request, provided the written request states the purpose of the meeting. No special meeting shall be called except upon written notice to all the membership stating the time and purpose of the meeting.

Section 4. At all meetings of this organization a quorum shall consist of representatives from not less than twenty-five per cent of the member bodies.

Article V

Powers and Duties

Section 1. The powers and duties of this organization shall be those assigned to it by the delegates of the constituent bodies.

Section 2. The management of this organization shall be vested in the organization itself.

Section 3. Any act of the executive board shall be subject to review and alteration by the organization by two-thirds vote of those present at any meeting of the organization.

Article VI

Officers

Section 1. The officers of this organization shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a treasurer, and a secretary, who shall be elected as hereinafter provided.

Section 2. The duties of the officers shall be those which usually pertain to such offices.

Article VII

Executive Board

Section 1. There shall be an executive board consisting of not less than twenty-five and not more than thirty members.

Sec. 2. The executive board shall be elected by the organization at its first meeting, one-third to serve for one year, one-third for two years, and one-third for three years. Annually thereafter at the annual meeting a number equal to one-third of the board shall be elected for a three-year period to take the place of the retiring group. Vacancies occurring on the board during any year may be filled by the board. Not less than ten members of the board at any time shall be active social workers and not less than ten shall be financial contributors.

Sec. 3. The executive board shall elect from their members a president, two vice-presidents, a treasurer and a secretary who shall be the officers of the organization and of the board and shall serve for one year.

Sec. 4. The executive board shall meet at least monthly. Special meetings may be called by the president at any time and shall be called by the president at the request of two members. Written notices shall be sent the members of the board for all meetings and shall state the purpose when a special meeting is called.

Sec. 5. Seven shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the board.

Article VIII

Amendments

This constitution may be amended by a majority vote of those present at any legal meeting of the organization, provided copies of the proposed amendments have been submitted to the executive board, in writing, signed by at least five members of the organization, not less than one month in advance of the meeting, and provided further that all delegates be notified in writing at least one week prior to the time of the meeting and such notices contain the wording of the proposed amendments.

Article IX

By-Laws

By-laws may be adopted, added to, or amended by the organization by a majority vote at any meeting of the organization.

An organization chart based upon the foregoing regulations is shown on the page following.

This chart provides for a number of permanent committees and divisions, but it is not my intention to give this list of departments as all inclusive. Some of them may not be needed in some communities and additional ones may be needed. Local conditions must be the determining factor. The personnel of the different divisions is determined by the organizations interested in the work of the division in question. The chairman of each division should be a member of the executive board so that the board may be kept in touch with the work of all divisions.

In case of endorsement, if this work is made a part of the federation, the committee should be made up from the givers and the social workers of the community.

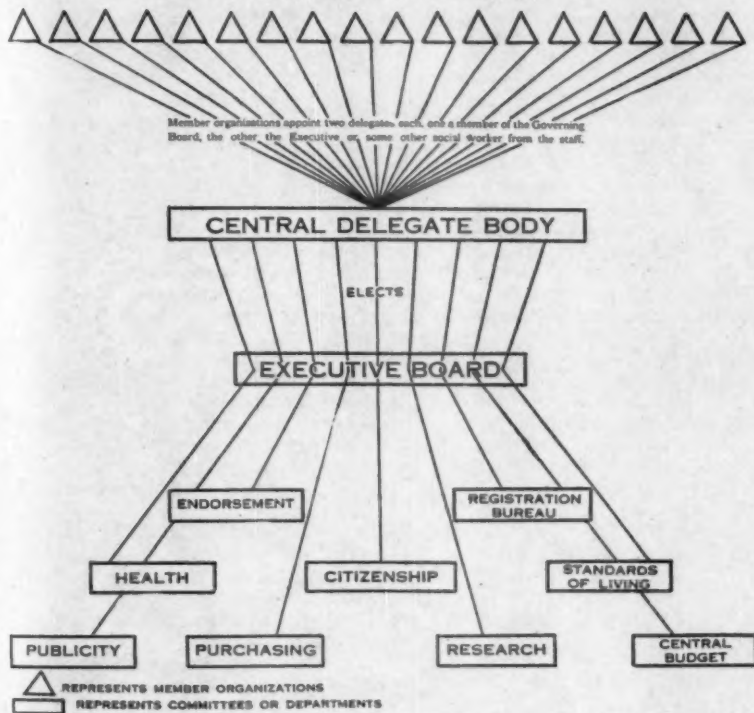
In Cincinnati the *Registration Bureau* (named Confidential Exchange) is operated under the direction of a committee made up of the executives of the agencies using the exchange. The Associate Director of the Council of Social Agencies is the official representative of the committee in actual supervision of the work.

Before the formation of this committee the exchange operated as a piece of machinery detached from the agencies and simply offering its services to those who desired to use it. The committee adopted an aggressive policy, under which the exchange stimulates more intensive use of its facilities by a complete system of checks on querying, registration and clearing with other agencies, converts agencies not using the exchange to its use, and promotes case co-operation and the general adoption of the case conference idea. The result of one year under this policy is gratifying. The number of agencies using the exchange has increased over 50 per cent. Querying on cases has increased 1,100 per cent, and registrations come in promptly and

generally tally with case counts. Clearing between agencies has increased very largely. The agencies using the exchange are unanimous in their opinion that case co-operation has benefited to a marked degree and that the standards of case work has improved correspondingly. We in Cincinnati have yet to receive our first complaint or adverse reaction to the aggressive checking up of delinquent agencies, very largely because they look upon the exchange with proprietary interest.

The *Health Division* is made up of all agencies, both public and private, dealing with health problems. The important principle back of the form of organization is representation, and the making of the agencies and of the social workers responsible for the formulation and execution of plans and programs.

ORGANIZATION CHART



The *Central Budget Committee* is no exception to this rule of organization. The agencies appoint one delegate each to this committee. Each agency has but one vote. The chairman of the Central Budget Committee is the president of the central delegate body, the secretary of the committee is the secretary of the central delegate body. The details of administration are carried out by the executive staff. The Central Budget Committee appoints subcommittees from time to time to consider various phases of the social problem relating either to finance or social work. The committee is responsible for the budgets allowed the constituent agencies and for the raising

and distributing of funds. The boards of the constituent agencies are brought in this way not only to consider their own financial problems more fully, but to consider the financial problems of all other organizations, and the dangers of too great responsibility and control resting on the executive board are obviated. Prior to the beginning of the year the boards of the respective agencies map out their requirements for the ensuing year. A study is made of the past year's activities, and recommendations from the Central Budget Committee of new work required are discussed. In fact, the plans and hopes for the coming year are very carefully considered and a budget based upon past expenditures and new requirements is prepared upon forms previously decided upon by the Central Budget Committee of which they are members. (For budget forms see charts A, B, C, D.)

These budgets are submitted to the committee, which turns them over to a special committee appointed by it, and made up of givers, social workers, and delegates to the committee. The budgets are studied in detail with a representative of each agency present to explain his budget when it is considered, and to confer on necessary changes. The findings and changes recommended are then submitted to the Central Budget Committee for final action. Days should be spent by the special committee in examining budgets, after the office staff has made all adjustments possible and has carefully checked every item in connection with the programs outlined. If any agency is dissatisfied with conclusions reached by the committee it is given an opportunity to appeal to the Central Budget Committee. All items of income as well as expenditure are considered. Agencies often neglect to require payments that should be required from those able to pay; part of the work listed, sometimes, should be carried at public expense, and a committee is appointed to confer with public officials to that end—in short, every available source of income is made to yield its maximum.

In those cities in which this plan is in operation the agencies have developed a self-analysis of their own work, frankly facing their own shortcomings and seeking assistance in correcting faults. Salaries are adjusted so that the workers in one organization are not receiving less than those doing similar work in another organization, the character of the work done and the qualification of workers being determining factors. Bookkeeping methods are sometimes changed and better accounting is introduced. Some federations find it to be economical and necessary to employ a public accountant on full time who audits the books of many of the agencies and lends assistance at all times to the constituent organizations on financial matters. The budgets, although based on a careful forecasting of work, may be subject to alterations during the year. Emergencies arise and problems not foreseen when the budget was prepared may confront an organization. Each agency is free to make a request at any time of the Central Budget Committee to meet exigencies. If the committee decides to allow the additions, it assumes responsibility for raising the money needed. Although budgets may be changed during the year, the agencies are urged to estimate their requirements as nearly as possible when their budgets are originally drawn up.

After budgets have been established, the appeal for funds is made to the public on the basis of the budgets decided upon. (For pledge blank see Chart E.)

Various methods of raising funds may be employed. Some federations will prefer to raise their funds through a continuous effort during the year, others by a concentrated campaign such as we have all been familiar with during the recent War Chest drives. As will be noted from the model pledge blank form, each subscriber is furnished with a list of the participating agencies, with their budget requirements and a statement of services to be rendered. In this way each contributor is given an opportunity to designate

any portion of his gift to any of the organizations included in the budget, to give through the Central Budget Committee to any agency not included, or to give any part of his gift to a general fund, which may be distributed according to the needs of the member organizations. Each agency should be furnished with a list of contributors, with designated gifts to that agency clearly indicated. In the case of an organization in which subscriptions of certain amounts are required for legal membership, those who designate the required amount, or more, for that organization in their federated gift should be considered to have met this requirement and should be so notified. It is believed that memberships in organizations should be based upon service as well as upon cash contributions. Agencies should be encouraged to enlist the moral support and interest of as many individuals as possible in their work. It is through such interest and participation that broader visions of service grow; and such broader visions find their fullest expression in meeting community needs in their entirety.

Distributions should be made to the constituent agencies once each month. The agencies should be required to furnish a monthly statement of income and expenditure according to the items listed in the original budget and also a service report each month outlining the social work and the social service accomplishment. The monthly meetings of the Budget Committee can be made to become vital in the lives of the constituent organizations. All agencies should be required to have representation at all meetings. Investigating committees can report, and general plans can be outlined, subject to the approval of the boards of directors of the agencies affected. Legislative programs, surveys, new pieces of work and better standards of service result from the monthly meetings.

To summarize the principles but not the procedure: Two distinct organization efforts are recognized in community organization. One aims at forming close contact with and being a part of the people themselves. The other unifies and co-ordinates the programs and activities of the welfare forces of a community and makes central finance the keystone to the arch.

Joint action with local autonomy should be the goal.

The federation should be certainly and surely built upon a representative basis, having only such powers as the co-operating agencies delegate to it. In this way, in my judgment can we best make our community organization an example of organized freedom in the field of human helpfulness.

BUDGET FOR CURRENT EXPENSES FOR YEAR

Central Budget Committee.....(Name of Federation)

Name of Organization.....

Income	Actual Oct. 1, 1918, to Dec. 31, 1918	Actual Jan. 1, 1919, to Sept. 30, 1919	Estimated Oct. 1, 1919, to Dec. 31, 1919	Estimated Income for 1920	Increase	Decrease

Summary

Total Expense, 1920..... Total Amount allowed

Total Income, 1920..... Date

Total Request, 1920..... Budget Committee:

Submitted by

.....

.....

Title

Central Budget Committee.....(Name of Federation)

Name of Organization.....

Ex- pense	Actual Oct. 1, 1918, to Dec. 31, 1918	Actual Jan. 1, 1919, to Sept. 30, 1919	Esti- mated Oct. 1, 1919, to Dec. 31, 1919	Request for 1920	In- come	De- crease	Budget Com- mittee Allow- ance
See List below							

Central Budget Committee.....(Name of Federation)

Name of Organization.....

Itemize the complete payroll, giving each position and salary or wage:

	Actual, 1919	Request, 1920	Increase	Decrease	Budget Committee Allowance
List of Positions					

ITEMS IN BUDGETS

Expense Items

Service Expense

1. Salaries for services
2. Labor (janitor-kitchen help, etc.)
3. Food, provisions, ice, etc.
4. Clothing
5. Laundry, cleaning
6. Heat, light, power and water
7. Maintenance of plant
8. Maintenance of equipment
9. Medical, surgical supplies
10. Household supplies
11. Educational supplies
12. Recreational supplies
13. Agricultural supplies
14. Cartage and freight
15. Rent
16. Relief—material
17. medical
18. Miscellaneous (specify)
19.
20.

Total Service expense

Administration

Earnings from Operation

1. Fees for services rendered
2. Board and lodging
3. Sales
4. Refunds

Investments

1. From interest on accounts and endowments
2. Rentals

Income Items

21. Salaries for administration (divide with No. 1 when proper)
22. Stationery and office supplies
23. Printing
24. Postage
25. Telephone and telegraph
26. Taxes and insurance
27. Interest on loan for current expense
28. Traveling expense and car fare
29. Miscellaneous (specify)
30.
31.

Total Administration expense

Capital Expenditure

32. New equipment—office
33. institutional
34. agricultural
35. vehicles
36. Miscellaneous (specify)
37.
38.
39.
40.

Gifts for Current Expense

1. From Central Budget Committee
2. Direct gifts
3. Benefits
4. From city, county or state
5. Miscellaneous (specify)
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.

(Name of Federation)

BUDGET NEEDS AND SERVICES RENDERED

By.....Welfare Agencies

Jan. 1, 1920, to Dec. 31, 1920

Organization	Total Ex- penditure	Self- Support	Gifts Needed	Your Pledge	Services Rendered
Discretionary Fund...	\$.....	\$.....	\$.....		Enables Central Budget Committee to meet greatest needs.
Americanization Com.	\$13,720.00	\$13,720.00		Makes American citizens of foreigners.
Associated Charities..	55,904.32	\$ 5,650.00	53,254.32		Rehabilitates broken homes, furnishes relief, places the handicapped, establishes proper standards of living.
..... Federation....	25,000.00	5,000.00	20,000.00		Co-ordinates the work of all agencies; prevents overlapping and overlooking, conducts an -Endorsement Bureau, etc.
Other organizations... (Please list)					All money listed for organizations not members of the federation will be paid to them without cost.

THE SOCIAL SERVICE OF A FEDERATION

Roscoe C. Edlund, Interchurch World Movement of North America, New York; Formerly Director, Alliance of Charitable and Social Agencies, Baltimore.

A thorough-going plan of co-operation between the recognized social agencies of a given community in their entire program, financial, educational and social—this is the real organizing principle of the so-called "financial federation." Not federation for finances only, but for every phase of co-operative endeavor reaching fully into the field of social service. For "financial federation" I should like to substitute the name "social service federation," emphasizing throughout the necessity of full co-operation all along the line.

The war was won by the allies upon such a principle of thorough-going co-operation. None of the nations which co-operated lost any of their individuality or sovereignty, any more than the societies do which belong to a social service federation. But united effort accomplishes results which lack of co-operation can never accomplish.

A scarcely less striking application of the federation principle is the Interchurch World Movement of North America, with which it is now my privilege to be associated. In this movement the evangelical denominations

are joining forces in a united survey of church forces and world problems, both in the home and the foreign mission fields. Upon the basis of the facts revealed by the united study will be built a united program and budget, a united educational campaign, and a united advance. This is nothing but the federation principle writ large—a federation of Christian churches to meet their common task.

And so there is every reason—example, theory and practice—for social workers to be absolutely confident that all-round co-operation between social agencies is not only practicable, as has already been demonstrated in more than twenty American cities where federations are already in existence, but that it will also yield extraordinary results of a kind not usually found in other communities.

Federation An Instrument for Community Service.

We who have been at work in the federation field believe that the importance and difficulty of the problems that face social agencies call for the greatest possible measure of effective co-operation. Just as in the churches the conviction has been growing that much more can be accomplished by working together, so in the social field a similar conviction has brought social workers to the point where they feel it to be their clear duty to work together and where the only question is as to what may be the most effective plan. The spirit of common service, we federationists believe, finds perhaps its most effective expression in just such an instrument as is provided through social service federation, and to those who have been actively at work in federation cities it has been no surprise to find that this plan which produces the largest financial results also accomplishes the most in educational work and in social service.

It cannot be too clearly emphasized, both for those who are members of federations and for those who may be contemplating the organization of such co-operative effort, that the social service part of the program is an absolute essential. The term "financial federation" is misleading. It seems to put the emphasis upon the collection of funds, and while all of us will recognize how important and necessary this activity is, it must also be clear that the raising of money is only a means to an end, which is more effective social service for the whole community. Indeed, it is in my judgment true that without full co-operation in education and social service, the financial efforts of a federation will not in the long run prove successful. It is only as more and better social work is accomplished through federation that larger and more numerous financial contributions will permanently continue. The strongest federations at present are those which carry on the largest amount of social service work.

No one can read the reports and other literature published by the federations without being impressed by the amount, quality, broad scope and sanity of their social activities. In a brief paper like this it will be impossible even to mention all the principal forms such work takes, and yet it may be worth while to classify some of them very roughly.

Co-operative Budget Making

By what methods, then, is social service carried on under federations in any different way from what goes forward in non-federation cities?

First, there is co-operative budget making. I always begin my own thinking about financial federation with the budget and the method of making it. It is the universal testimony of those federation cities where thorough-going budget work is done upon a co-operative basis that not only is the financial program made more definite and clear, but that in the process

the agencies come inevitably to community social service planning. How could it be otherwise? If the representatives of all agencies that are members of a community-wide federation come together to put on the table before them the plans which are to cost money, and if these representatives go into the details as to what each expenditure means, they are by that very act beginning to understand their united program for the community as they never understood it before. In the doing of it they are bound to weigh one need against another; they are bound to see where are the gaps; and they are bound to see where there is overlapping. Co-operative budget making, then, is the beginning of co-operative social service planning of a different sort from that where each agency simply asks the community for the amount of funds which in its own judgment is necessary for its work, that judgment not being checked up by comparison with the plans of other social agencies in the same city.

Budget making in the second place leads inevitably to standardization of salaries, of methods of work, of the measurements for determining the efficiency of work done, etc. Let it here be emphasized that standardization, in the experience of federations, is practically always standardization up and never the leveling down that some opponents of federation have feared. If you social workers in non-federated cities want to have your salaries raised you had better get right to work to organize financial federations! If you case-workers want to improve the standards in the weaker case-working agencies in your town, you will look long before you find a more effective method than federation, for reasons which will soon appear.

A Common Study of Common Problems

For, in the third place, when you have co-operative budget making and when your agencies are drawing their funds in large measure from a common treasury, and when, therefore, the representatives of your agencies are meeting frequently, they begin to find themselves ready for a common study of common problems. In non-federation cities there is probably just as much discussion of the need of co-operative community planning, but the trouble is that many times action is lacking. I do not claim for federation that it makes possible in this respect anything that could not be accomplished without federation, provided the social workers of a community would actually come together for common study and united action; but I do say that the united treasury which in a financial federation brings the agencies inevitably together, also keeps them together, and leads to united and effective action. Establish a regular channel of communication, bring your social workers together, and inevitably you have more of the community point of view and more real social service planning. It has been my experience in two federation cities in which I have worked, that prior to federation many of the paid social workers who later worked elbow to elbow all the time had not even met each other and did not know each other's faces and names. Under such conditions how can one expect community-wide social service? This condition of affairs is much less likely to be found in a federation city.

In Cleveland, not long after I came to the federation, a report was put into type for the trustees on "Needs Met and Unmet." This was never published but was for the confidential information of the trustees, representing the various agencies, in planning their program for the year's work in the community. Quite regardless of the value of this particular study, the attitude toward community problems which the very title represents is significant. How many of you in non-federation cities have made any such study as this, developing it together, and putting it down in black and white for your guidance? Isn't it worth while doing? Not one of you will agree but that it is—and yet it remains on the whole for federation cities to do

this sort of thing. My point is that there is nothing about this sort of thing that could not be done in other communities also, but you usually have no regularly established machinery and therefore you do not do it. Establish federation, and you find you have the machinery. A "moral federation" in this respect is not usually so effective as the closer knit "financial federation."

The Establishment of Councils and Conferences.

You do not go far in this co-operative work in a federation city before you begin to divide the field and there come quite logically and spontaneously into existence various councils or conferences uniting special interests in the study and improvement of their own methods. For example, Detroit, Cleveland and Cincinnati have their hospital councils; Cleveland has its conference on illegitimacy; Cincinnati and Cleveland have their negro welfare associations, in which blacks and whites together study the delicate problems involved in the large shift of negro population from the South to northern cities that came with the war; Detroit has a new conference of agencies dealing with the girl who lives alone in the city; Denver, Louisville and Cleveland have their conferences on child welfare; and so one can go on naming the various fields of effort in which as a result of coming together first in a general community-wide federation, the workers in special fields later come together in active councils and conferences to deal with their special problems. You find this tendency, of course, in many cities, but you find it more marked, and usually functioning more vigorously and effectively in federation cities.

The Cincinnati Plan.

In this connection I want to call special attention to the organization of the Cincinnati Council of Social Agencies, which is now being followed by Cleveland and other federations, definitely establishing and setting up certain major sub-councils, including a council on citizenship; a council on negro welfare; a public health council; a council on standards of living, and a general social service planning council. Let me show this concrete printed "Program of the Cincinnati Public Health Council" (holds up printed leaflet), with its definite subdivision of the field. You have here the following "divisional councils":

1. Divisional Council on Tuberculosis.
- This sheet lists in one, two, three, four, five, six order, the national measures, secondly the state measures, and thirdly the local measures for which the united social agencies of Cincinnati stand in their fight on the great white plague. And in just the same way there is a definite program for each of the following divisional councils:
2. Divisional Council on Hospitals.
3. Divisional Council on Mental Hygiene.
4. Divisional Council on Social Hygiene.
5. Divisional Council on Housing.
6. Divisional Council on Recreation.
7. Divisional Council on Medical Relief.
8. Divisional Council on Waste.
9. Divisional Council on Nursing.
10. Divisional Council on Industrial Health.
11. Divisional Council on Child Hygiene.

Here is a public health council, with a full time secretary, functioning as a sub-council of the central federation, with a definite, clear-cut program, divided into eleven sections, upon which the health and social agencies of Cincinnati stand. Is not this as effective a method of analyzing, stating and dealing with the public health problem as can be found in any city of the country? And is not this method significant and full of suggestions for those of you who are hesitating as to the effect of federation on social work? By such councils you can, if you wish, cover the whole field in your com-

munity, making your program clear and testing from time to time how much of it you are really succeeding in carrying out.

Surveys and Continuous Research

But the matter goes further; you do not stop with councils and conferences; you ask for surveys and then for continuous research. Thus we find that Louisville, through its child welfare council, calls in the Russell Sage Foundation to make a survey of its child welfare agencies; that Cleveland makes the most thorough-going study of cripples and handicapped persons of any city in the United States, publishing the results in a volume of several hundred pages with a definite program not of relief only, but of prevention; that Cincinnati makes a survey of the conditions under which negroes live and work; and that all these result in progress and action for improvement.

In Baltimore, through the co-operation of agencies both in and out of the federation, a statistical study has been made of the case records of agencies dealing with those in need of relief or medical care or other social service, publishing a report, unique in character, and extremely suggestive for all students of poverty and its causes. And yet the report is not in itself so significant as the fact that a method is here inaugurated, which it is to be hoped may be followed up in Baltimore and in many other communities, for a current analysis of the information which all of our case-working agencies are gathering day by day in all cities of the country regarding tens of thousands of families. This study has been described in another paper prepared at this conference. In Detroit, too, there has been established a permanent bureau of research, as part of the federation's equipment, which continuously carries on studies in problem after problem as the federation and its constituent agencies may feel to be necessary.

The Establishment of New Agencies.

The next step that one finds is the establishment of new agencies to take care of needs that study reveals are not being cared for, or at least not adequately. For example, Cleveland has established as a result of its survey of cripples an Association for the Crippled and Disabled; Detroit has established a committee on the handicapped and has resuscitated its housing association, which is just entering on a large and vigorous program; Denver creates what it has long needed, a vigorous anti-tuberculosis association; and Cleveland creates out of several fragments of travelers' aid work a real travelers' aid society. Of course these things happen in other communities; my point is that in federation cities they do not happen in a haphazard fashion but as a result of systematic, ordered planning, based upon study of the needs. And in the same way nearly every strong federation has had the experience of combining two or more weak organizations, or of the eliminating of useless or unnecessary ones. This is particularly the sort of thing that is most difficult to accomplish in non-federation cities.

Other Co-operative Work.

It will not be possible in the limits of this paper to continue even this general analysis of the forms taken by the social service work of federations. Let me simply add that many federations have had one or more of the following co-operative endeavors:

Legislative bureaus and committees.

Centralized buildings (notably in Elmira and Baltimore).

Central services of various sorts, including accounting, purchasing, the publication of social service directories, the supplying of social service visitors for weaker agencies which have had neither the vision nor the money to employ them for themselves, etc.

Increasing the registration in confidential exchanges, or in many instances themselves establishing and maintaining the confidential exchange.

Training of social workers—in Cleveland, Cincinnati, Louisville and Detroit much has been done toward the establishment of social work courses in the local universities and the creation of schools for social work.

Improving the standards of public welfare departments, especially in Cleveland and Detroit where workers have been loaned or financed by the private federation for the municipal government.

It would be possible to continue this list almost indefinitely. Surely the amount of social service work accomplished by federations in their very brief history is significant and suggestive of the possibilities in the social service field of this scheme of organization. Larger funds it may truly be said have been translated into greater and more effective service to the community.

Ideals of Federated Social Service.

One point upon which I would like to comment is the constructive and preventive nature of many of the community programs that are being worked out by federations. Just as the emphasis of all social work today is increasingly upon prevention or positive constructive effort, so in the federation field, which represents to some extent a protest against older disorganized methods of taking care of the charitable and social work of a community, there is found nearly always great emphasis upon this new note of prevention. Indeed, it is this which in a large measure has been responsible for securing increased financial support. The business man and the general public are tired of patchwork, and because federations usually offer something that is more constructive and more obviously in the direction of prevention they command a wider sympathy and support.

In this connection it is worth while pointing out that the best preventive and constructive work can only be done in those federations which embrace practically all of the recognized social agencies of a community. Wherever, as in Baltimore, for example, only a part of these agencies are included in the membership of the federation, its field of work is to that extent limited. There is no sound reason why federations should not include, as they do in Cincinnati, Cleveland and other cities, organizations which do not need to appeal to the public for financial support, as, for example, public welfare departments, endowed institutions, etc. Certainly the more inclusive federations can more easily put their emphasis on social service to the community as a whole than can those federations which include only fund-raising agencies.

If I may be pardoned for referring again for a few minutes to the Interchurch World Movement, I would suggest that the ideals at present before it might well constitute ideals for federations of local social service agencies. As stated in a little circular issued by the Interchurch World Movement, the main features of the plan are five in number:

1. A united study of the world field.
2. A united budget.
3. A united cultivation of the home church.
4. A united financial appeal.
5. A united program of work.

Some such united study of the local social work fields, upon which will be based united budgets, which then are brought unitedly before the general public in order to secure the necessary financial support, constitutes, it seems to me, an organizing principle which may well run through all social service federation work.

The Essentials of Success.

Let me say in conclusion that in my judgment there are just two essential factors for success in the federation field. The first is thorough-going co-operation. From the beginning of this paper I have indicated that thor-

ough-going co-operation means co-operation in every field of effort, financial, educational and social, but if I were to place greater emphasis upon one of these fields it would be not upon the financial but upon the social. The second necessity is able leadership. Particularly is this necessary in any far-reaching program of social service. And yet while able leadership is absolutely necessary, the first essential is that sort of co-operation all along the line which we have just been discussing. Given the real "get-together" spirit, and it will insist upon finding the best possible leadership. If you do not find the leadership you want you will develop it from within.

And let me say finally that however able your leadership it can accomplish little unless all the social agencies are thoroughly behind it. Social work is not a one-man program. It depends upon the wise co-operative effort of many persons and organizations, all intelligently acquainted with the problems and willing to give and take in the adjustments that are necessary for the development of an effective program. Given wise leadership and thorough-going co-operation of this sort in a well-organized federation, and you are bound to succeed in accomplishing results of real social value.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Mr. H. L. Eddy of Des Moines: It was the desire of the Welfare Bureau of Des Moines to increase the man power and woman power of the community in point of efficiency. As a result, therefore, the Health Center Association was organized by the Welfare Bureau, which brought together the clinical facilities of the community so that individuals might be taken for medical examination, both for physical and mental defects. The Health Center arranges for the follow-up of sub-normals and works with them through the various agencies of the city.

A speaker expressed anxiety for the individual agency that might not have sufficient funds furnished it by the federation and the reply was made that the federation plan of budget and of combining judgments of many agencies regarding the needs of any one were sufficient under the circumstances. The important distinction between an agencies' need and its desires was pointed out.

The Chairman, Mr. Norton, said: In our city the agencies formerly had never raised more than \$350,000. According to the budgets recently submitted, these same societies now will ask for \$1,000,000. In its first year the federation will probably find that it has been unable to raise more than between \$400,000 and \$500,000. Then the federation will be reported as a failure. The collapse will be due to the over-reaching of the demands of the agencies.

It was explained that actual circumstances would determine the treatment of research problems that arose within the federation. In one city a Research Bureau was a member of the federation, although the federation had no direct authority over its activities.

Mr. Fred R. Johnson of Detroit: The Detroit Community Union is placing increased emphasis upon the development of social work. The Research Bureau, a branch of the Associated Charities, which is closely related to the Community Union, has been engaged in an ambitious study of "trouble cases"—that is, families known to five or more agencies—which will later be printed. As an immediate result of this study a Consultation Committee was organized, composed of case supervisors and executives of the more important agencies, for the discussion of problem cases and standards of case work. The Union assisted the Department of Public Welfare in securing a trained supervisor for its Social Service Bureau, and the Research Bureau is making a study of the case work of that department at the request of its superintendent, which we hope may materially assist in improving standards of work. A Committee for the Handicapped has been organized to develop more effective work for the blind and those who are crippled. Another committee is engaged in surveying the special housing needs of working girls. The Community Union has also taken the initiative in the organization of a House Financing Corporation, to which in the neighborhood of \$1,500,000 has already been subscribed, the purpose of which is to promote the building of moderate priced houses by providing funds at a reasonable rate, and eliminating the excessive discounts now charged in the disposition of land contracts, instruments somewhat similar to second mortgages. Hospital construction during the war was practically discontinued, just as was the building of homes. This, plus the rapid increase of population of Detroit, make present needs for additional hospital beds acute. A special committee is looking into this matter with a view towards recommending a sane building program scattered over a period of years. It is probable that as a result of this and other plans in the making, capital expenditures will be included in the next annual campaign of the Detroit Patriotic Fund.

The work of the Cincinnati Council of Social Agencies in handling the influenza

epidemic was described. The movement for federation in Grand Rapids was said to have been instituted by the Family Welfare Agencies.

Miss Amy Woods of Boston: The League for Preventive Work is made up of seventeen case-working agencies. The purpose of this league is to translate common knowledge of social agencies into terms of civic improvement. Among the activities of the league has been the registration of the feeble-minded and the formulation of a state program for their care, and the study of problems common to numerous agencies who deal with the same family from different angles.

Those who participated in this informal discussion, in addition to the ones named above, were: C. M. Hubbard, St. Louis; Sherman C. Kingsley, Cleveland; Guy T. Justis, Denver; Mrs. Ballantine, Pittsburgh; C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati; E. D. B. Lynde, Grand Rapids; J. Bruce Byall of Philadelphia.

X.

THE UNITING OF NATIVE AND
FOREIGN BORN IN
AMERICA

DIVISION COMMITTEE—1918-19

Chairman, Ailen T. Burns, Carnegie Corporation, New York.

Jane Addams.....	Chicago	Julian W. Mack.....	Chicago
Grace Abbott.....	Washington	Mary E. McDowell.....	Chicago
Thomas W. Allinson.....	Chicago	W. A. McLennan.....	Buffalo
Emily Greene Balch.....	Wellsley, Mass.	Prof. Herbert A. Miller.....	Oberlin, Ohio
Edith Terry Bremer.....	New York	Rev. J. M. Shaver.....	Ft. William, Ont.
Rabbi Henry Cohn.....	Galveston	Prof. E. A. Steiner.....	Grinnell, Iowa
Charles C. Cooper.....	Pittsburgh	Graham Taylor.....	Chicago
Frederick C. Howe.....	New York	Lillian D. Wald.....	New York
Simon J. Lubin.....	Sacramento		

DIVISION COMMITTEE—1919-20

(Members of this Division Committee serve for one year only.)

Chairman, Allen T. Burns, Carnegie Corporation, New York.

Vice-Chairman, Graham Taylor, Chicago Commons, Chicago.

Secretary, Mrs. Anna Reed Brenner, The Survey, New York.

Grace Abbott.....	Washington	Robbins Gilman.....	Minneapolis
Jane Addams.....	Chicago	T. Seymour Levy.....	Syracuse
Ethel Bird.....	Chicago	Mrs. Margaret Long.....	Washington
Mrs. Edith Terry Bremer.....	New York	Prof. Herbert A. Miller.....	Oberlin
John Foster Carr.....	New York	Andrea Patri.....	New York
John Daniels.....	New York	Rev. Vincent Pisek.....	New York
Miss A. P. Dingman.....	Cincinnati	Ethel Richardson.....	San Francisco
Rev. Hugh Dobson.....	Regina, Sask.	Felix J. Stryckman.....	Chicago
Michael J. Downey.....	Boston	Sidney A. Teller.....	Pittsburgh

PROGRAM

At the meeting of the National Conference at Atlantic City June 1-8, 1919, 191 delegates registered as members of this Division. The Division Committee, as elected at the 1918 conference at Kansas City, is shown on the opposite page. Five meetings for discussion were held, as follows:

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The general session on June 3, evening, was a joint meeting with Division VII, on The Local Community.

ORGANIC AMERICANIZATION: ADDRESS OF CHAIRMAN

Allen T. Burns, Director, Study of Methods of Americanization, Carnegie Corporation, New York.

On behalf of your infant division it is impossible to make a report tonight. What I have to say is more in the way of a prospectus. The Division on The Uniting of Native and Foreign Born in America conceives of that question in somewhat more comprehensive terms than is ordinarily included in the word *Americanization*. We would rather, perhaps, indicate our thought of it by parodying a word of Scripture: "What shall it profit the immigrant if he gain the whole language and lose the very life of America?" Will he be more than "sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal"? As an American will he be more than any proverbial model, a small imitation of the real thing? We bring that thought to you this evening because we have a higher respect and conception of America than can be embraced in any idea of a one-sided phase of American life and relationships. It can well be put again in the story of the old colored clergyman who, being replaced at the request of his congregation by a modern young preacher, when he preached his farewell sermon, said: "Brothers and sisters, my text this morning will be taken from the first verse of the first chapter of the Book of Life,—from the beginning life was more than learning."

We have used many figures in this country to represent this process in which we are interested and with which this division has to deal. We have talked of the melting pot, but that has been dissected and thought impracticable because it calls to mind too much the reduction of all peoples to a pulp-like heterogeneous mass. As John Collier put it, "It rather indicates the taking over of the richly variegated, the cultural life of the many peoples coming to our shores, and reducing them all to a deadly, dull Puritan drab," and for that reason we are seeking another figure. We have talked about fusion, or welding, and again we have thought that they both implied what perhaps is very much in vogue in these connections today, both force and heat, but which your committee conceives as being both inappropriate and unusable in this great procedure.

We did conceive of it perhaps adequately when we thought of it as a process of weaving the immigrant American into the warp and woof of national life. The loom rather than the melting pot would be our figure,—not the old fashioned loom where the operator must jump first on this treadle and then on that, but rather the automatic loom of the modern day where the main job of the tender is not to work with the fabric but to see that the loom in all its parts and processes is kept always in order. For no process of weaving the immigrant into American life could possibly be adequate to the task if it overlooked those great fundamental factors and forces in true Americanism,—self-reliance, self-sufficiency, self-direction and self-determination. Anything that in the process of this weaving did away with and thrust aside these priceless characteristics of both native and new Americans would thereby defeat the very end that we seek. Rather it is for us Americans to see to it that this great machinery of American life is adjusted as it may need to be to the new fabrics, the different colors, the variegated threads that we desire to weave into the great American pattern. We will be kept busy in seeing that these adaptations of the machinery are made.

So in the course of our section meetings and our discussions we shall talk about the various parts of this great machine,—how labor organizations are to be adapted to the understanding and needs of the immigrant group, how our social agencies which so many of us represent can best be aided to serve the needs of these new comers. We are going to talk about our

local institutions, both private and governmental, how they shall meet both the understanding and the necessities of our immigrant population, and then, to indicate that we do not ignore, but esteem highly, that great feature of American life, the public school, we shall close with a consideration of public education's part in this process.

More important than all these views of American life in the weaving process we believe to be the local community, with all its relations, its organizations, its variety of influences through which we ourselves have been united most closely with America, and through which we believe the immigrant will come into the same vital relation, and for that reason we have asked Division VII on The Local Community to let us join with it in a general session, and in succeeding years, if our division is permitted to continue we hope these two divisions will work most closely together because of the vital, fundamental permanency and importance of the local community in all its relations in helping this procedure. The first address of this evening is to deal with a phase of this problem of local group organization. The whole point of this aspect may again be put into the old story of the colored stage driver who prided himself on his marksmanship with the whip. He was driving along and saw a grasshopper on a blade of grass. He cracked his whip, and it dropped beside the road. Then he saw a fly on the left hand ear of his off leader. He cracked his whip at that, and the fly dropped beside the road. Then he came to a limb of a tree reaching over the road on which was a hornets' nest, and one lone hornet resting on the limb. Sambo never made a move. A passenger inquired why not. And Sambo said "Dat hornet enters too readily into reciprocal relations. Dey's organized." The way in which the immigrant enters into our life through his group organization is to be presented under the subject—Group Action: Organic Americanization, by Miss Juliet Stuart Poyntz.

TREATMENT OF IMMIGRANT HERITAGES

Prof. Herbert Adolphus Miller, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.

A New York newspaper recently contained the following editorial comment on the Italian crisis in the Peace Conference:

Not only is the average American little informed as to Fiume and the rights and wrongs of the Fiume question, but no American interest is affected. Whether the disputed city goes to Italy or whether to Yugoslavia touches no American concern. No matter what flag is up, it will be practically the same to us.

This statement expresses the sentiment of many well-meaning Americans, who would be startled to be told that such an attitude constitutes an actual menace to that very Americanism which they are so sure of in themselves.

It might be a true expression of the state of affairs if there were not two million Italians and 345,000 Jugoslavs in America, plus all their children born in this country, who at least double the numbers. These people are as intensely concerned as if the dispute affected their own immediate personal interests, and participate vicariously in the conflict as intensely as if they were not in America but still living in the actually disputed border regions. Approximately one-fourth of the population of the United States has an interest similarly in some boundary question in Europe, differing only in degree from that of the inhabitants of Fiume.

It is much nearer the truth to say that America's relation to the question in every disputed area in Europe is such that to be indifferent to it is to invite our own destruction. If there were no other reason for a league of nations, the fifteen million people in America who come from the stock of the

countries of middle Europe and the 27 million altogether from Europe constitute a sufficient reason.

Problems arising from the presence of the immigrant among us are agitating many communities, and conscious efforts at Americanization have become manifold. The success or failure of these efforts depends fundamentally on our perception of the immigrant, not as an isolated human entity, but as a personality not to be detached from its peculiar matrix of psychological relationships, and incomprehensible except as part of a functioning larger social whole.

The Heritage of Attitudes

What the immigrant brings to America is primarily a complex of attitudes. What he needs is a proper meeting of those attitudes. These may be regarded in three fundamentally different phases: that of the normal adult person; the normal group attitude; and the pathological group attitude. The adult immigrant has fixed habits of thought, as the thinking habits of any individual anywhere take a definite bent with maturity. He has all the instincts and emotions common to mankind because he is a man; in each individual case these have become settled in a particular mold which conforms to the manners and traditions of a particular Old World habitat. In other words, the foreign-born man is normal with virtues and vices which are more or less fixed because of the age at which he comes to us. We must expect to find all sorts of limitations and prejudices in the mental adjustments of the immigrant as in that of any individual. By studying our own personal make-up carefully we can explain many of the problems of an alien personality.

Just as naturally the immigrant is part of a normal group attitude. He is both physically and psychologically a member of a distinctive group, which has distinctive group attitudes. Thus we have family customs and standards of value that cannot be affected by a geographical or political change. Each nationality as represented by its immigrant group is essentially distinctive, and contributes its unique values and its unique problems. Common language, common religion, and common geographical origin have developed within the several groups characteristics that are definite and persistent. They differ widely from one another, and however much they may seem alike to an outsider, in the consciousness of the members of the respective groups they are most highly differentiated.

Hitherto almost the only distinction of groups that we have made has been between the earlier immigrants from western Europe, and the more recent ones from eastern Europe. The earlier comers were a relatively homogeneous migration as contrasted with the later. They were of common stock with the first American settlers, or belonged to races akin or at least familiar to the established "Americans."

The Basis of Group Conflict

The great mass of the recent immigration differs much more from the community into which it has come, and much more also with respect to the component groups within itself. The juxtaposition of these groups either in Europe or America makes conflict perfectly normal. When a group has consciousness of group personality, it finds itself in competition with other groups. Each has a distinctive history, and the fact that this history is familiar to and intimately associated with its life as no other history is, enhances it to the group and makes for a group egotism. Thus certain recognized values come to inhere in the group to which we belong, or to the community which it forms; these values or virtues, because they are ours, seem to us the superior ones among all values. The more genuinely a group has this feeling, the more surely will it feel itself in conflict with the others. It makes no difference whether the comparison be between Boston and St.

Louis, Harvard and Yale, Republican and Democrat, capital and labor, or Yugoslav and Italian. Each thinks the world would be better if the others would adopt its values, just as New England would like to culturize the Middle West. The consciousness of its position frequently makes for mutually exclusive comparisons and violent antipathies that seem irreconcilable. Nevertheless individuals may make a complete transfer from one group to another. The test of the normal conflict is whether this change is possible.

In middle Europe the bases of group organization are highly particularized. The various languages, religions, and histories have made peculiar solidarities, and evolved genuine values. We must expect, then, in the case of groups so constituted, more persistent tendency to retain their integrity than in the case of simpler groups.

One universal concomitant of group consciousness is the feeling that qualities are enhanced by measure of magnitude. There is not a Chamber of Commerce in the United States that does not overestimate the population of its community, and condemn the census when the correct figures are given. One of the difficulties in the heterogeneously settled communities of eastern Europe is that each of two nationalities will claim a majority in a district. This is perfectly normal; people associate almost altogether with other persons who speak their own language, and therefore they see their own kind predominantly. The result of this tendency is strikingly illustrated in the case of foreign-language communities in America. A Polish woman who spent six months traveling in America reported that the United States was a Polish-speaking country. Most of the persons in this audience have probably always assumed that Boston, Cleveland and Chicago are English-speaking cities, when as a matter of fact less than half of the inhabitants of these cities speak English. In Cleveland, for example, 56 per cent of the children in the schools do not speak English in their homes.

All groups and classes have a tendency to overestimate their own values, and when the supreme values of nationality and religion are the basis of the grouping, contacts of any sort inevitably bring conflicts. In middle and southeastern Europe the national groupings marked by language and religion are the basis of the history of the peoples, and constitute the emotional background. When these essential ingrained differences in addition to natural community egotisms are made the basis of territorial controversy, the difficulty is more serious because the issues become by so much the more subjective; and they represent absolutely honest attitudes.

Even where such issues have a much slighter historical validity, attitudes and conflicts tend easily to the extreme, and pass beyond the possibility of objective evaluation by the groups involved.

The United States can parallel almost any of the boundary disputes of Europe with only a shadow of the justification of the latter. "Fifty-four, forty or fight!" over a boundary disputes with Canada sounds strangely like "Fiume or death!" The Ohio-Michigan boundary conflict offers the most outstanding comparison. In the original survey an error was made which would have deprived Ohio of approximately 360 square miles. There was constant controversy from 1812 to 1836, and the violence of feeling and language is now almost incomprehensible. In 1818, the secretary of Michigan wrote John Quincy Adams, then secretary of state, begging that Michigan be protected from Ohio, which had "swollen to the dimensions of a giant, and as Michigan is a frontier state, it should be strong to protect the Union against countless hordes of savages in the Northwest and the rapidly growing power of Canada." When the Senate passed a bill in 1835 giving the territory to Ohio, Michigan memorialized Congress saying that she would resist, "let the attempt be made by whom it may, to rob her of her soil and trample on her rights." Ohio retaliated with a special session of the legislature which

appropriated \$300,000 because "the great and powerful city of Detroit . . . united to oppress and weaken the little village of Toledo," and the honor of the state was pledged to protect its citizens who had been persecuted by Michigan "with a degree of reckless vengeance rarely paralleled in the history of civilized nations." Finally the dispute was amicably settled when Michigan was given the Upper Peninsula which was a concession geographically as irrational than it would be to give Luxembourg to Italy.

The significant thing about these deeply emotionalized conflicts is that no one cares an iota now how the matter was finally settled. Toledo would have been just as happy under the jurisdiction of Michigan as under that of Ohio. The point that should be noted is that there are conflicts which may be very intense, but which when once settled in any way, are entirely forgotten with the lapse of time.

The Oppression Psychosis

Conflicts of this sort, however irrational they may seem, yet permit of being resolved, leaving no trace of the strain and excitability involved at the time, and in contradistinction to contests which breed morbid antagonisms and long enduring supersensitivities may be regarded as perfectly normal. In addition to normal conflicts, the conditions of Europe have developed this latter kind of pathological situation. Most of the national groupings have been so stimulated to self-accentuation by imperialistic oppression, that they no longer represent normal mental attitudes, but what might be called oppressed-nationality psychoses. Dividing and ruling by force has created antagonisms and inhibitions which constitute a heritage of all the new nations of Europe, and thus are congenital in the psychological make-up of the majority of our immigrants.

Forcible methods of assimilation were directed first against language and then against religion, so that the resulting inhibitions constitute "balked dispositions" or distinct psychoses that are very deep-seated. The instinct for freedom is universal; when it is inhibited it breaks out in diverse and exaggerated forms. By reason of suggestion the form such expression takes will be comparatively uniform through a given group. It may be chauvinism, which is the focussing of attention on the supreme significance of the national values. It is a positive resistance to the suppression of group individuality, which is far more important to most human beings than person individuality.

Had it been possible, Austria-Hungary would have forced the eight non-German nationalities of the empire to speak only German; but the result of her attempt was the complete dissolution of the empire. Under such a condition, preservation of language becomes the highest duty of the group. Certainly one of the contributing causes of the present disorganization of Europe was the oppression-psychosis instituted by Bismarck when he forbade the Poles in Posen the use of their own language.

Religion and Nationalism

Religion is the other most obvious symbol of national unity. Religious expression in some form is normal and universal; but when the religious organization is built up to supply a fighting machinery it tends to become abnormal, and it acquires strength in direct proportion to the efforts made to crush the nationality of its members. Among the Poles the strength of clerical organization has been stimulated by the ruthless methods of protestant Prussia and orthodox Russia. On the other hand, free thinking Bohemia is explained by the alliance of the church with Vienna, the oppressor of Bohemian nationality; as the religious indifference of the Italians is explained by the struggle of the Vatican for temporal power. The synagogue is strong where Christians oppress Jews. Protestant England has controlled Catholic Ireland by force until to many people the terms Irish and Catholic are synonyms. Where economic and political exploitation has been aided by

the church, the technique of devotion which normally related itself to religion is often carried over in a new adherence to socialism.

An oppressed people never gives up its struggle for its language and its religion. Under conditions of freedom these are only means to a fuller life; under oppression they become the objects of life. The freeing of oppressed nations was one of the objects of the war. The restoration of normal national psychoses is one of the necessities of peace.

Unfortunately the self-cherishing or sense of superiority which is a compensating or defense reaction in an oppression psychosis tends when pressure is removed to become expansive and so easily metamorphosed into an imperialistic or oppressor-psychosis. The laborer who becomes foreman, the proletarian who becomes a dictator, the Pilgrims who become religious autocrats illustrate such evolutions. Germany long ago had her oppression experience and passed from that to a psychopathically imperialistic stage. Italian irredentism, which was the product of oppression, has tended to become imperialistic, and every other nation which has had a similar experience will tend in the same direction, unless some method of resolving such initial complexes is devised.

The resultant of these abnormal psychoses or exaggerated attitudes is reflected in the character of both individuals and groups. They become self-conscious and supersensitive. Having been compelled to concentrate their attention so much upon themselves, they interpret all criticism subjectively. They cannot think of themselves objectively. Like women their power of self-valuation is out of focus. They are likely to be suspicious of one of their own number who stands out above the rest, for under the conditions of oppression anyone who became prominent was probably playing into the hands of the oppressor and thus was a traitor to the group. On the other hand, when freedom is secured, too many want to become leaders without having proved their fitness by experience.

Immigrant Brings an Object Lesson in Political Science

The significance of all this is what every one of these normal and abnormal attitudes constitute the immigrant heritage brought to America. We are thereby made reapers of the whirlwind sown by the imperialism of Europe. What the immigrant can give us most definitely is an object-lesson in political science. If we heed it we can reform the world; if we ignore it we shall help to perpetuate what this war sought to banish from the earth. It is quite unnecessary to travel in Europe to learn the history and results of oppression. Their impress is vivid and virile in every industrial city in the United States. One can literally learn more about Europe in a month in Pittsburgh, Cleveland or Chicago than in a year in Europe. This is the most outstanding contribution of the immigrant to America. His hatred of oppression was one of our greatest assets in the war, for it not only made technical enemies actual allies, but made them allies of the utmost merit—a fact we were too slow to recognize.

The immigrant brings us a great and varied language content which we have hitherto almost wasted. We have actually counted it a liability when the children of immigrants have known some other language than English, and have tried to teach them to despise rather than cherish it. At the same time we have been inconsistently spending millions of dollars trying to teach foreign languages to our native-born children.

He brings us also a number of religious forms and values which have come from the experience of human beings in their struggle for spiritual realization. A sympathetic understanding of these religious institutions may greatly enrich and enlarge the spiritual vision of America.

The tendency to clannishness or segregation which is so often emphasized in the discussion of the immigrant is an example of a normal tendency

becoming pathological because of determining conditions. This segregation is, in normal circumstances of mutual respect between groups, merely a manifestation of a common human impulse without any predetermining consciousness about it. People who come from the same country naturally have a like-mindedness about manners and customs and habits. All of us try to live in a congenial neighborhood with the result that we all really live in segregated districts. But when indications of discrimination arise, there grows up a proportionate self-consciousness on the part of the group which is being discriminated against, and the tendency to differentiate themselves as a group crystallizes into a definite and fixed defensive purpose.

Defensive psychoses have in general been created by the artificial stimulation of normal differences into conscious bases of antagonism. In Austria-Hungary this was developed to a fine art; historical, geographical, linguistic and religious differences were magnified both between and within national groups, until such a mass of hatreds was developed as will exist long after the cause is removed.

The Futility of Force

There is no more interesting chapter in history than the successful efforts of a dozen or more peoples to prevent their language from being lost. They have proven that it is impossible to destroy a language by force. The Poles of Prussia and the Czechs of Austria gradually won against the most subtle methods of imperialism. Since language is a more obvious and normal bond of unity even than religion, it has most often been the object of attack by dominant powers, and therefore has been made a definite end of the national struggle. Thus in the conflict there was developed among some of the European peoples a pathological psychosis in regard to language which is a heritage we must adjust ourselves to meet in those who have come to this country.

Similarly the religious attitudes of every immigrant group in America, with the possible exception of the Scandinavians, are abnormal because of the political experience of the group in Europe. The classic first immigrants who came to America the Pilgrim Fathers, came for religious freedom; no less did those who came in the steerage of the last ship. The bigotry of the one is no greater than that of the other.

The most difficult of the psychoses with which we have to deal in America result from just these attitudes that have become pathological through the experience of oppression in Europe. The animosities between groups and within groups are as intense here as in Europe, and they present immeasurably complex problems which must be solved. If we take for illustration the case of the Jugoslavs, we have the example of a people who are trying to form a unified state and common consciousness in Europe, after having been successively ruled by Turk and Teuton, and lately living under five different political systems. They have four religions, two alphabets, and four historic divisions—Serb, Montenegrin, Croat and Slovene. Their educational opportunities have been limited, and they have a different problem on each border. The complexity bred in Europe do not become less complex in America, for in the minds of the seven hundred thousand representatives here there has been perpetuated the consciousness of the past without the restraint of the immediate practical responsibilities which must be met in Europe.

We must never forget in approaching the problem of the foreign-born in America, that the questions involved are as various as the nationalities which make them, and that if we are going to succeed in dealing with them, we must know them as the product of historic groups with distinctive backgrounds.

The Irish Question

The immigrant will not forget his mother-country so long as he thinks the demands of justice there require his attention. The case of the Irish

is an example of immigrants who know English and are generally citizens of the United States, but who are as group-conscious as the Yugoslavs or the Italians. For the so-called "Irish question" will be settled in America only when it is settled in Ireland. The reason for the perpetuation of Irish nationalism is England—not any fault in our school system.

The president of the school board of a Massachusetts city in explaining his interest in the Irish question, made the following statement:

Our immediate ancestors, fathers and grandfathers, felt the iron heel upon their necks in their early lives, and in our childhood we were fed with stories of evictions, landlord oppressions, and religious persecutions which sent us to bed night after night in fear and trembling, lest before morning some Englishman should get into the house and snatch the children away to chains and slavery. Growing older, we went into the world and met, more often than not, petty persecutions at the hands of those who did not understand us and the things we held sacred. We saw in it all, translated to this side of the Atlantic, the same spirit of persecution which drove our fathers from the land of their birth, and we have come to manhood carrying chips on our shoulders because of the things which men have done to us on account of our race and our religion.

The group-consciousness of the Irish is one of the finest examples of a psychosis. Carrying a chip on one's shoulder through life is certainly pathological. Neither knowledge of English nor American citizenship through naturalization or by birth affects in the slightest degree the vividness of the Irish emotion. The Irish illustrate what, until justice is established in Europe, will happen in every oppressed group whose individuals have migrated in such large numbers to America, but it will be much more complicated by the varieties of language and religion.

Political oppression has generally been accompanied by landlordism and snobbish aristocracy, and has created an additional proletarian psychosis. To understand and sympathize with this psychosis is the first step toward clearing up what looks like the element of malevolence in its character. Extreme radicalism loses its fearsomeness when its psychopathic origin is understood. It cannot be cured by more oppression.

On the other hand, some of the keenest critics of incipient oppressive institutions and attitudes are immigrants. In so far as class prejudice and junkerism prevail in America, the fact that those who have suffered from it in Europe are thereby equipped to discern it here may be one of our best American assets.

The Fallacy of Teaching English

A favorite formula for disposing of the immigrant is to say: "Let him learn English and become a good American. Make him forget about the squabbles in Europe." As a matter of fact he neither does nor will accept this formula, and any community which tries to enforce it is preparing to reap a whirlwind. Most immigrants come to America to get freedom—not solely nor mainly economic freedom, but freedom from alien domination. The emigrant from middle Europe brings with him traditions concerning the treatment of his language, such that when he is presented with the compulsion to learn English the first tendency is to resist it, especially if the compulsion is accompanied with the implication that he will thereby quickly forget his past. Much of his nature has been in the atmosphere of a distant, glorious, and probably exaggerated national past before his fathers came under the heel of the oppressor. As a Pole or an Irishman he has thought much more of the centuries gone by than of the hopeless future.

There is no more imperative duty for America than the right treatment of the language question. It was compulsion to learn German, Russian and Magyar that created the attitudes that underlie some of the most complex problems in Europe at the present time. Many of our zealous patriots have innocently assumed the policy of oppressive Europe, and have come to feel that assimilation of the immigrant into American life can be attained by the

sole method of teaching English. The value of English to the foreigner himself is so great that every effort should be made to make him realize the importance of it to himself, and to provide proper opportunities through which he may accomplish this end. But it should be made perfectly clear to him that all that is not for the purpose of making him forget his national individuality. The following quotation from the New York Nation concerning the Lawrence strike illustrates the disadvantage to the immigrant himself of being shut off from a common medium of communication.

For years the textile manufacturers have carried on a policy of gathering in the peasants of eastern and southeastern Europe to operate the looms of New England. These immigrants were distributed so that no more than fifteen per cent of any one race were employed in a single mill, and the apportionment was dispassionately determined so that men and women racially hostile to one another worked side by side. This was to render organization impossible and thus keep wages low.

What has been true at Lawrence has been true in many other industries, so that it is obvious that the foreign-born need English to safeguard themselves from exploitation.

We Should Foster the Language of the Immigrant

But the teaching of English should be called education, not Americanization, which is likely to offend because it implies the same old culture domination which is more hateful than political domination. We should foster the self-respect of the immigrant by respecting the language for whose very existence his people have struggled for centuries. One method would be to offer these languages in our colleges and universities. As Chicago and Milwaukee have already done, we should offer in the high schools courses in any foreign language for which there are children demanding it in numbers sufficient to form a class. We could thus preserve the language possession already attained by the children, and also promote respect in the children for their parents; and in the parents we should be dislodging the suspicion that America practices the hated policy of Europe. There is no other way comparable with this for making English respected and loved, for it will thus stand out as a medium of opportunity and not as an instrument of annihilation.

In the same way the foreign-born need their press. They need it because there is no other way in which they can learn the news of the world, and the facts and purposes of American life. Even if they learn English they will not be able to get into its spirit as they live in that of their native tongue. How many of us who have studied French and German much more than the average immigrant will ever be able to study English would choose a French or German newspaper in preference to an English one?

The foreign-born offer us the opportunity of appropriating spiritual values in unfamiliar forms. Unless we become able to do this we shall not be prepared to live in the new era.

The Identity of America With Europe

We must accept at their face value, and with infinite patience, both the normal and pathological attitudes. The foreign-born will never forget the land of their origin and their responsibility for it so long as injustice prevails there; the identification of America with the problems of Europe, therefore, is so close that we cannot escape our share in the responsibility however much we may wish. There can be no real Americanization of the immigrant unless there is a real league of nations, as the symbol of a real organization which will substitute in Europe a reign of justice for the reign of immorality. The isolation of America is a pure illusion. The only way it can be regained is by identifying ourselves with a democratic reorganization of Europe. If

an unjust domination is imposed on Germany, the many millions of German stock in America will gradually and inevitably develop a political solidarity such as they never knew before.

Most of the nations of Europe have only one or two international problems, but we have every one of the problems of all the nations within our borders. To deny or overlook this is to pull down over our own heads the pillars upon which rest our political and social structures. No country in Europe is so dependent on the peace conference and the League of Nations as the United States. Fifty per cent of the Irish, 20 per cent of the Poles, and a large percentage of all of the other long-oppressed peoples are in America and constitute from one-third to two-thirds of the population of many of our leading centers.

The foreign-born need a renewal of the faith that has been waning faith in the freedom and democracy of America—to obtain which they came to these shores. Through what those who came here told their oppressed kinsmen in Europe, the latter came to look to America for salvation, and through them the real purpose of America may still be the salvation of Europe. But to discriminate against those who are living among us means a perpetuation in America of the hatreds of the past in Europe. We must devise a political science and social practice which will give them the self-expression here that self-determination aims to give in Europe.

Just as finally the American authorities tried to mobilize the attitudes of the immigrants for purposes of war, so they must mobilize them for peace. Foolish and frantic methods of Americanization should yield to the realization that we are dealing with a psychological and moral problem, and that the league of nations is essential in the United States. If we could organize the representatives of the peoples of Europe who are in America behind a program for a reconstructed world, we should have an instrument for world-order whose potentiality cannot be measured. Instead, we hide our heads in the sand and think to make them forget by teaching them English.

There is no panacea for dealing with the immigrant simpler than that required for the whole world. And the existing deep-seated psychoses can only be cured through a long process of time. We must deal as wise physicians with a soul-sick people for whose trouble we have no responsibility but who have become an integral part of our lives.

The spirit and method of Americanization must be part and parcel of the solution of the problems of Europe. The relations of groups, both in conflict and in co-operation, is the paramount issue of human society. If we can learn even a few of the laws underlying the conflict of groups we shall make rapid progress where we have been blindly groping. But in the meantime all these problems will resist solution until there is a just reorganization of Europe. Only when the ideals of democracy have removed the possibility of imperialistic exploitation, will there be no longer a need for chauvinism to combat it. America cannot save herself unless Europe is saved. Whether we will or not, our immigrants make the world-problem our problem.

LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AS AMERICANIZERS

The leading address on this subject was made by Mr. David J. Saposs of the Industrial Division, Study of Methods in Americanization, New York.

This was followed by informal discussion in which issue was taken with the speaker, especially on the point of the capacity of the immigrant for intelligent participation in the labor movement. The remarks of the leading speaker, Mr. Saposs, unfortunately are omitted for lack of verified transcript, but other important statements in debate are included as follows:

Prof. Francis Tyson of Pittsburgh: Mr. Saposs gives to the immigrant an intellectual aliveness to the labor movement in America which I doubt that he possesses except for

the Russian Jewish group in the big centers. From my experience in Pittsburgh, where the immigrant group is largely Slav, the I. W. W. has made no imprint there or in any Pennsylvania immigrant group. The reason for this failure to reach the immigrant workers is the fact that their leaders, in trying to reach them, do not have the psychology of the working man. The problem is one of relative imperviousness to trade union standards. The trade unions in Pittsburgh have nothing to do with foreign leaders who have middle class ideals. We have got to have an educational program, a community organization program that will reach these people rather than an exclusively labor program. Native born leaders of the trade union movement seem to face insuperable obstacles in reaching the foreign born, even when there is an effective desire to do so.

The Slav societies, for instance, have the middle class psychology expressed in terms of getting on in the world economically. Have you gone outside of the labor movement at all to meet this group?

Mr. H. A. Miller of Oberlin College: I agree with Mr. Tyson that all foreign language leaders are anxious to get on as individuals. The A. F. of L. has made exactly the same mistake the U. S. Army made when it thought that the way of getting the military asset of the immigrant was to merge him as an American into the American army. This failed. Men who spoke different languages were put in the same barracks. The result was an absence of unity and morale. Toward the end of the war, the general staff discovered that the only way you could get the best co-operation of the immigrant was to mobilize him according to his own group. The A. F. of L. leadership is ultra-American. Mr. Saposs falls into the common error of thinking immigrants are Americanized when they have learned to speak English at their meetings. The first step the A. F. of L. ought to take is to organize the national groups into unions of their own nationalities and then have faith enough to believe that they will later merge with the American unions. Otherwise, they are going at the problem in the wrong direction. The Slavic group has traditionally more of the co-operative instinct than any other group. We have got to realize that people will make their group existence more fundamental than their physical existence. As long as the Slavs are fighting each other and the rest of the world, they will not unite for their own good. The Slavs and Poles are very antagonistic toward each other and almost everybody else and, therefore, cannot be expected to unite in the A. F. of L. as steel workers. They ought to be gotten together as Poles. There would be nothing more effective in the Americanization of the Poles than the actual organization of them as Polish steel workers.

Mr. John Ihlder of Philadelphia: Mr. Miller, in order to strengthen his thesis that Americanization will be hastened by organizing immigrants in racial or national groups cited our draft army as an illustration. In this he misses two vital points: First, our army was organized not to Americanize its members, but to produce fighting units; second, it was organized not with the idea of securing the greatest possible efficiency of these fighting units, irrespective of length of time, but with the idea of securing as great efficiency as possible immediately. That is, we were facing an emergency, where the issue would be decided very soon, and we had to do the best we could at top speed. If the army units were organized on racial or national lines it was not because that is the best method for a permanent organization, but because it was necessary to compromise on the score of urgency.

The Austrian army illustrates Mr. Miller's method. I once met an Austrian army officer who had to learn nineteen languages and dialects in order to be understandable to his troops. Such diversity of language inevitably produced delay and confusion in large scale operations. The Austrian army as a whole was not efficient.

What we are discussing now is not methods of meeting an emergency but methods ultimately producing a united and homogeneous people. Polish workers would join Polish unions more quickly than they will unions where Poles, Italians, Ukrainians mingle; but the question for us is whether or not such Nationalistic unions or other groups by encouraging or stimulating a sentiment of separatism based upon old-world ancestries, carrying with them old-world prejudices and antagonisms, will delay or perhaps permanently prevent the development of undivided allegiance to America. While it may make easier the immediate organization of unions or other groups will it not weaken the feeling that we all are Americans?

Miss Marion D. Savage of Wellesley, Mass.: I went to one meeting of the general strike committee in Lawrence, and was impressed to see how the different national groups were co-operating, working together for a big ideal. Everywhere I found a great spirit of idealism and something very hopeful in the Americanization process because they were all working together to make it possible for them to have American standards of living.

Mr. James M. Shaver of Fort William, Canada: Haven't we been assuming that the object of the A. F. of L. is the object of America? Canada's labor unions' object is not the same as that of the Dominion of Canada. In our labor council, we have no discussions of nationalities. We are all Canadian labor men and women. In the longshoremen's union, there have to be men who talk different languages. All of the subjects of meetings are interpreted into different languages. All that makes Canadians. After all, we do the biggest job when we unite the people into one big organization for the bettering of the conditions of all. Let's look for the big objective.

THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE WORKER IN THE FUSION PROCESS:
AN INDISPENSABLE ASSET TO SOCIAL WORK
IN AMERICA *

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America is a country whose working people for the greater part have spent their childhood in other lands. She is a country wherein a large part of those of her working people who were born under her own flag have yet grown up in homes where the father and mother have been born and reared in other lands. This means that ours is a country whose rank and file of common homes have their deepest traditions from other lands than this.

It needs but a look into the last full census (1910) to discover this astounding fact. It shows that our total *white population* in 1910 was 82,598,168 souls; and out of that number 13,394,213 were persons whose birthplaces were in other countries. It is necessary to study the figures for our *white population* only, as up to 1910 colored people had hardly appeared at all in the immigration procession, and the few who had come were English-speaking. It is with non-English speaking foreign peoples that I would deal here. It is therefore at once simpler and more accurate to compare records of white population only, in order to arrive at a good understanding of what part of our American world is really foreign in blood and birth and upbringing. The oriental peoples living with us, of course, are of both foreign and non-English speaking origin. Their records are not included in "total white population," being treated in separate tables. But since the findings of this study would be the "same only more so" if the oriental statistics were included, I shall omit them, simply for convenience' sake.

If, out of our total white population of eighty-two and one-half millions, thirteen and three-fifths were born elsewhere, it means that to every six "white" persons in America there is one who was born under some other flag than our own.

But more than this, there are still twelve and nine-tenths million souls out of the remaining 69,204,455 millions, who, though born here, are the children of parents who were not. So, then, the whole number of human beings whose early life was either cast in a far-off land or was shaped here by parents whose memories of childhood and comprehension of conditions were deeply colored by the inheritance and traditions of strange and different lands totals 26,347,247, or 33% of the total white stock of this nation!

* * * * *

Now if one-third of America's total white population is foreign, and largely nourished from foreign soil, which Third is it? Is it the Third which enjoys the "Fifth Avenues" and "State Streets"; the beautiful homes; the open country; the colleges and universities of America? No, it is the Third which makes the shoes, rolls the steel, drives the industries of America! It is the great, hard-working, smoke-surrounded, day-and-week wage-earning Third. It is the Third that embraces all the unskilled workers. America is indeed a country whose wage-earners are born and nurtured and trained in the ways of other lands!

Organized social work thus far has concerned itself in the main with wage-earning communities, and particularly with the unskilled of those communities. I am not referring to social *theory*, nor to our larger aspirations in the direction of the "New State" and the effective democracy in which all are socially at work for one another. I mean the practicable varieties of social work which everybody knows about as "agencies" or public offices, and

*Author's abstract.

which get done by workers employed by agencies and organizations and commissions. Moreover, organized social work has not only been concerned with wage-earning groups, but mostly with those groups in cities. And the unskilled wage-earners of cities are that same 33 per cent of the white population which was recently uprooted from the environment of other countries. They *are* these men and women whose family roots are from over the seas and from over the border. The census is quite emphatic on this point and clearly reveals that in state after state the foreign stock comprises a high proportion of its urban population. For Massachusetts the foreign people make up 68 per cent of all its urban population.

For Connecticut	65%
" New York	71.1%
" New Jersey	63%
" Pennsylvania	50%
" Ohio	45%
" Illinois	65%
" Michigan	63.6%
" Wisconsin	71.2%
" Minnesota	70%
" Kentucky	22.5%
" California	51%

This may seem a long way round to point out that most organized social work, if not concerned with colored communities, or rural communities, is generally concerned with foreign communities. But I marshal up the heavy census figures because, although you in *your* settlement community, know your neighborhoods have become almost entirely eastern and southern European, unless you had had the chance to visit other communities in many other cities from east to west, you would find it hard to believe that your own mixed foreign, non-English speaking community was really typical throughout America. But it is. Foreign communities are the typical industrial communities of America. (Immigration annual distribution charts shown here.)

Now, if organized social work in America deals largely with immigrant communities, what is organized social work doing about it? And what more might be done about it than has been usual so far? That is the real subject of this paper, because I believe there is vastly more that social work of every character could do than has ever been attempted for serving foreign humanity and so for uniting America.

With the 1910 census for a basis and the immigration of the next nine years added thereto, it is safe to estimate that we have nineteen million foreign-born people living right with us. For the purpose of this discussion and to narrow it down out of the twenty-six millions of foreign white stock to nineteen million, let us consider just foreign-born people and their *little* children, and not the adults born here of foreign parents. Who are these people? To social workers it surely is not news to be told that they are the very bone and fibre of all the stocks of Europe and the Near East. They are the people with which other nations of the world are making history. These charts show how thoroughly mixed up the world is over here. There are some of every nation everywhere. (See charts again.) You can see how each year's quota of immigrants appears collected from every country and scattered to every state in the Union.

These facts are stupendous and will bear pondering. They should stare every social worker in the face until he perceive their implication in his own work in his own place. Tragical it is for our foreign peoples that their significances are not more vividly understood. They mean (1) that most of the children lead a sort of double existence, using one language at school and on the street while obeying the unperceived laws of thought and custom of

a sort of diluted America, and using another language than English in their homes, swayed there by an intensive application of the thought and customs of their parents' old country home.

(2) That most, if not all, of the men and women know and understand some other land better than this one.

(3) That their formative years were shaped by an environment, by culture, by superstitions, and by beauties very different from their surroundings here. It need not take a psychologist to tell us that childhood lessons and habits cut deep.

(4) They mean that although their children born over here may be of the soil or pavements of America they are still under a strong pull from the inheritance of their parents, strong in spite of everything we Americans are doing to spoil it. (We are sometimes caught talking as if we imagined somehow that a sufficiency of the toxin called "Americanization" could take the place of the old country father and mother,—as if we might rear a sort of incubator American!)

(5) And that men may go to their jobs in English, but they come home and eat supper and play with their babies in Polish.

(6) That when some tired woman heaves a sigh and pauses for a moment to look dreamily off at nothing, she may be wishing she were a little girl again, and playing round her father's home, and if she is, she sees that little girl, bare-footed, scampering through the short village lane, playing at "I see you" between weathered gray cabins with their pretty bright painted eaves and blinds, and drying flax-wracks; and she *could* not, if she tried, imagine a real normal childhood in America. She does not understand very well her little girl's childhood here. She cannot help but hold anything but a distorted idea of what American ideas for normal childhood are.

(7) It means that not only are childish memories set in bewilderingly different scenes, but that the case of mine was set, the very process of thought had become established before ever they wrenched loose to transplant to America.

(8) It means that whoever would enter into acquaintance and friendship with those people must unceasingly study those very traditions, these childhood environments, these ways of thinking which have made people what they are.

This situation means, furthermore, that your community is afflicted with a whole new set of social ills which are partly new combinations of well known problems and partly the mixture of two opposed national psychologies. The whole thing is the direct result of social mal-adjustments intrinsic to the transplanting process of migration, which is not alone economic but mental and spiritual as well. Employment or mal-employment offers one of the commonest illustrations of the waste of human energies and interest from such mal-adjustment.

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So the problems of right employment, building up the public health, home care of children, conflict of authority in families, the problems of giving relief and getting the family upon its feet again, desertion and widowhood of the unmarried mother, and all the long list of the specially misfitted and handicapped groups,—every one has a special difficulty in it when the persons concerned are foreign. These people live and play and dream and love and bring up their children and endure tragedies and grow old and die in a *tongue language* we do not know; and what is far more subtle, in a *mind language* we cannot understand because we do not know the regions and the traditions which gave them birth, and, as a young Italian put it, which gave them "the first idea." This Italian was a young woman who was earnestly studying English. "Do I love America?" she wrote. "Yes, I love America! But

I can never forget the land of my parents' birth that gave me the blood and the first idea."

This is our problem. It is uniquely American. No other country finds its social efforts so largely dealing with other nationalities than its own. No other country finds its social work a laboratory for work in every country of the world!

It is necessary first that we realize and respect the persistence of language. As a nation we are in danger of making the age old blunder of too great an insistence on the use of our national language to the exclusion of all others. English, the learning of English, is necessary—emphatically yes! But it is a long, slow process and it alone does not solve the social problems of the individual because more persistent than the language-of-tongue persists the language-of-thought. The war has taught us Americans something about this psychological fact.

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Even more persistent than this tongue language is the persistence of the language of *thought*, or processes of thought, which seems almost to be born in us. And each nationality has its individual characteristics. An Armenian social worker said, "I think you Americans forget that whereas a foreigner may arrive at the same conclusion as do you, we come to it along a different way of thought. An American makes us feel that he wants us not only to think *what* he thinks, but *as* he thinks!"

Ideas are one thing, but thought process is something quite different. New ideas present themselves to an immigrant from the very hour his village folk saw him well started to the Strange-Land-in-the-West. But his thought processes will change only very slowly and to himself almost imperceptibly. The new ideas which flock along his way will reach him via thought processes which are only explainable in terms of his childhood and youth experience and then heaped up experiences of his father and mother and their parents' parents behind him. And those processes are naturally different at the very points where experience would have been different had they all lived in this country. Is it any wonder that social workers are coming to believe that they must know something about these past experiences in those other countries if they do social work in America at all?

That the home language of our foreign-born people persists is a matter of statistics. The census reports that in 1910 there were at least three million people over ten years old who were not "able to speak English so as to be understood in ordinary conversation." But I happened to be working in an immigration investigation in 1908 and in that work, which necessitated an interpreter, frequently sat in the same kitchen with the zealous census taker * * * and from my experience then I believe it is a safe estimate that the number who really do not know English well enough to *think* in it or to follow an abstract thought expressed in it for three consecutive minutes is twice and three times that official number.

We are of one world, the *new world*. Our clients are of the old world. • We, social workers as a body, are quite American. Certainly most of us speak only "American." And just as certainly most of us are very much the product of American thought-process, thought habits. We are supposed to be working with and for peoples whose early traditions we know almost nothing of; whose tongue-language we cannot use; and whose thought-language we are green as greenhorns in. What are we doing? We are skating over the surface, touching rarely the deep, rich reserves of human thought and experience beneath. This is said in no spirit of criticism, for with few exceptions we are all of us in the same boat. We have been in this, just the product and not the leaders of our nation. It is no wonder that social work in other countries seems far more really *of* the people and from the people.

Ours is too largely *for* the people. It is no wonder that so many sincere efforts at a "really democratic centre" meet with so little success. No wonder that the social units plan so excellent in theory is so slow in process! Our trouble is that we simply do not know "the people." We assume we ourselves are one of them and with them, while the bald fact of it is that we aren't! We have not yet squarely faced the plain facts of the make-up of America, and the marvelous possibilities offered thereby.

Let us prove how thoroughly American my thought processes are by at once bringing up our national questions: "But what shall we *do* about it?" I believe there is a remedy and a great one. We must let nationalities work *with* us. I do not mean just "use interpreters." The task in hand is a far more subtle thing than to just break through the barricades put up by ignorance of tongue-language. That is serious enough. But the thing we have to do because it is social work, is to get at the thought-language. We must make place in this profession for the nationality worker who can contribute these things as no others ever could.

For convenience of discussion let me describe social work as falling under one of two classifications, (1) that which has for its immediate aim the betterment of an individual or of a family, and (2) that which deals with cases or group betterment. Of course the two are really interdependent, and every year is bringing about a better understanding between the two groups of workers, which have in the past appeared almost opposed to one another. Each is finding their work inadequate without the point of view, the methods and technique of the other. Take the workers in the first group. The standards as set forth in *Social Diagnosis* are—that the power to analyze a human situation closely is the first test of good case work. The will to put yourself into the problem and into the point of view of the "client" is the second. The power of following the thought processes of persuasion is the third. But if the individuals who make up the community be of these far away peoples, *how do* we do it? How can an honest-minded American endorse such principles and still go about trying to do case work among people whom she knows almost nothing about?

There is a particularly wise and discerning sentence which ought to be underlined by every one doing case work in an American city. "One of the social worker's difficulties with foreigners is that he does not understand their conventions any more than they do his; a knowledge of their history and of their old world environment is *indispensable to the most helpful relations with them*," and also "the commonest forms of bias encountered in social work are racial or national,—and environmental, —!"

It is difficult to find so clear a statement of standards for that other approach to social betterment, through groups and whole communities. But M. P. Follet in *The New State* seems to voice what we feel when we consider what are the needs of people. To find them he says we must "go down into the actual life from which all these needs spring, down into the daily, hourly, living with all its innumerable cross currents, with all its longings and heart-burnings, with its envies, and jealousies perhaps, with its unsatisfied desires, its embryonic aspirations and its power, manifest or latent, for endeavor and accomplishment. The needs of our people are not now articulate; they loom out of the darkness, vague, big, portentously big, but dumb because of the separation of men" and "the aim of each of us to live in the lives of all ———" But how *can* we even begin at it with our vast industrial communities a sort of petty possism that is not ordinarily supposed to be one of

If these things be basic to social work our basic tools necessarily are first understanding, perception, sane sympathy; second, the art of persuasion; and third the capacity for exchange, of coming up to a situation behind the eyes of another person, for co-operative participation, or as Miss Richmond puts it, for "mutuality."

It has now become almost a national duty that every social worker should examine just how he is exercising the tools of his trade with foreigners. It has been my good fortune to travel the length and breadth of this international land and I have found four ways in practice:

1. The first method is the most popular and is quite simple. It is to not communicate at all; to avoid foreign adults if possible; to work with their children; to let them alone; and when circumstances leads us to them or them to us to settle the difficulty by superimposing our will, using sign language to "get it across."

2. The second method is also in general use. It is to communicate; but to communicate through a *child*. Indeed a most fruitful source of mistakes, misconceptions, bewilderment and suspicion of things American!

3. The third method is an honest attempt to set right the blunders of the first and to abolish the evils of the second. It is to use an interpreter who is not a child. But too often this leads to trouble as the interpreters available are untrained as interpreters and so do not really reveal the mind of one speaker to another, and are too much "interested." They undertake to represent their nationality and not being at all socially minded succeed only in pretty generally misrepresenting it.

4. The fourth method is, I believe, the real way out. It is to share the planning and the responsibility for all work, with intelligent, trained, respected, trusted foreign-language social workers, or as this new type of American social worker is coming to be called,—the "Nationality Worker."

It is impossible for social work to reach 100 per cent fulfillment through clogged, inadequate means of communication. Even to secure communication through surface language is not enough. There must be real understanding beneath the surface.

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The third way is surely better than the other two, but still is too full of pitfalls to be trusted. Our habit of using the near neighbor is the basis of many a quarrel, while our naive trust of a self-seeking banker, a steamship agent, a saloon-keeper, an undertaker, or a priest, fastens upon our own communities a sort of petty bossism that is not ordinarily supposed to be one of the aims and intentions of social work.

If we could but imagine ourselves in the place of these hemmed in, isolated people, we would come out with a mighty conviction that the fourth method is not only the right one but the only one worthy the name and use of social work. The writer speaks feelingly, having been in Russia when the war began!

Social workers used to turn their backs on "Americanization" because it went before the country with much talk and a superficial program, and the word was coined four years ago when fear of the results of "unpreparedness" made fair fuel for propaganda. But we cannot ignore the word nor the sentiment any longer. It is time that socially minded people spoke out and pointed out in no uncertain way that the secret of accomplishing a better and a united America which we all earnestly desire lies in

(1) A cultivated understanding. Time has proved that with no effort on America's part very little understanding develops. The burden of initiative is certainly upon us.

(2) In justice, which means among other things the refusal to permit the *discrimination* under which so many people suffered in the old country. And

(3) In exchange, which means that we open the way for participation. As one foreign-born citizen remarked after a typical Americanization meeting, "Isn't it strange? They want so much to know how to Americanize and they never think to ask some of us who have been through the mill." Nationality workers trained in the varieties of work-technique could serve in any agency and for each can open the understanding and participation of foreign people.

But the important question is, where shall we find these wonderful people with this international imagination? We shall find them by opening the

profession to them, and by emphasizing the importance of nationality understanding in all our schools of social work.

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The situation demands nationality scholarships in schools of social work; a greater emphasis to all social work students upon the necessity of analyzing every community by its nationality bases; an emphasis upon the great need of nationality workers whenever social work as a profession is put before colleges. And then it demands patience, for we have to remember always that fusion means partnership. Without such partnership we shall continue to miss appreciation of new beauties, rare, deep and inward, and fail to enrich our own lives and our civilization by blending with it these elements brought by others. "Let us be practical and begin now the a, b, c of the constructive brotherhood of man. We are all on the same little planet. Let us cease for all time to despise and to mock those who differ from ourselves. The people of the world must draw together into indissoluble union. We have a long journey to make, let all men and races make it hand in hand."*

*From "Racial Factors in Democracy."

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

In the discussion which followed there developed a statement of the value of the foreign language worker as contrasted with the policy of using English altogether when dealing with the foreigner. The following remarks may be taken to represent the discussion:

Mr. Sidney A. Teller, Pittsburgh: If work is done only in a foreign language, reminds me of the remark, if you always carry a child, it will never learn to walk by itself. You cannot have a nation unless you have a common bond or union between the people of that nation, and the first bond should be a common language. Dropping the old and putting on the new must come in order to make a real American. In all public institutions English must be taught and the work carried on in that language. If we are going to always carry on the work in a foreign tongue and put the signs in public buildings in all kinds of languages, the Immigrant will never make any attempt to learn English. Real Social work depends on personality, not on a knowledge of language. The International Institute of Pittsburgh, during the influenza epidemic asked for women who could nurse but not for nurses of special nationalities. For seventeen years, the Irene Kaufmann Settlement nurses have served all nationalities successfully without a special knowledge of the language of these nationalities. The Settlement opened its doors years ago to teach adults English and citizenship when the public schools would not do it. Settlement work and personal service work go back to personality. No Settlement is bigger than the people doing the work. We are trying to bring up our foreign neighbors to the American standards as far as we can. While respecting their language, we urge them, for their own good and America's good, to learn to speak, read and write English, as soon as possible.

Miss Frances Kaercher of Pottsville, Pa.: The New York Public Library has collections of foreign language books in many of its branch libraries. These books make the first appeal to the newcomer. Gradually they lead to an increased circulation of English books. Foreign mothers have been very useful as members of the staff.

Miss Ethel Bird of Chicago: The reasons which Pittsburgh gives against the use of foreign language workers are more applicable to Jewish neighborhoods than to communities of other European nationalities in our cities. The Jews are the only true cosmopolitans and the learning of languages other than their own is, if not instinctive with them, at least not the hardship it is to the peasant Pole, Russian and even Italian. Even after they have acquired English with their minds the need of hearing their native language spoken brought about in some of the southern army camps, where foreign born men drafted from New England were in training, an amazing breakdown of age long religious and racial prejudices. Poles, Russians, and Hungarians flocked to the Jewish Welfare Hut because there, as nowhere else in camp, they might hear their own language spoken. The Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago has for fifteen years been demonstrating the value of foreign language workers—these so-called by-lingual workers against whom there has so long existed a curious prejudice on the part of certain Americanization agencies but which are at last "coming into their own."

Miss Marie Nowak of Lawrence: If there had not been foreign workers no Americanization would have taken place. In my experience with calling on Polish mothers in Lawrence to urge them to come to a mothers meeting, they said they wanted to

talk about what to feed their children. I made an arrangement with the superintendent of schools that one of the industrial teachers should come and talk to the mothers. This was the first time they had been able to express themselves and say what they really wanted because a worker speaking their own language came to them. In two years of this club, the mothers learned a good deal of English.

Miss Anna Kautsky of Chicago: In our experience in the employment department in the Stock Yards we found that as soon as the foreign workers discovered that there was some one in that office who understood their languages they would come in for all sorts of information and advice, especially in regard to citizenship. Due to the fact that they could be understood, the employment office has become a clearing house for all grievances.

Mrs. Edith Terry Bremer of New York said in summing up: The whole point of my talk was partnership. Dr. Devine of New York said to me: "There are groups of men and women coming over here from Europe for the express purpose of observing our institutions, to see what America has developed which might be desirable for reconstructed Europe." It has dawned on many of us that there is an international exchange of social work. America ought to be the laboratory for it.

Others who participated in the informal discussion were: John Daniels, New York; Henry Moskowitz, Washington; Dr. Charles W. Day, New York; Mr. Leet, Pittsburgh; Miss Zielinska, Buffalo.

THE WORK OF VOLUNTARY IMMIGRANT PROTECTIVE AGENCIES

Kate Holladay Claghorn, New York School of Social Work

To all of us who are engaged in social work it is plain that one great hindrance to the assimilation of foreigners is found in the lack of adjustment between them and our system of law enforcement. The courts themselves and other public agencies are doing much to remedy this maladjustment, but there is still need for the work of private agencies, and this is the topic I want to discuss with you this morning.

I shall not attempt to enumerate all the private agencies actually engaged in this work, or describe their activities in detail. All that I can do is to recall to your minds the main problems in immigrant life that need attention of this sort, and the general lines of policy followed in dealing with them.

Problems at the Port of Entry

The immigrant's first contact with our laws is at the port of entry. Here he is subjected to detention and a process of questioning that seem not at all characteristic of a land of freedom such as he has understood this country to be. His treatment by the immigrant inspector may not be of the kindest, or the most considerate of his ignorance and fears, he may be held in detention in unpleasant surroundings for some time, the food may be bad and costly, and various forms of swindling may take place. When he is finally released, he may be cheated in getting his baggage transferred, in securing lodgings, in getting transportation to his final destination. At this stage of the immigrant's progress, private aid, through immigrant aid societies and otherwise, has been rendered so effectively that the public agencies have been much improved, and the exploitation of the immigrant while entering the country largely done away with.

The next problem is that of employment. The immigrant has to find work as soon as possible, and applies at some employment agency, where, owing to his ignorance and helplessness, he may be badly cheated. He may be sent to some remote region where there either is no job, or one of a temporary character, and find himself stranded without means to get back to friends or the opportunity of finding other work. On the job he may be swindled out of the major part of his earnings through devices well-known to unscrupulous labor agents, or he may receive some injury in the course of his work which will incapacitate him for further usefulness.

When he has succeeded in earning a little money he becomes the prey of sharpers, who try to fleece him through all sorts of fake investment schemes. He finds himself unable to borrow money except under oppressive terms, or he falls a victim to the installment purchase plan.

For such injustices in employment and business relations it is difficult for the immigrant to find redress through the regular agencies of law enforcement. He may not know what is or is not legally permitted in this country, for what he may seek redress, or to whom to apply for legal assistance. He may not be able to make his troubles known, through ignorance of the language, and he may be too poor to pay for the services of a lawyer. If he has a little money he may fall into the hands of some unscrupulous practitioner, who will fleece him of the little that he has.

Domestic Relations

Another source of difficulty is found in domestic relations. In the home, special problems arise which call for some sort of protection. We are all aware of the strain to which the family relation is subjected in the passage from the old world to the new. In the new world the circumstances are so different, the very idea of the family relation is so different, that the frequency of family breakdown is not surprising. This is a phase of the immigrant problem most difficult to deal with, because it involves the building up of new social ideals in the foreigner, and here the patient personal care and instruction that the private agency at present is best fitted to give are badly needed, although the courts and other public agencies have made some notable advances along this line.

The immigrant is, of course, found not only sinned against, but sinning; he may need not only protection but correction. But here, too, something more than the mechanical operation of our legal system is needed for the welfare of society as well as for the good of the immigrant; for I am convinced, from a study of cases of foreign criminals, that more than one has slipped into this situation, not through inherent criminal tendency, but through his ignorance and our neglect, so that the immigrant as defendant as well as plaintiff may still need some special care and advice.

Kinds of Aid Needed

In general, the kinds of aid needed by the immigrant in such situations as are outlined above may be summed up as follows: Protection from exploitation, so that the immigrant will not have to seek legal redress. This may be brought about through protective legislation, which private societies can frame and promote, and through bureaus of advice and information which may be either public or private.

Instruction and friendly advice, if trouble has arisen which seems to call for court action, which will do away with the necessity for it. This work of conciliation is growing in importance, and is carried on by many agencies in connection with some other primary line of activity.

Professional legal aid, if court proceedings are finally undertaken. To meet this need a specialized type of agency has grown up, known as the legal aid society. It is interesting to note that the parent society, the Legal Aid Society of New York, was organized especially to aid immigrants. In the next stage of development the legal aid society broadened its scope to include the poor generally, and legal aid came to be regarded as a species of charity, given to the poor like any sort of relief. Later the idea began to emerge that the true function of a legal aid society was to assist in the building up of an ideal system of justice, to become as integral a feature in the administration of justice as the court itself, not simply to relieve individual needs.

Methods of Legal Aid Societies

In the societies as they are operating today we find these two conceptions embodied in varying degree. Of the group of societies studied by Mr. Reginald Heber Smith, for the valuable and comprehensive report on the legal aid societies which he has recently made for the Carnegie Foundation, seventeen were departments of organized charities, fifteen were separate bureaus, five were conducted by bar associations, and five by law schools. This indicates roughly the comparative prevalence of the contrasting points of view. It appears, however, that even in the societies considering themselves the most professionally legal there still remains something of the "charity" point of view, since the typical legal aid society restricts the provision of legal aid to persons who are financially unable to hire lawyers for themselves. It does, however, take cases on a strictly legal basis, as any reputable lawyer would, without insisting that clients shall be "worthy" before they will consent to help them secure justice in a particular case. Sometimes a small fee is charged, sometimes the service is given gratis. To receive attention the client does not have to be actually dependent on charitable relief; he may be self-supporting, but without much margin above the level of subsistence.

These societies concern themselves especially with problems of employment, of business exploitation, and to some extent, with domestic relations. In general they will undertake separation and support cases, but set up certain limitations against divorce cases. Some will not touch them at all; some will defend proceedings but will not institute them. Many refuse to take personal injury cases, because, they claim, the client can always secure a lawyer to undertake them for a contingent fee.

The typical legal aid society does not undertake the defense of persons accused of crime. This is, apparently, not because of any lack of interest in the problem or failure to recognize a need, but on account of a limitation of resources.

There are, besides these societies giving general legal aid, agencies organized to give legal aid in special circumstances or to special groups. One, at least, undertakes to do the work left undone by the legal aid societies—the defense of accused persons. Another, familiar to us all through its effective work, is the National Desertion Bureau, which attends to the search for and prosecution of deserting husbands. Labor organizations maintain what are practically bureaus of legal aid to assist their own membership in legal difficulties, more particularly in strike cases. There are also societies which give aid when needed in contacts with the government, in respect to military service, taxation, deportation and other matters.

How far do these societies meet the special needs of the immigrant, and what further developments are desirable?

Improvement in Methods Needed

The legal aid societies, although they had their beginning in dealing with the immigrant as a special problem, and although the majority of their clients are foreigners, apparently do not now consider that the foreigner has any special needs or affords any special problem. In their statements of policy and problems there is almost no evidence of conscious adjustment to immigrant needs, or even a recognition of them. This is perhaps due in part to a growing emphasis upon the purely legal side of their work. They consider it to be their main duty to establish the legal points involved, without consideration of the varying human nature they have to deal with.

Work with immigrant clients on this basis will never be entirely successful. Their cases may be won in this way, but not necessarily their goodwill or their understanding of our laws and our country. To do this we must know not only the law but the client; we must know what is in his

mind, how he thinks about things, what he feels. One finds, on the part of those working for the legal aid societies much unfriendly criticism of immigrant clients, much contempt for their standards, of their ignorance and immorality. However well-justified, this attitude of mind is ill adapted toward making something better of the immigrant, and, as a matter of fact, the attitude would be greatly modified if immigrant habits and traditions were considered worthy of study and were studied. This, in general, is not the case. In these societies as a whole comparatively little provision is made for workers having knowledge of foreign customs to enable them to understand the problems they are dealing with, or of foreign languages, so that they can communicate intelligently with their clients. Some societies depend upon interpreters brought in from outside—a friend, or a child member of the family. Much misunderstanding and exploitation occurs in that way. The agency does not know what game may be put up by the friend upon the society or upon the client, and it is certainly undesirable to depend upon a child for such services.

Native or Foreign Workers

Is this situation to be remedied by displacing the native by foreign workers as far as possible? This would seem to be the logical conclusion, but there is something to be said on the other side. While the native American social worker may be entirely ignorant of the customs and habits of the foreigners, and may be unsympathetic with their standards of living, on the other hand the foreign worker may know nothing of American social ideals, may give the most unpractical advice, and may be even more contemptuous of the poor and ignorant representative of his own race than the American worker would be, and more inclined to injudicious severity. The foreigner who is of a sufficiently high grade of intelligence to be able to do social work in an American agency dislikes to be classed with persons of inferior standing of his own race, and naturally tries to emphasize the difference by a marked disapproval of such. Apparently no general rule can be laid down as to the use of foreign and native workers. Choice should be made on the basis of qualification for the work, regardless of racial differences.

Lawyer or Social Worker

Another question is, whether, for the immigrant, the service needed in legal aid is entirely that of the legal adviser, even of one who is equipped with the full understanding of the immigrant outlined above. Some societies pride themselves on the fact that they are manned by lawyers exclusively, and regard it undesirable to employ the services of social workers. Outside of the legal profession, however, the idea is growing that prevention and after-care are as important in law as in medicine, and as important as the treatment of the difficulty at its moment of crisis in legal proceedings. For this species of treatment the method of the social worker is needed, whether it be used by a person distinct from the lawyer, or by the lawyer who has acquired the social point of view.

General or Special Agency

Should legal aid to immigrants be given in the course of the general work of affording legal assistance of all kinds, to everybody, or should it be specialized in a distinct organization? As the organizations have actually developed, those which have professed to deal out abstract and impersonal justice to everybody, seem to have been more or less oblivious of the special needs of their clients. And, on the other hand, there are traces of conformity to special interests of the groups conducting the agency, in the restrictions they place on the kind of cases taken up. It has been suggested, for instance, that the methods followed by certain legal aid societies in the

treatment of wage claims and personal injury cases of a certain sort reflect the economic prejudices of influential contributors and directors. Again, no legal aid society will take up strike cases. Perhaps this should not be expected, as such cases belong, technically, on the criminal side. But it is worth noting that the society organized for the defense of persons accused of theft and murder, and other crimes, also does not undertake strike cases. And yet there is perhaps no class of cases where injustice will be more deeply resented, and where its effect will be worse on the foreigner, who makes up the bulk of the working population. From a social point of view it would seem desirable that this class of cases should not be left entirely to the partisan lawyer or agency, but should be brought under the protection of the broader public conscience, through some agency representing it.

Another question suggests itself—should poverty alone be the basis for a claim for legal aid? In immigrant cases it seems as if the foreigner who had a little money beyond that required for his daily needs was more in need of protection than the penniless man, for in his ignorance he is the predestined victim of the exploiter. The personal injury cases turned over by the legal aid society to private handling may end in profit to the lawyer but loss to the client, and other cases of like nature readily occur to the mind.

Foreigner's Cooperation Needed

The final question that suggests itself is whether legal protection to the foreigner shall be afforded to him by us without activity or initiative on his part or be secured by some sort of co-operation with him. Much of our failure to reach foreigners is due to the fact that we are trying to impose on them *our* standards, *our* methods, *our* charities. *We* are active, *they* are passive, and passivity is not the most helpful condition for bringing about mutual adjustment. To make a satisfactory adjustment between native and foreign born, we should have activity on both sides. The foreigner's activities and qualifications must have some consideration as well as our own. If legal aid could be given to the foreigner by the group to which he belongs naturally we should be one step nearer toward securing his activity and his intelligent participation not only in the particular case of difficulty, but in the general social life. Unfortunately, little seems to have been done so far along this line. Our private societies giving legal aid seem to have no relations of co-operation with racial groups in which their clients belong. And there seems to be very little effort made by national societies to give legal aid to their members. This is natural enough as far as the foreign societies are concerned. Our foreign colonies are not fully self-determining groups. The bonds which held them together in the old country have been broken and new ones are imperfectly formed. Unfortunately in the new country it is the foreigner himself who is the great exploiter of the foreign-born. We need not consider this a sign of unusual depravity in the immigrant. His economic struggle is hard and on the way up his nearest chance for profit is found in the more newly arrived immigrant. After all, he is not very different from the native born. We can very well match the land dealing and stock selling schemes advertised in the foreign language papers with those promoted by natives among their own kind. But at present the prospects for organizing legal aid protection within the foreign groups themselves do not seem very bright when we see in the cases brought to the legal aid societies so many instances of the swindling of foreigners by their own foreign lawyers.

And yet this is the line along which growth should be encouraged, so that the immigrant may develop his own powers. For we cannot expect to keep our immigrants under close care and protection in every act of their lives as perpetual children. This would not only be an impossible task,

but an unprofitable one. What we should do is to find means of equipping our foreigners as rapidly as possible to take care of themselves and to help us, on a footing of fraternal co-operation, to work out the problems of our common life.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

Mr. Sidney A. Teller, Pittsburgh: We have found that the legal aid societies are not as efficient as they could be, because they fail in their personal contacts, or lack the knowledge of the people, with whom they deal. A Settlement can do a great deal of legal aid work by securing for its neighbors a square deal in such matters. Legal aid work can be more efficiently done by working from neighborhood houses than from a central legal aid society. If you have special foreign workers in foreign districts who could go with the immigrants to the courts, you will find the work more efficient. What services a Social Settlement can render to the immigrant along legal aid lines is shown by the record of the Irene Kaufmann Settlement of Pittsburgh. This Settlement has the largest and longest established "Personal Service Department" among the Settlements of the country and its work can and should be duplicated by other Neighborhood Houses who ordained with the legal aid societies of other cities.

Long before the legal aid society started in Pittsburgh, the Irene Kaufmann Settlement was ministering to the needs of the people of its neighborhood. People had confidence in our sense of justice and appealed to us. They would come to us because they knew us and further because our doors were open and assistance or advice ready to be given every day of the year. The policy of the Irene Kaufmann Settlement has been to settle things out of court.

We must understand the immigrant's peculiarities in order to be helpful to him. For instance, among the Orthodox Jews, it is customary that a man can give his wife a divorce by giving her a "gett." This is recognized by the Jewish Church, but has no standing in the legal courts of America. Therefore, complications may arise. It is impossible to be of best services to the immigrants unless you have a knowledge of their customs.

Mr. James M. Shaver of Fort William, Ontario: I like the idea of protection by getting personally acquainted with the people who are needing help. In Canada during the war we had a habit of orders in council which is a species of czarism. Our government, on account of the war, could do anything they pleased. As a result, we have the most atrocious laws regarding deportation. They are absolutely non-Anglo-Saxon. We can try a man without his appearing in court, without his knowing he is being tried. Some of us have been able to get into such close touch with the officials who have the power to enforce these laws that they do not enforce them. By making friends of the police and the magistrates it is possible to get close enough to them that they will give us information that will enable us to keep the men out of court. It is possible, though it takes a long while, to chum up with the police until we are working together on the job humanely. Through associations of social settlements, we are able to keep immigrants from leading strikes and thus avoid breaking the orders in councils. We tell them to strike, but not to lead them. One of the best things we can do is not to form a league to fight the courts, but to keep close to them, and work with the officials for the prevention of law-breaking.

Miss Kate Holladay Claghorn, New York (answering a question as to the possibility of a campaign on the part of legal aid societies for interpretation of the laws affecting the foreign-born): Legal aid societies could very well undertake this work except that, in general, they do not regard the immigrants as a special problem. The function of education is very important and there is every reason why education should be carried on in all possible agencies. In the Tenement House Department in New York City, the idea has developed that often it is more effective to send a policeman than to send an inspector to explain to the tenants what is wrong. One official wrote me that the best legal education for the immigrant is through contact with the law by breaking it.

At other points in the discussion attention was given to need of publication of simplified statements of the purpose and character of American laws, both municipal and state.

Others who participated in the informal discussion were: Bruno Lasker, New York; Eva D. Bowles, Mr. Bowles, New York, and Ethel Bird, Chicago.

THE WORK OF A STATE IMMIGRATION COMMISSION

George L. Bell, New York, Formerly Secretary California State Commission of Immigration and Housing.

Americanization has come to be a word that means much, and, therefore, little. Americanization, as a word, has failed. It is something too abstract, too vague, and, like bolshevism, has come to mean anything that anybody wants it to mean. I am glad, consequently, that the word has been omitted in designating the scope of this section of the conference.

In 1912, before the invention of the word Americanization, Simon Lubin, who inherited much of the prophetic vision of his father, David Lubin, the founder of the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome, induced the governor of California to appoint an informal commission to study the problems which would arise in the state as a result of the great increase in immigration direct from Europe after the completion of the Panama canal. This commission made an extensive report to the legislature, recommending the creation of a permanent state commission with broad powers to initiate plans and ways and means for uniting the native and foreign born in the citizenship of the state. The permanent State Commission of Immigration and Housing was accordingly created and formally organized in September, 1913.

Specialized Department Necessary

We have sometimes been asked why a state should have a separate department for dealing with the problems of foreign born immigrants. Some people fear that it creates a class feeling or spirit, and that the distinct immigration department only widens the gap or breach between the native and the foreign born. But we believe, as the result of actual experience and investigation, that when the task of guiding and aiding the assimilation of the foreign born is left to all the regular departments of a state government it becomes everybody's business, and, therefore, nobody's real business. The very fact that we have had immigrants coming to us and with us for decades, and yet today are suddenly confronted with the grim fact that we have a great undigested, unassimilated mass of foreign born, proves rather conclusively that we are in sore need of special governmental departments charged with responsibility for handling this problem. In general, also, it can be said that this is an age of specialization in every line of activity and surely the complexities of the immigration problems require specialized study and administration. Existing routine departments of the usual state government today are too rigid, too steeped in bureaucracy to make the proper approach to this particular problem.

Without any intent merely to criticize, I wish to cite two instances where our experience proved the necessity for a special and distinct state immigration department.

In 1913 there occurred in California the famous Wheatland hop fields riot—an I. W. W. affair. The newly organized State Commission of Immigration and Housing made a thorough investigation of the conditions in this camp of some 3,000 hop pickers. It found two main problems—one involved in the fact that nearly 70 per cent of the workers were foreign born, many unable to speak English; the other being the existence of miserable insanitary conditions. The existence of these two factors undoubtedly made the riot and killing more possible, especially did the filthy living conditions cause bitter resentment. The commission made a hurried survey of other labor, farm, logging and construction camps and found that the conditions in the Wheatland camp were not unusual—everywhere the sanitary and living conditions were deplorable, and nearly everywhere the foreign born workers predominated. On the statute books there was a labor camp sanitation law,

supposed to be enforced by the State Board of Health. But that board was more interested in the health problems of the large cities, and one member of its staff frankly told us that only "dagos" lived in labor camps, anyway, so, they never inspected them and had forgotten that the labor camp law existed! Yet there were many, many thousands of so-called "dagos" living in these camps isolated from American standards—even from American life! The Immigration Commission immediately secured the enactment of a more stringent labor camp sanitation law, had itself charged with the responsibility for enforcement, and, during the past five years has cleaned up camps housing over one hundred thousand people.

The other field where the need for a special immigration department was found was in education. Education is a very important part of the process of uniting the native and foreign born, but we found the state board of education rigidly set in old routine lines of work, unresponsive to the need for adult immigrant education, and initiating no work in this field. Even when our commission began to energize local educational authorities in this field of endeavor, we found the superintendents and teachers lacked the proper point of view and the technique for this difficult sort of teaching, and we had to employ experts to train and guide them, as well as to convince them of the necessity for undertaking such work. In short, our experience has convinced us that the American states cannot leave to their educational authorities alone the entire problem of assimilating the foreign born.

Developing a Democratic Program

If we grant, then, the necessity for state immigration commissions, what should be their work? It has been our belief that the commissioners should not develop a program out of their own minds. I am afraid that we talk too much about static programs in this work, anyway. First of all, we organized a complaint department. To this immigrants were invited to come with any complaint as to fraud, exploitation or legal and business difficulties. Signs were posted advertising this department throughout the state in sixteen languages. The immediate object was to adjust the particular complaints that were brought in, to see that the individual secured justice. But the ultimate and real motive was to have a sort of clinic in which the commission might study the foreign-born people and find out from them their problems, just what had confronted them on their arrival. We did not wish to theorize as to what their problems *should be*, but we wanted to find out what they *were*. We could then devise legislation or find some other means of solving these problems. During five years the commission has handled something over 20,000 complaints. These range from the most trivial cases of stealing baggage by tramps to the most serious complaints concerning land fraud and crimes of every sort.

The commission has found plenty of need to energize the agencies of the state to protect the foreign born. There is another reason for having a special department to interpret the point of view of the foreign born. The district attorney usually has not the patience or sympathy to listen to the complaint of the foreign born who cannot speak enough English to state his case. For the first two years we found it difficult to get district attorneys even to take up cases of exploitation. But we labored away at the education of our own native born law officers and today the commission has encouraging co-operation from all of the law enforcing agencies. They have begun to see the thing in a different light. Left to themselves, they might never have had light thrown upon their duty to protect these people and to preserve their faith in the justice of American institutions.

Housing An Essential Factor

The commission also has a housing department. Many people have asked why immigration and housing work are combined. The answer is

almost too obvious. The East Side of New York and the Telegraph Hill section in San Francisco afford the answers. Wherever you find the foreign born, you find bad housing, and wherever you find bad housing, you find the foreign born. The majority of the blame for this condition is not to be placed upon the foreign born. We do not exactly welcome them to our millionaire sections and they are frowned upon by too many of our native born if they go into native American districts. Therefore, they go to the districts where they can find their own people and friends, where they can have a happy life, if a dirty one.

In studying the housing conditions in California, the commission tried to get the point of view of the immigrant and not to impose its ideas of what housing should be. We did not introduce a housing bill into the legislature until after two and a half years. We held housing conferences of health officers, building inspectors, social workers, settlement residents and all others interested in improving housing conditions. There were eight meetings. At each one the drafts of the proposed bills were taken up, section by section. After being amended each time the drafts were mailed out through the state for criticism and the conference met again after several weeks further to improve and amend. As a result of this work California today has the most complete tenement house and lodging house laws in the country and the only adequate law regulating single family dwellings. We have destroyed once and for all the old theory that a man's house is his castle—when the condition of that castle is a menace to the health and morals of the community.

The Migratory Labor Problem

In the field of labor camp sanitation the commission organized a regular department for the enforcement of the labor camp sanitation law above referred to. At each succeeding session the legislature felt that the results of this work were so satisfactory that they have granted additional appropriations to the commission for this department. This is a real problem in all the western states because of the many thousands of migratory foreign-born workers who live in labor camps and other temporary quarters throughout the year. The local health departments cannot meet the problem because the people are so unsettled and constantly on the move from one community to another.

The commission has studied the problems of providing educational opportunities for men, women and children, both native and foreign born, in the labor camps. The local educational authorities never did anything to provide means for offering opportunities for education in the camps, because they considered the people there too migratory—and "only foreigners." After years of effort, the commission has now inaugurated a system of co-operative effort between state and local educational authorities whereby correspondence and extension classes are being conducted for both children and adults in these isolated camps and communities.

Immigrant Education

In the course of such work the commission has developed an immigrant education department. During the war we began calling it the Americanization bureau. It is a duplication of the work of the state department of education—in theory. In practice, we never duplicated its work because it was not in the field. Until there is a definite assumption of responsibility by the state department of education and until it takes a real interest, there is need for a special department to take up the peculiar problems of adult immigrant education. Without some central guiding organization, there is bound to be a great confusion about the matter of immigrant education in towns and cities. Many communities, we found, were putting out circulars urging attendance of immigrants in hastily organized night schools, but,

after three or four weeks, they were wondering why only three or four pupils remained out of dozens in the classes. In the beginning we followed the same course. We started a big campaign in Los Angeles in the orthodox manner. Everyone was enthusiastic when eleven hundred foreign-born students had been brought in, but at the end of four weeks there were only three hundred left and even this number kept dwindling. The commission then made an intensive study of three such situations and found that the fault lay, not with the adult foreign-born pupils, but with the schools and the methods of teaching. So it was decided everyone had been putting the cart before the horse. For years the commission experts have been working with the state university and normal schools in carefully training teachers for such work, and in so developing the evening schools that the adult immigrant would be drawn and attracted into the schools—and kept there through real, not artificially stimulated, interest.

We have tried to interpret education of the foreign born in the broader sense. Teaching of English is only one of the details in the whole thing. I am afraid that there has been too much stress placed upon it. Some of the finest American citizens I know in California speak little or no English. Americanism is not a matter of language. Language is a medium of expression. Americanism is a matter of ideals. We must find out what we mean by Americanization before we try to impose it upon the foreign born. Speaking English is only one of the tests of Americanization, but it is not the whole thing. We have tried to get the local schools not to make the teaching of English the obvious thing. Get the foreign born thinking of other things and English will come.

Direct Contact With Aliens

During the war the commission had four or five foreign speaking agents. We were severely criticised by many because we employed these agents to go out and speak in other languages than English. In an isolated mining camp there were about 2500 Jugo Slavs, 90% of whom could not speak English. The state had been much troubled by rumors of their being pro-German and pro-Austrian. The U. S. authorities arrested a few people and then had to let them go because there was no evidence, and the resulting bad feeling made the situation critical. The commission sent its Slav agent to the camp. He had been an American citizen for fifteen years, but spoke the Slav languages. He lived with the people in the camp for several days without talking about the war or Americanization and found that the real difficulty was that they were divided into two groups, one desiring the establishment of a Jugo Slav republic and the other being violently opposed to it. Each group reported the other as being pro-German. Our agent told them their attitude was being misconstrued, and he spent ten days working among them settling their feud over the abstract problem of a Jugo Slav republic, adroitly interesting them, instead, in the need for America and her associate allies winning the war so the Jugo Slavs could be protected. As a result, they bought Liberty Bonds, organized a Red Cross chapter and bought more War Savings Stamps than all the native born in the whole county! And, incidentally, he so aroused these people that they petitioned the board of education to open a school for them—and the commission saw to it that they got the school.

We do not believe in a state immigration commission which would serve as an autocratic body to impose upon the people a program. More responsibility should be put upon the people who are really interested and concerned so they will develop a program themselves. We believe in the work of private agencies, but after all, it is a state responsibility, and we feel in California it is a national responsibility. Private agencies should not bear too long the entire brunt of handling the situation and problem. It is a public

responsibility, and, for that reason, we need a public agency to interpret the thought of the people and which will be responsible to the people. Furthermore, if each community is left to itself, each will have a different point of view toward the immigrant, a different point of view toward the native born in his relation to the immigrant, and a different attitude toward the solution of the problems involved. There will be no common interpretation of this problem in its broadest and deepest sense unless you have a centralized clearing house for the development of the best ideas and plans. During the last few days it has occurred to me that it is absolutely essential to have a national body for co-ordinating the work of the states and also necessary to have in each state a department thinking on these problems, and thinking sanely. For, in all the recent agitation about bomb throwing, it is not healthy to assume that only aliens can and do throw bombs. It is only creating more antagonism between the native and foreign born. Therefore, we need sane thought in all the states and constructive action—rather than mere indiscriminate denunciation of the foreign born.

PUBLIC EDUCATION'S PART IN AMERICANIZATION

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Washington.*

A number of years ago the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior began the work of encouraging communities and states to take up the task of immigrant education. An effort is now being made through this Bureau to co-ordinate the various national agencies and provide for the nation a definite program that will be practical, concrete and comprehensive in its provisions for Americanization.

As a step in the compilation of such a program we called last month a national conference on Methods of Americanization which covered the educational, industrial, social and racial sides of the problem. There a number of very valuable contributions were made to the subject. The consensus seemed to be that education must play the major part in the assimilation of our different peoples; that upon the public school system must rest a great share of the burden. It was brought out also that we must approach this problem in a spirit of friendliness and sympathy; that we have a great work to do even with our native-born. Americanization was defined by one speaker as "The act of preparing the hearts of native born to receive into full fellowship those who were born in other lands."

Compulsory education was frowned upon by all of the specialists. It received no support from any part of the conference.

Millions Illiterate

Let us consider the extent of this problem. According to the census of 1910, there were eight and one-half millions of people in this country who were either entirely illiterate or could not read and write the English language. This is more than the whole population of Canada; more than the population of the United States in 1800; more than the population of the South during the Civil War; more than the combined population of New York, Philadelphia and Chicago in 1910; more than all the cities west of the Mississippi River with one exception; more than all the children of school age in thirty-two of our forty-eight states. It is more than all the people living in 1910 in all the following states combined: Nevada, Wyoming, Delaware, Arizona, Idaho, Mississippi, Vermont, Rhode Island, North Dakota, South Dakota, Oregon, Maine, Florida, Colorado, Connec-

ticut and Washington. And all illiterate in the language of our laws and of our Constitution, yet all having equal rights with ourselves.

The draft statistics, too, throw additional light upon these figures. The draft army was a cross-section of the American people. It was a composite picture of ourselves. There were men from every walk of life, millionaires and paupers, employers and employees, black and white; from every creed and every party; from every county and even every hamlet. This gave for the first time an opportunity to take the pulse of the American people in many things. When the Surgeon General made public his report on illiteracy in the draft army a few weeks ago, it was a matter of very great interest. All the men of that army were divided into two classes by a simple test. This test was their ability to read an American newspaper or write a letter home. Of the 1,552,000 men examined in the twenty-eight camps of the country, 24.9% were unable to pass this simple test. One out of every four of the young men of this country were illiterate to the extent of being unable to read a newspaper or write a letter. These figures show that the census returns were inadequate. The census takers merely asked "Can you read or write?" and entered a man as literate or illiterate according to his reply.

Education a National Asset

Eight and one-half millions of illiterates constitute an economic problem. It is said that an illiterate man is worth \$5 per week less to his family, to society, and to himself than the man who can read and write. By making these millions of people literate, we would add to the potential wealth of the country the vast sum of two billions of dollars annually.

In the matter of safety, the Director of Mines is responsible for the statement that if we could have lowered the rate of accidents among the foreign born to that of the native born we would last year have saved more than seven hundred lives, and more than nine hundred serious accidents in the mines alone.

The basic industries in this country are iron and steel, meat packing, coal mines, leather, oil, clothing and sugar. What part has the foreign born in these essential trades? In iron and steel 58%; in meat packing 61%; in oil refining 67%; in clothing 72%; in leather 67%; in cotton goods 79%; in sugar 85%. Thus we have exposed not our heel, but the backbone of our national prosperity. We have placed the pulsing heart of the nation in the hands of those who were born in other lands, of whom but a small part is naturalized and a large part illiterate.

Legislation Pending

To meet this problem, there was introduced in the last Congress an act known as the Smith-Bankhead Americanization bill, which would enable us to undertake this great problem of Americanization upon the scale which its importance demands. This bill, which has been reintroduced at the present session, appropriates the sum of twelve and a half millions of dollars annually for the employment of teachers and supervisors and providing educational facilities for adults, both native illiterates and foreign-born non-English speaking. In addition three quarters of a million is appropriated for the training of teachers. This money is to be distributed among the states in proportion to their problem and each state must duplicate the amount appropriated for work within that state by the Federal government. The second requirement is that they must pass a law providing that every boy or girl who has reached the age of sixteen and has not an education equivalent to that of the third grade must attend school for at least two hundred hours a year until he or she secures such education.

The history of the other Federal aid bills is that where the National government has invested dollar for dollar with the states, every state has taken advantage of the offer and many of them have gone on investing two or three or four dollars to the Nation's one, as they began to understand their problem and see the results that were accomplished.

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

The early part of the informal discussion pertained to the distinction between Smith-Towner Educational Bill before Congress and Smith-Bankhead Bill for Americanization. In the remainder of the discussion the following remarks among others were made:

Mr. George L. Bell, San Francisco: The California Immigration Commission was established by legislative enactment as a regular department of the state of California. It began with a \$25,000 appropriation, increasing to \$45,000 and now has about \$75,000 a year. A temporary investigational commission, with the help of the governor in 1913 had the legislature pass the organic and appropriating act.

Question: Does the state commission in California co-operate with any engineering societies in any of the labor camps?

Mr. Bell: We have a law covering this matter of sanitation so it is not necessary to have it put into the engineering or constructing contract. We secured the co-operation of some architectural societies. Two or three engineering records published articles arousing interest among the engineers in the problem of sanitation.

Question: At present, the agent of the government in our section of the country has an immigrant question under his control under the Department of Labor. Would this be charged or would certain duties be left to him or given entirely to the new department?

Mr. Butler: The Department of Labor has charge of providing citizenship papers to the foreign-born. A committee has been appointed by the Secretary of Labor and of the Interior so that duplication will be avoided.

Mr. Bell: We made a study of the night schools and decided that the primary difficulty was that our teachers were not trained to do this work. The tired day school teacher is not physically fit or, if physically fit, not mentally trained to do. It takes special training, a thorough sympathetic point of view, and tact. Also, I feel that one necessity is to abolish the requirement of having a teacher's certificate. One of the best night school teachers we had was classed as a janitor, because he had no school teacher's certificate. He was a Slav and knew his people, he could put the thing before them and put life into it. Another difficulty is the question of securing the right text-book.

Mr. Bell: The object of the Immigration Commission in immigrant education is to energeise the educational authorities. We do not believe the state should do all this direct work, the community must be made to see its problems. When the communities do not do their work, we arouse public opinion and make them do it.

Mr. Burns: Some educators in this field are thinking that the schooling of the immigrant can best be done under the school authorities. The duplication of forces never gets anywhere. To try to divide the responsibility is, in the long run, going to break down the responsibility. All schooling of immigrants should be under public auspices. Those employers who have tried to teach foreign-born workers themselves are coming to this law.

As to the methods of organization, this is what is being done in Boston and will be copied in a good many places. We need a specialized teacher. We never got anywhere in this country on vocational educational until we had teachers who were something more than makeshifts in this field. We will never get very far in the education of adults, as long as we are using the wrong methods. We cannot reach adults by methods intended for children. Our program will have to be put on an administrative basis where it is possible to employ full time specialists in this kind of work. Very much of the education, and perhaps the majority of it, is going to be done in the future in the day time. It is going to be done in all sorts of places, shops, halls and wherever an administratively large enough group will gather. Personally, I would include the parochial school. Granting, as many of our cities are beginning to do, that the possibility of dividing the time of the teacher is fairly easy, that is, give each one a certain number of hours in the morning, some in the evening or whenever necessary up to the number of hours of a regular working day. The time, the place and the teacher can all be made very much more elastic, more human, much better pedagogically when specialists give their entire time to it. It practically means that wherever there were five hours in a working day for a regular teacher, such a special teacher could be employed two hours in the evening, two hours at the end of the working day in the shops and have one mothers class far an hour during the day. That makes up the full time of a teacher on the ordinary basis.

Mr. Butler: Take the illustration of the foreigner who said "Me no like to put my boots on nights." Neither does the native born. Only 7 per cent of the people who take a correspondence course in this country ever finish. Educational matters should be returned to the hands of the educational authorities. We are asking each state to name its chief educational officer as our co-operating officer, hoping to overcome the limitations of the night school by showing industry more and more that they must rise to this occasion, that when they employ men who are illiterate they assume a responsibility to the country to see that they are given time to learn English. New York and Chicago schools will furnish teachers to any group of twenty-five. As we are able to send teachers to industries, we will reach more and more of these people.

Mr. Bell: Three years ago in California the Immigration Commission put through a home teacher law permitting educational authorities to employ home teachers to go into the homes. Before we did this, we did not reach the women. There must be some attention given to the foreign-born woman.

Mr. Samuel Ely Eliot of Pittsburgh: The Pittsburgh Board of Education brought Mr. DeWitt from Detroit to bring our teachers up to the efficiency level in teaching foreigners. He had a meeting of these teachers where it was almost pathetic to see them trying to learn the college cheer leader methods which he advocated.

Mr. James M. Shaver of Fort William, Canada: We have a great rural problem of teaching the foreigner of Canada. An attempt is being made at present by appointing an official trustee of the province who will go into the "foreign" district where there is no teacher, collect school taxes, get a teacher and a schoolhouse. When this is successful, the district will take it over under the regular organization of school trustees. In the three western provinces, there is a movement involving in some measure community welfare for all rural districts. The department of education are trying to make the teacher of children a community leader and a teacher of adults. Wherever possible, they make a two room schoolhouse because there is a local limit to the number of children one teacher can teach and the two teachers are companions for each other in what is naturally a lonely situation.

Mr. Burns: We have been studying the rural situation, as well as the urban one. If you want to become discouraged about Americanization, you should study the rural situation because there we have left in utter isolation the immigrant American. In many instances, there are whole counties of those immigrant American and, very naturally, as the county is the general unit of the school system, they become a law unto themselves. They elect the school superintendent directly or indirectly and, since he is responsible only to the immigrant group, he will enforce the general state school standards only to the extent that he thinks the public opinion of his county will elect him again. The result is that there is a decided trend toward the opinion that the state should assume more responsibility so that the county superintendent can have the alibi of saying that the state is requiring things of him. With our very much greater local autonomy in the states, than in Canada, we must face this problem. What Mr. Shaver has brought out is very wholesome for us to consider, that is, the need of greater centralization. In this field particularly we have continued greater local autonomy than anywhere else.

In addition to those whose names are given above, the following took part in the discussion: Robbins Gillman, Minneapolis; Mrs. Marion L. Cohen Polak, Philadelphia; Harriet E. Vittum, Chicago; Elsie M. Rushmore, Brooklyn; Mrs. Henry Kinkelpari, Pittsburgh.

A.
**PROHIBITION AND ITS SOCIAL
CONSEQUENCES**

PROHIBITION AND ITS SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES

Robert A. Woods, Head of South End House, Boston

The National Conference at Pittsburgh meeting two years ago without a dissenting voice urged upon Congress and the legislatures the passage of national prohibition. We have met today to rejoice over the achievement, so far as enactment is concerned, of that great result. It is said that when in the House of Commons the fall of the Bastille was announced and with it the collapse of the old regime in France, Charles James Fox arose and cried out, "How much is this the greatest event in history, and how much the best?" The event we are celebrating today is certainly one of the greatest and best events in history. In one vital respect it is unparalleled. There has never been an instance in which a free people by deliberate action has wrought out such a penetrating and pervasive result of self-cleansing.

The members of this conference, as they look forward in each of the divisions, can see results beyond computation and almost beyond imagination coming out of the elimination of the traffic in alcoholic liquors. We can see poverty decreased in a marked degree, we can see prostitution in still greater degree, and crime in greater degree still. But as we look forward, these more obvious results of the elimination of alcohol will be followed by vast improvements in more subtle ways in the whole of our community life.

Perhaps the greatest of all of them is going to be in the home, in the advance of economic standards, and in the rise of those moral sentiments which give the home its essential value. One of the most interesting and important bits of testimony coming from the prohibition cities is to the effect that, while all forms of retail trade are benefited, there goes to a high pitch the trade in women's and children's clothing and shoes, and presently there is marked demand for better tenements and apartments, and following this the laundry business begins to show improvement. These things indicate that the breadwinner does not merely come home and throw an increased amount of money on the table, but is returning to his old and perhaps forgotten habit of consulting with his wife and children as to their economic well-being.

One of the greatest opportunities presented to social workers will come in consultation and co-operation with these families of their acquaintance in the way of making the most of the economic and moral possibilities in the rise of home standards. A great many of our members during the war period have been applying the principles of case-work as learned below the poverty line, in Red Cross home service among families above the poverty line. They have found a new zest in the larger constructive possibilities of life on the more favored plane. National prohibition is going to increase that zest in a marked degree.

It will give enormous stimulus to all forms of sound, productive, labor organization. The liquor business has in many ways been like a kind of sabotage to throw sand into the bearings that have to do with the making organized labor strong, resourceful and responsible. National prohibition is going to reinforce all that is good in it as a force for a more equitable social order.

We elaborate many important programs of social adjustment in the National Conference. We are all interested in projects for a better distribution of the product of society. National prohibition has the great advantage over nearly all other social remedies in that it will substantially increase our national resources by letting free vast suppressed human potentialities.

One of the final arguments convincing the medical profession in this matter, one which has never been widely discussed, was the strong evidence that alcohol has the power of chemically damaging the germ cell through

which the gift of life passes from one generation to the other, and so doing unspeakable harm to the new-born individual for the whole of his lifetime. It should be remembered also that alcohol is one of the principal causes of that other racial poison, syphilis. This suggests that it will take two or three generations before we can measure some of the unspeakable gains to come from the elimination of alcoholism.

One of the most impressive considerations with regard to it is that it substantiates and glorifies the moral sense of the plain people,—and it is the plain people who have brought about this epochal result. We city folk have not had much to do with it. The churches of the towns, the villages and the countryside have been the determining factor. Here lie profound possibilities which we social workers have only poorly gauged for results in our field. The forces which have accomplished national prohibition are going to be ready for other big things in the future.

This result represents a recrudescence of that Puritanism which is so elemental in American life,—which brought the modern world into being through two of its instruments, democracy and science. The two have never worked together more marvelously than in the present cause; bringing to pass the prophecy of that great Puritan, John Milton:

"Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle muing her mighty youth and kindling her undazzled eye at the full midday beam, purging and unscaling her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance."

THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT*

Wayne B. Wheeler, LL. D., General Counsel of the Anti-Saloon League of America, Washington

The Eighteenth or Prohibition amendment is a distinctly social service victory. It represents the conscience of the American people on the liquor traffic. It is the greatest piece of constructive legislation enacted in half a century. It is a new charter for social, moral, economic and political progress.

It represents the spirit of the new age in which the real value of humanity is to receive greater recognition. It is based on the fact that material things have value only as they are related to human beings. Were it not for the boys and girls of tomorrow, all of our boasted wealth would count for nothing. The things, therefore, that make for a better boyhood and girlhood of tomorrow are of primary importance. Those influences which weaken or destroy them, must be discouraged and put under the ban of the law. This is why the liquor traffic had to die by the ratification of the National Prohibition Amendment.

Adopted with the Odds Against It

The Eighteenth Amendment was written into the Constitution with more opposition against it than any other clause. The traffic which it prohibits was intrenched in the social, economic and political life of the nation. It planned to control permanently the destinies of the Republic. The testimony taken before the senate judiciary committee shows that it had made a survey of practically every state; that business men and politicians were black-listed or boycotted who dared oppose the traffic. They attempted to subsidize the public press and were successful in some instances as the evidence

*Extracts from address.

shows. Magazine writers, ministers, doctors and lawyers were employed to advocate the trade. The traffic did not hesitate to ally itself with, and use the disloyal forces in the nation in a vain effort to try and save their crime producing traffic. Never has such an uneven contest been fought through to success. The odds were against us as the Pennsylvania North American said: "One thousand to one when the Anti-Saloon League came on the field of action." But there is a God of battles that rules eventually over every contest between right and wrong.

Is It Fair to Amend the Constitution As Provided in Article V?

Even if it is legal it is not fair, say some, to amend the Federal Constitution in the manner in which it was done in adopting the Eighteenth Amendment because no state or federal referendum was provided. The framers of the Constitution built a representative form of government rather than a direct democracy. It was believed that the people would express themselves through the representatives they elected. This theory of government adopted by our forefathers has proven its practicability in the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment. It is generally admitted that the sentiment for national prohibition is stronger than that for state or local prohibition. Many people refused to take part in local or state prohibition campaigns, but openly expressed their approval of national prohibition. There were a few who expressed the opposite view, but the preponderance of the difference was strongly in favor of national prohibition. Keeping this in mind, consider what per cent of the territory and population of the United States had adopted prohibition before the constitutional amendment was ratified. By January 16, 1918, when the thirty-sixth state ratified the Eighteenth Amendment, over ninety per cent of the territory of the United States was under prohibition law, or the people in that territory had adopted that policy of government by state or local units. Over sixty-two per cent of the population of the United States lived in that territory. For more than a decade the liquor issue was forcing itself to the front as a dominant question to be settled. Both sides realized that national constitutional prohibition was the last word on the question and there was only one way for the temperance forces to succeed and that was to secure two-thirds of congress to submit the amendment and three-fourths of the states to ratify it.

A Referendum on National Prohibition in the Election of Congress

The election of a congress to submit this question was the first referendum for national prohibition. The temperance forces favored the nomination and election of those members of congress who would favor the submission of the amendment to the states. The liquor interests opposed. Long before a single American soldier had been sent across the seas, or even before a state of war existed between the United States and Germany, there were 2,614,071 square miles of dry territory, while there were but 359,618 square miles of wet territory, or but 12.2 per cent. The population in the dry territory at that time was 60.7 per cent. In view of these facts there is little ground for the claim that this proposition was put over without the consent or approval of the soldiers who were in France when the states finally ratified the amendment.

Referendum by States

The next indirect referendum provided was in the election of legislatures that would ratify the Eighteenth Amendment. In most of the states the wet and dry forces opposed each other in the election of legislatures for or against any kind of prohibition. In primary and election campaigns the wets appealed to their friends to see to it that men were sent to the legislature who would defeat national prohibition. The result was most gratifying to the friends of the Eighteenth Amendment. Within fourteen months

and one week after congress submitted the amendment forty-five states, or fifteen-sixteenths of the states of the Union had ratified it. More than 100,000,000 people live in these states. Only three states, Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Jersey, with a total of 5,004,000 refused to ratify. All of the large, influential and populous states have shown their approval of the Eighteenth Amendment by ratification. No other constitutional amendment was ever ratified by so many states in so short a time. The sentiment for it, which had been accumulating for decades, found ready expression in the legislatures which were willing to represent the majority sentiment of the people on this issue. The Constitution was framed purposely to make it difficult to amend. The framers of the Constitution believed it should be a depository of great fundamental governmental principles. That it should not be subject to change until there had been careful deliberation and the election of a congress to submit the question and then its ratification by state legislatures or state conventions, as congress might direct. To those who are seeking an amendment to the Constitution these processes seem unnecessarily difficult and cumbersome. It was made so purposely, in order to give stability to our Federal Government and the principles upon which it is based. If the people of the nation are by large majority in favor of any given policy of government, they can establish it in the Constitution or through legal enactment where that is authorized by using legal and orderly methods. The prohibition forces made their fight upon two fundamental principles of government, first, the people have an inherent right to better their conditions in any unit of government, small or large, when they proceeded in a legal and orderly manner; second, the liquor traffic, being a menace to the best welfare of the people, the people had a right to remove it in order to advance civilization. The Supreme Court of the United States established this principle in 137 U. S. 86, when it said: "The statistics of every state show a greater amount of crime and misery attributable to the use of ardent spirits obtained at these liquor shops than to any other source." The court closed its decision with these words: "There is a no inherent right in a citizen of a state or of the United States to sell intoxicating liquor." The prohibition forces through a persistent and organized effort, told the truth about the liquor traffic until the people believed that it would better their conditions to abolish it. The traffic's appeal to the courts to save it is of no avail, because the courts notified the traffic years ago that it has no inherent right to exist; that it is here by sufferance only; that it is in the position of a trespasser rather than as an invited guest.

It is always fair in a representative form of government for the majority to elect members of congress and state legislatures who will enact laws for the general good and to promote the general welfare. The Eighteenth Amendment was adopted in the only legal and authorized method provided. This method in this case was sanctioned by the majority of the people and voters of the nation before it was ratified. The method by which it was done was not only legal and orderly but it was fair and it will have increasingly the support of the people as they learn the benefits which it will bring.

The Campaign of the Brewers Against Enforcement

The opponents of the Eighteenth Amendment are on dangerous ground when they enter upon a campaign to make the prohibition amendment inoperative. Good citizens may differ as to the wisdom of enacting a law, statutory or organic, but patriots do not disagree as to the advisability of enforcing law. There are but three forums in which the arguments against the Eighteenth Amendment can now be legally presented. First, the forum of public opinion. No one denies the right of the brewers to prove, if they can, that beer or liquor is beneficial to society; that it decreases idleness, crime, poverty, delinquency and drunkenness, or that it helps make this a

better place in which to live and to rear the next generation or to give any other good reason why the laws should be changed. Second, the liquor dealers have a right to ask congress to resubmit the prohibition amendment and to urge state legislatures to ratify the repeal when congress resubmits that question. This carries with it, of course, the right to appeal to the people to elect legislators and congressmen who are in sympathy with this program. Third, the judicial forum. The liquor interests have a right to contest in the courts the legality of the prohibition measures. When these activities are exhausted, the time has come for these opponents of this new policy of government to halt. Thus far they may go legally, and no further. The brewers and their representatives have lost their case in every one of these forums. There is no reason to believe that they will win in the future.

The Campaign for the Enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment

The great issue before this country now is: Shall the Constitution be sustained and shall the law be enforced? If we fail at this point, the government itself is in jeopardy. If the brewers can nullify the Eighteenth Amendment because they do not like it, then any other group of people may set aside any other part of the law or the Constitution which is obnoxious to them, and anarchy will rule. The Eighteenth Amendment is a part of the Constitution. Every citizen by the terms of his citizenship and every officer by his oath of office is bound to support it. It may be changed in a legal and orderly way, but defiance of it is anarchy. Those who counsel nullification of prohibition, should they succeed, will find the chickens coming home to roost later on. If the brewers can nullify the organic law, what shall we say to the Bolshevik and Anarchist who use the same method in order to accomplish their end? Congress and the states have equal obligation to enact law enforcement codes to make this amendment effective. This means, among other things, a definite and clear definition of intoxicating liquor; one which even a New York judge can understand. When forty-five out of forty-eight states ratify an amendment to the Constitution, representing by majority rule ninety-five per cent of the people, it is a mandate to congress to enact a 1920 model of efficiency, for law enforcement. We hope and confidently believe congress will do it in spite of the threats and misrepresentations of the outlawed liquor traffic. If the government is to live, the law must be enforced.

THE WHENCE AND WHITHER OF PROHIBITION

Elizabeth Tilton, Chairman Poster Campaign, Boston Associated Charities

A minority in this country is not yet converted to prohibition. It will be the natural strategy of the liquor interests to make this unsaving remnant just as noisy as possible. Therefore, we who believe in prohibition have before us a five years' fight, at least, with a noisy minority that will be ably led by what George Brandt calls "that raging wild animal, the man who sees his purse in danger."

We must do battle at once and continuously for the thing we have created, the very greatest of things, a beneficent law, the 18th amendment to the constitution.

Our first move, then, as good fighting men, is to be clear why we, as social workers, are for total abstinence and prohibition.

Race-Hygiene Movement

I imagine, at bottom, we are against alcohol because both science and common sense tell us that alcohol is a race destroyer. Not only does it bring

disease and lowered efficiency to the drinker, but also, according to careful experiments by Laitenen and others, it brings lowered efficiency and disease to the drinker's progeny. If our western race is to hold its own, it can hold it only by turning back a racial decline already apparent in Europe. Indeed in France, the most alcohol-saturated people of us all, the decline has reached a point where annual deaths often exceed births. If this historic tendency is to be turned backwards, there must arise in the next one hundred years a vast health crusade and one of the first principles of this crusade against the diseases that depopulate, venereal, tubercula, etc., etc., will be to cut out that racial poison, alcohol.

So, I say, I believe we as social workers are against alcohol because we are for race hygiene.

Why Prohibition

But why are we for prohibition as well as for total abstinence, we who are converted? Of course, there are a few social workers, sports in the genus, not yet converted.

I will be frank and say that ten years ago I was a sport, not a convert. I looked on prohibition as a badly dressed performance of fanatics. But I was converted. Figures did it, figures volleying and thundering from every district where prohibition had been tried, figures from courts, police records, charity organizations made me a granite prohibitionist.

I was simply compelled to acknowledge that prohibition wrought good without any great corresponding evils to offset the good.

Drug Fiends

I looked into the evils usually to find them greatly exaggerated or mere boogys. For example. I was told that prohibition had turned the drinkers of Richmond, Virginia, and Charleston, South Carolina, into drug-fiends. Therefore, I went myself to the institutions in these cities where they confine the drug-fiends. And there were no records showing increase in drug-fiends. I could nowhere find proof that men deprived of alcohol turned en masse to drugs.

Personal Liberty

The personal liberty argument never troubled me. Personal liberty to injure my fellow men. I always knew to be not liberty but license, or to quote the United States Supreme Court (Crowley vs. Christensen, 137 U. S. 89-92. Nov. 10, 1890):

"Even liberty itself, the greatest of all rights, is not unrestricted liberty to act according to one's own will. It is only freedom of restraint under conditions essential to the equal enjoyment of the same right by others. It is, then, liberty regulated by law."

Business Ruined

Never could I anywhere find that business went to pieces under prohibition. On the contrary bank deposits usually rose, along with business in general. How touching and telling was the great increase in the sale in little children's shoes in Seattle and the increased sale in milk in Denver after the introduction of prohibition.

No Beer, No Work

As for labor revolting, I found that once prohibition had established itself, labor rejoiced and said so, thus:

Otto R. Hardwig, President Oregon State Federation of Labor: "Though I have practiced Prohibition all my life, I have always opposed its adoption, because I felt it was an infringement on personal rights; but since it has become a law here, the benefits derived have been so great and beneficial that I am a champion of Prohibition from now on."

John L. Donnelly, President Arizona State Federation of Labor: "Arizona workers are certainly better, morally and financially, than before Prohibition was adopted."

Wm. C. Thornton, President Denver Trades and Labor Assembly: "You cannot pick up a corporal's guard of dry Unionists in Colorado who would vote for the return of the saloon. Where workingmen bought whisky before, they are now putting their money into shoes for the babies."

In short, I traveled through this country surveying prohibition for myself, I hunted every adverse propaganda to its lair, only to find the arguments for stand out like granite, the arguments against melt like a miasma before the sun. I came to the conclusion as I went from state to state, that Poe had said the truest line in all poetry when he said,

Man convinced against his will
Has the same opinion still.

Most of our big cities had been forced dry against their will by the outlying vote of the state, but they did not even pretend to have the same opinion still. Richmond, Virginia, is the best laboratory in which to study prohibition that I know; the data is so get-at-able. It was put dry against its will, but said that character of Richmond, Judge Crutchfield, veteran judge of the police court off and on, for forty-five years, to me:

"Put it down that old Crutchfield voted wet, wet as a rag, but put it down now that if old Crutchfield had to vote again, he would vote dry with a big D."

So it was everywhere—men converted all along the line.

But the compelling thing was those figures, figures in institution after institution. There they lay in Richmond, for years averaging more or less the same, till that November, 1916. Then something had struck them all—almost over night—as it were. They had all slid down. Now war prosperity had been coming to Richmond, but it did not come on a sudden. But prohibition came on a sudden and down went the records in the City Home where they harbored the chronic alcoholic, the county jail, the state penitentiary, the juvenile court (a remarkable one), where they handled not only the children but the wife-beatings and desertions. One example is typical of all.

The average number of prisoners at the state prison in Richmond in the month of December, for the five years before prohibition, had been 97. The first December under prohibition (1916) it was 70; for the same periods of January (average for five years) 42.6; first January under prohibition, 22. February showed a reduction from an average of 58 to 35.

November 1, 1916, the day prohibition began, the number of convicts and jail-birds on the road force was 1,697; March 6, 1916, it was 1,412.

I was compelled to say, *prohibition helps, therefore let even the New York social worker put Bohemian and snobbish longings behind and help prohibition.*

Detroit has just been surveyed by George B. Wilson, B. A., Howard Medallist of the Royal Statistical Society of England. He said to me: "Detroit to a Britisher presented every difficulty possible to prohibition.

1. It is 45 per cent foreign-born—from drinking Europe.
2. Hostile to prohibition as proved by the voter.
3. Suffering under very imperfect judiciary.
4. Industrially immensely wealthy and therefore with tendency to high drink consumption. But nonetheless, the results of prohibition are startling police and court records have already been in our press but Mr. Wilson had dug out extra records that simply bump down, one after another.

From the medical officer of health records he found deaths from alcoholism reduced 82 per cent; cirrhosis of the liver, 11 per cent; suicides, 33 per cent; deaths from fall, 28 per cent; fatal industrial accidents, 30 per cent, and accidents in general, from the state board of industrial accidents

had fallen from 18,386 to 14,615—that is 20 per cent. The public welfare department records showed that the men who repaid for lodging advanced on trust had risen 50 per cent. Families helped with provisions and books had fallen 25 per cent—that is, from 12,274 to 9,157.

Now, granted that prohibition helps, what I want to leave in your mind is precisely what help is needed for prohibition.

What To Do Now

In my mind, the fight lies in two directions, one an educational fight with special emphasis on beer and wine; second, a political fight.

You know the prohibition amendment says that both the federal and state officers shall have the power to enforce the law (that "congress and the several states shall have concurrent power," is the expression used).

Now the opposition will naturally try to go at once into politics and elect wet legislatures that will pass a state dry law that is very wet and very out of harmony with the federal law, a situation that will leave the federal officers forced to one policy and the state officers to another. This would simply confuse enforcement to an unbearable degree. Then, the other step would be this, that where states passed a good enforcement law, to have a referendum, trusting to the foreign populations in the large cities to overturn the good state enforcement law.

Now the Anti-Saloon League taught me something that I think social workers do not visualize clearly enough, that, if you would win your reform there is a step to be taken beyond the meetings and the publicity, the step that crystallizes the sentiment into votes. A cause is like this: 99,000,000 of our people are always indifferent to any reform. Connected with it are three groups, the little band actively for, the little band actively against, and, then, the third group, the opinion-makers of the district, usually leaders of groups. The side that finally succeeds in getting the opinion-makers wins.

We want now to manufacture dry legislatures. To do this, find out when you go home who is being groomed for the primaries; get leading men to wait on these men at once and ask them to take a dry vote to their legislature. It is amazing how few men it takes to influence a man before the primaries, how many after. If every associated charities would appoint a committee to see that only dry men go through your next primaries, you would be making the state enforcement law that dovetails in with the federal law and facilitates enforcement as nothing else can.

Well, that is the next step, get the opinion-makers of your town to build up a dry legislature, build it now behind the primaries.

Education

The other step is constant education that shall finally build up the Kansas state of mind, liquor a back number that no sane man can tolerate. The special step in this fight is to explode the beer and wine fallacy. Distilled liquor is fairly well in hand but beer and wine have yet to be conquered.

Teach Men That "Beer Is Boozé"

First, point out that once we allow the return of even light beer, we admit in all probability the return of the saloon and the brewers in politics. This means the opposite of prohibition. Second, point out that experiments forbidding distilled liquors but allowing beer and wines have been tried and have always failed. For example, Massachusetts was under prohibition in 1869. In 1870 towns that wished were allowed to have saloons that could sell beer, cider, porter, ale. New Bedford opened beer saloons in 1872 and crime rose 68 per cent; arrests for drunkenness, 120 per cent. Wherever the beer bars opened, results were similar.

Georgia tried a beer experiment from 1908-16. Distilled liquors could not be sold in saloons, only light or near-beer. In Atlanta near-beer was beer up to 3.99 per cent. Judge Broyles, then of the police court of Atlanta, said, "A light or near-beer law is practically unenforceable as you cannot have a chemist with every barrel to see that the beer is light. Any beer will be sold. Besides, men do get drunk on 2 per cent beer if they take enough of it."

The fact is, once you open the saloon, you cannot regulate what will be sold. Again, what one man can carry easily a second man cannot carry at all. I myself had a case where a man was drunk for three weeks on nothing stronger than Sterling ale.

I visited Savannah, Georgia, the year after the state had changed from beer saloons to no saloons. I found the police thankful for the changed law on the ground that now they had a law that was enforceable; one "you could handle." The figures from the police records were so striking as to quiet forever all longings for 2¾ per cent beer.

I first visited the police station. "I was a wet," said the Chief of Police, "but now am a dry; conditions in the homes of the poor are so much better," and he gave me the following figures. The first figures (1915) are for Savannah under spotted prohibition, which allowed beer in saloons, but no whiskey; the second are for Savannah under prohibition (no saloons) in 1916-1917. The periods compared are ten months before and ten months following prohibition (May 1, 1915, to March 1, 1916, and May 1, 1916, to March 1, 1917):

Arrests for assault with intent to murder, 49; reduced to 18, or 64 per cent less.

Disorderly conduct reduced from 2,117 to 1,052, or 51 per cent less.

Drunkness and disorderliness, 1,197 to 343, 72 per cent reduction.

Lunacy reduced from 61 to 28, or 54 per cent reduction.

I next saw Dr. Brunner, secretary of the Board of Sanitary Commissioners. He said: "Two years ago I called prohibition poppycock, but prohibition enforced is a mighty good thing, and we have got that mighty good thing here." He declared that the prisoners' chain gang of negroes had carried under "spotted" prohibition from 600 to 700 negroes. After five months of prohibition the gang had dropped to approximately 200 and stayed about there ever since.

"And look at my homicides," said this convert to prohibition; "prohibition began May 1, 1916:

"In 1915—24 homicides (negro by negro).

"In 1916—10 homicides (negro by negro).

"And eight of the homicides took place before prohibition became law."

Beer, the Disease Maker

Another phase in the beer problem is that beer, whether it makes you drunk or not, is a great disease maker.

Listen to the famous physiologist of the famous beer country, Professor von Struempell. (See *Deutsche Monatsschrift*, Vol. IV, p. 242):

Formerly whiskey and brandy were the universal evildoers, the only despised drinks as against "noble" wine and "harmless" beer. At present we know that in practice and injurious effects of beer are at least as frequent, if not, indeed, more frequent, than those of distilled liquor. For beer-drinking has pressed into all grades of society, and while distilled liquor, with rare exceptions, finds its victims only in the lower sections of the working population, we find the injurious effects of too free beer-drinking (Gambrinism, as I call it) especially among the more cultivated classes. Gambrinism, moreover, differs medically in many respects from simple alcoholism, although the special alcohol effect is to be taken into account in excessive beer-drinking. For although the percentage of alcohol (beer 2 to 4 per cent), is not especially high, yet this low percentage is counteracted by the great quantity drunk; 100 cubic centimeters of beer contain only 3 grams pure alcohol, but a liter contains 30 grams. A moderate beer-drinker, who daily drinks his five liters, thus gets every day 150 grams of absolute alcohol into his body. But what gives beer its typical earmark is the fact that beer contains comparatively great quantities of fat-forming, or at least fat-encouraging, foods (malt). Most heavy beer-drinkers are, therefore, overfed. Hence the fatness which may itself become a source of illness. Finally it must be noted that perhaps beer contains besides alcohol other injurious substances from the hops, whose effect is also to be taken into account.

Again, in a lecture at Nuremberg, this same writer says:

Nothing is more erroneous from the physicians' standpoint than to think of diminishing the destructive effects of alcoholism by substituting beer for other alcoholic drinks, or that the victims of drink are found only in those countries where whiskey helps the people of a low grade of culture to forget their poverty and misery.

Careful investigations during a series of years made at the Pathological Institute, Munich, showed that 16 per cent of the male patients had died of beer drinkers' heart.

The fact is, men drink alcohol for the drug effect, "the kick," and once deprived of whiskey, they drink just so much more beer.

As for light wines, the idea that they are harmless is even a greater fallacy, for these run from 6 to 12 per cent alcohol. French statistics leave no arguments for wine. Even if it is not so intoxicating as the heavier drinks, it, too, is a disease maker, breeding, by lowering resistance, all the things the race cannot afford, tuberculosis, venereal disease, insanity and the greatest malady of France, depopulation.

In France, over 100,000 persons die yearly of tuberculosis and an investigation by Merman, director of public hygiene, showed (1906-10) an exact correspondence between the districts where they drank most and those where tuberculosis gave the highest rate.

France abounds with alcohol-insane. The wine-drinking country of Italy shows 28 per cent lunatics in asylums alcohol-insane. In the United States the figure runs 10 per cent alcohol-insane.

Dr. Jacquet gives the following figures from his hospital, 1912, of the children of alcoholism:

111 Moderate drinkers had lost 66 children.

80 Heavy drinkers had lost 73 children.

117 Very heavy drinkers had lost 220 children.

France, the most alcoholized of the nations, is the nation where annual deaths often exceed births.

Germany, alcoholized with beer, has a high infant mortality.

Finland, the country in Europe with the lowest alcohol consumption, has the lowest infant mortality. In short, there is nothing in all this talk of a separate peace for wine and beer but money for the liquor interests and the ruin of prohibition for us.

The only way out is the drastic way, the way of total abstinence that says no to the custom plus prohibition that says no to the traffic, the ever-ready opportunity.

I know the word bone-dry has no romance in it. It comes distastefully to the ears of the Bohemian and the snob. But Bohemians and snobs never yet made the cleaned-up blood that saves the race. The bone-drys make that blood. I am here in the name of clean blood to ask you to be bone-drys. I am here in the name of race-hygiene to ask you to do your part to stem the health breakdown of the western race now upon us by turning your backs completely on a race-destroyer like alcohol.

Fight, like Covenanters of old, on the side of the bone-drys.

Help congress to pass a drastic, bone-dry, beer and wine prohibition enforcement law, with a definition of intoxicating liquor down to one-half of one per cent alcohol.

Help the legislators in your state to pass a similar bone-dry state enforcement law, one in harmony with the federal law.

Most of all help us to keep up the education for a bone-dry state of mind—the state of mind that knows that if you are going to drive back the tides of degeneracy facing western civilization, you have got to drive back alcohol. Drive the truth home. Keep driving it home. As you have made men think, keep men thinking.

We are out to change the world's mind. It can be done. I came yesterday up from the world prohibition conference in Washington. With me was Mrs. Falconer of Slaton Farms. Five years ago she took me to the City Club in Philadelphia to speak on the alcohol problem. The manager came up to me, others, too, and whispered, "Don't mention the word Prohibition. It is taboo in Philadelphia."

That was five years ago—and last winter Pennsylvania ratified the prohibition amendment.

You can change the mind of a race if your facts are sound and you are determined. Be determined. Raise high the bone-dry flag and carry on until there is not left in this great continent a public official that winks at non-enforcement of this virile law. It is a far goal to the day when there shall not be left even one nullification policeman. But it is all gold when reached. Carry on to this goal!

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ANTI-ALCOHOL MOVEMENT

Irving Fisher, Professor of Economics, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

After listening to the able, instructive and inspiring speakers who have preceded me, I wonder what I can say that will add anything to and not repeat unduly what has already been said. I come from a state—one of the three states—which did not ratify the prohibition amendment, and which cannot yet realize what has happened. I would have felt, had I been under no other influence all my life than that of Connecticut, that a constitutional amendment on prohibition was an unjustified interference with our American system and with personal liberty. I spent, however, a year of my life on the prairies of the west, and there I think many scales fell from my eyes and I realized that in an old traditional community our eyes are blinded by the influences under which we grow up.

My friends in New Haven are aghast and surprised that actually 45 states of the United States should ratify an amendment to the constitution of the United States forbidding the sale and use of alcoholic beverages.

Undoubtedly it is a most momentous happening when such legislation is passed; and we have still ahead of us, as has been emphasized to you, the most momentous part of the change. Between July 1 and January 16 in particular, we shall have a trying time. There will be attempts to break down wartime prohibition as a preliminary to breaking down constitutional prohibition. There will be attempts to show that it is not enforceable because it is an interference with human liberty and to show that human nature will stand in the way of successful enforcement of prohibition to such an extent that a repeal will be necessary. The tremendous fund that has, it is said, been raised by the brewers to fight prohibition will create an artificial sentiment which will make it necessary for all of us who understand the situation to exert ourselves to the uttermost to counteract this pernicious influence. We must understand the *fundamentals* of the situation, because of which prohibition is enforceable.

Some people imagine that this prohibition amendment was simply "put over" by the Anti-Saloon League. But when we consider that this organization which deserves the congratulations of us all for its wonderful work done had to fight the strongest influence in American politics, we realize that there must have been a hearty response to their efforts in the hearts of the people of the United States. Without such response no small body of men, however clever, could have succeeded.

And why was there this response? In the first place, it was a moral

response, and represented the efforts of the churches of the United States. But even so, if merely moral, it could not have succeeded. There was a fundamental rock on which all the feeling on this subject was founded, and that is, that modern science has demonstrated that alcohol is a biologic poison, detrimental even in small quantities. While it is the "excessive" use of alcohol which produces crime, vice and destitution and thus is the primary occasion for prohibition, yet the fact that even small quantities of alcohol are injurious takes away that defense which hitherto has been possible against prohibition, i. e., that the moderate use of alcohol should be permitted.

Another force for prohibition is the force of industrialism and of the modern desire for efficiency both on the part of industries and on the part of individuals. Industry is applying modern science. From two to four glasses of beer will reduce the output of typesetters by eight per cent. These and other experiments demonstrate that we will increase, by enforcing prohibition, the economic productivity of this nation from ten to twenty per cent, and will add to the national output of the United States between seven and a half to fifteen billion dollars' worth of product every year, reckoned at the moderate level of prices.

These forces, the ideals of work, the requirements of modern industrial competition, the findings of modern science, and the ideals of morality in American life are the forces which have put over prohibition, and it must be on those forces that we shall depend to enforce prohibition.

Against them we find the organized liquor traffic, the most terrible and powerful corrupting force in this country. This influence has long paralyzed the moral forces of the country. Besides this force of the liquor interests there is the desire on the part of those already addicted to the use of alcohol to continue its use. A third force lies in the *inertia* of public opinion, the desire to abide by the customs to which people are used, in a word, conservatism. That is the force which really prevented the ratification of the amendment in Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Jersey.

After we have once got a start, and a successful start, as I hope we soon shall, in enforcing prohibition, all three of these forces will dwindle. It will take a whole generation to get rid of the desire of addicts to have alcohol, but that is not a strong or widespread desire. Those who from conservatism have opposed the amendment will reverse themselves, and just because they are conservative and law-abiding, will fight on the opposite side. My colleague, ex-President Taft, wrote against prohibition before it was enacted. After the law was enacted he wrote as follows: "It is now the duty of every good citizen in the premises, no matter what his previous opinion of the wisdom or expediency of the amendment, to urge and vote for all reasonable and practical legislative measures by Congress adopted to secure the enforcement of this amendment. Those who claim that the amendment has not been constitutionally adopted have nothing substantial on which to base their claims. The further argument that the amendment is void because inconsistent with the fundamental constitutional compact as to personal liberty or reserved power of the states, as for instance a change of representation of the states in the Senate would be, is 'moonshine.' The liquor interests and the trades having a profit in the business are now spending much in fulminating advertisements which give false hopes that the doom which has been pronounced on liquor manufacture and traffic may be averted. The advertisements are only the dying swan song."

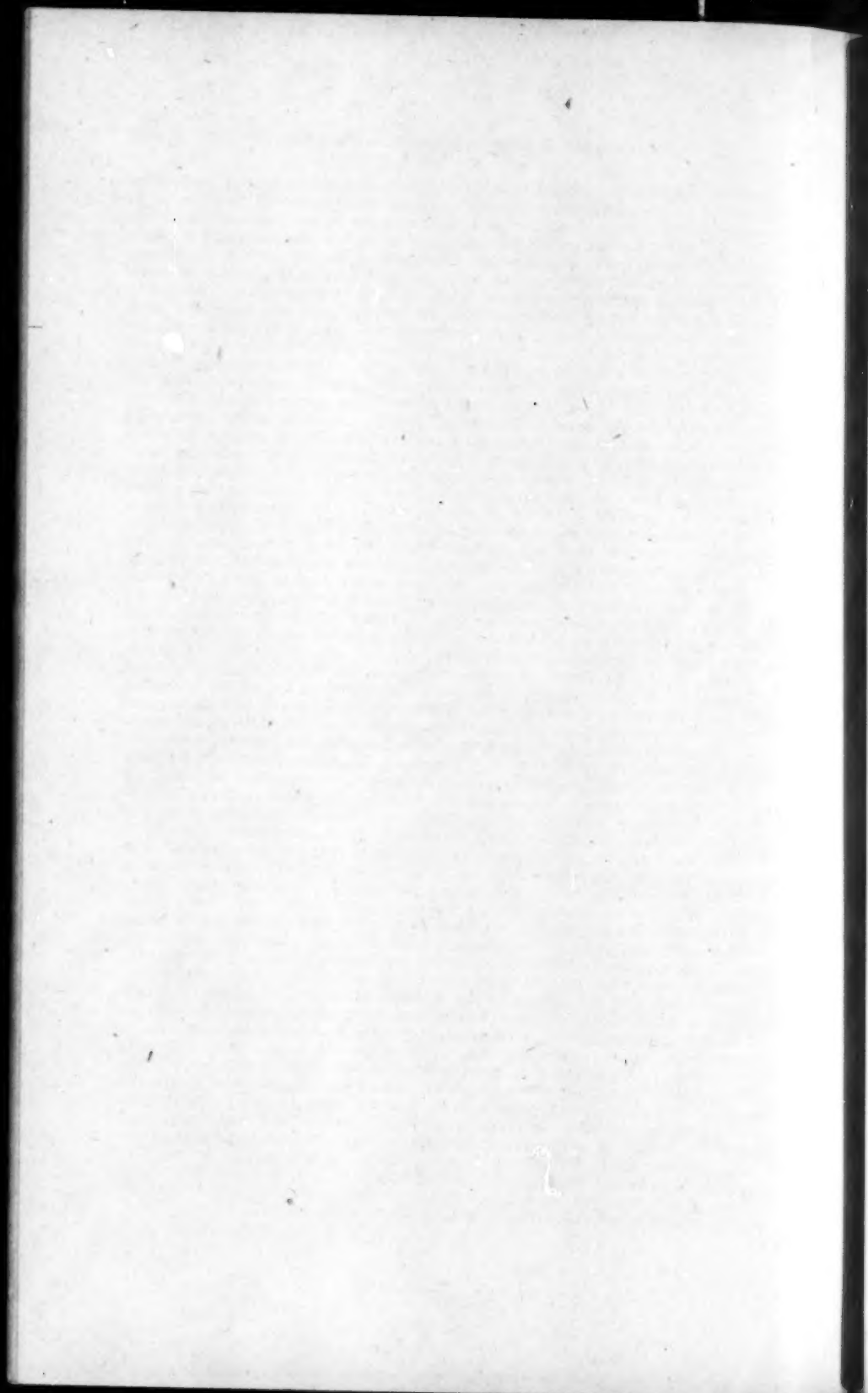
As to the first influence against prohibition, that of the liquor traffic itself, once we have proved the practicability of enforcement and the fallaciousness of their cause, their ammunition, namely, their profits, will be spent and you will find this sentiment, which exists because of their paid advertisements against prohibition, will disappear over night.

If the amendment were really a blow at personal liberty I fear I should

oppose prohibition myself. But one of the chief reasons why I believe in prohibition is just because I believe so ardently in personal liberty. It is because I believe prohibition, while in fact repressive, is in substance liberative, that I am enthusiastic over making prohibition the success which it ought to be in this country, to the end that other countries may follow our example and we may rid the world of the tyranny that comes directly or indirectly from alcohol. Some people imagine that personal liberty means to follow any whim, to do, as we say, "as we please." If you carry the logic of that to its extreme, there is no liberty except that of the bolsheviks, no liberty except that of the anarchist who believes that all law is interference with liberty. There are those who take this ground and admit that prohibition is interference with personal liberty, but justify prohibition on the ground merely that "one man's liberty ends where another's begins." Mr. Taft himself says in regard to individual liberty: "I think in the interest of the community and of the man who cannot resist the temptation to drink in excess if he has the opportunity to drink at all, other citizens in the community may be properly asked and compelled to give up drinking, although that drinking may do them no injury." That would, of course, be a good argument for prohibition even if the premises were correct. But as a matter of fact, the premise is *incorrect*—drinking *always* does some injury—and this is where modern science has made its great contribution to this cause, one which will make prohibition invincible and permanent as compared with prohibition in the past. Two generations ago we had prohibition in many states, and when the laws were repealed, the repeal was on the theory that since the temperate use of alcohol was harmless we had no right to interfere with the individual for the benefit of those who could not control themselves. That argument cannot be revived.

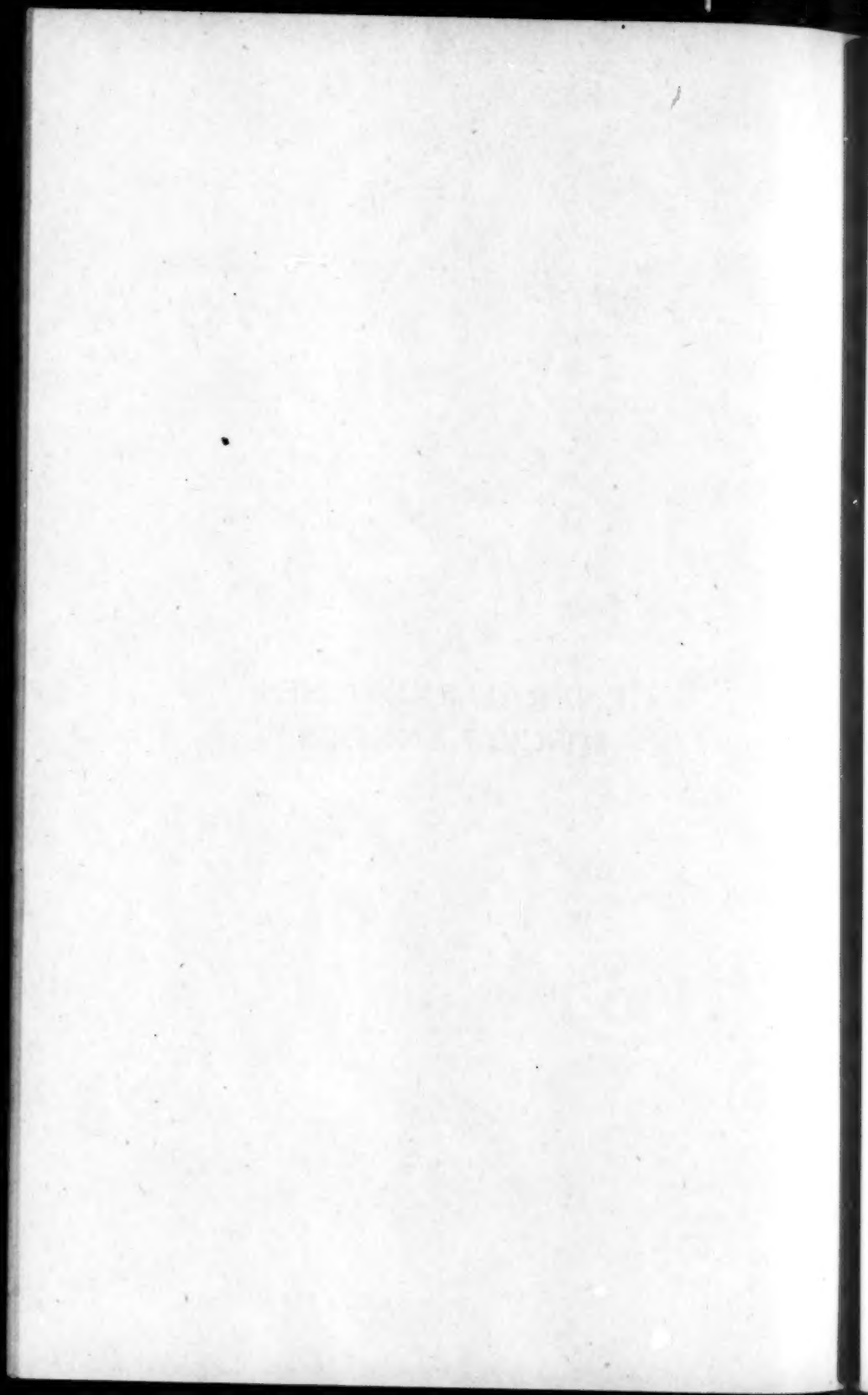
Now, liberty, one legal opinion tells us, is the right to exercise those faculties with which Nature and Nature's God endowed us. That brings us back to fundamental human nature. In psychology we learn that the human being is endowed with certain instincts which must be satisfied in order that human life may be a success. Throughout all my interest in public questions, my object has been to help people to enjoy true liberty—the liberty to exercise those faculties with which Nature and Nature's God endowed us. We cannot exercise them if we take any of the habit-forming drugs. Alcohol, like opium, is a habit-forming drug, and reduces the liberty of the individual to exercise his faculties, to satisfy his fundamental instincts,—the instinct of self-preservation, or of making a living, the instinct of love and home-making, the instinct of self-respect, the instinct of workmanship. There is scarcely any human faculty the satisfaction of which is not interfered with by the use of alcohol.

In states where prohibition has been in force, instead of finding constant rebellion of public opinion on account of a repressive measure, as prohibition is called, which might be expected, we find a growing conversion to the idea. Those who, on the grounds of personal liberty, had fought prohibition, have come to believe in it. I have quotations from workmen and from others to this effect. They do not complain *after* prohibition, but only *before* prohibition. This campaign against prohibition in America is instigated and bought and paid for, by the liquor interests, and it is only *their* "personal liberty" that is interfered with. We must make prohibition successful in this country, and then we must explain it to the world, so that the whole world may become free, and the sum total of liberty may be increased as we throw off the thralldom of a terrible drug habit, and the terrible thralldom of the liquor interests in our social and political life.



B.

**GENERAL EXERCISES;
MISCELLANEOUS**



OPENING EXERCISES

A WORD OF WELCOME

Prof. Frank A. Fetter, President of the New Jersey State Conference of Charities and Corrections, Princeton

A telegram from Senator Edge received this afternoon informs us that he is detained in Washington on public business. There falls to me, therefore, as acting chairman of the state committee on arrangements, the pleasant duty of opening this great conference and extending a welcome on behalf of the state of New Jersey and its citizens to you who have entered its gates. We feel that a very subtle compliment has been paid to New Jersey in the postponement of this meeting for nearly fifty years. We understand that these meetings are considered to be missionary excursions into backward lands, and that the meetings have been held successively in the various states in the order of the urgency of their backwardness and need. Now, after forty-six years, at last, it is Jersey's turn, but even now it is not because we need it the most, we are told. New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Atlanta, all these have benefited from this great gathering, and yet they seem to be in great need of a second visit now. But we are informed that the great nervous strain and effort and discouragements that have resulted from meeting in these other places have made it necessary for you to come to Atlantic City to recover the conference nerves.

We fear that there will be some disappointment awaiting the visitors from the other states. We know your ideas regarding New Jersey are more or less conventional. I fear most of you have gathered your opinion of New Jersey from the New York newspapers. Having at one time had the misfortune to live outside of New Jersey, I incline to think that this opinion may be reduced to three propositions—Jersey lightning, Jersey peaches, and Jersey mosquitoes. All of these things are remarkable, of course. The first is more or less of a myth. All people in this neighborhood are divided into two categories—those who live in New Jersey and go to New York for amusement, and those who live in New York and come to New Jersey for their pleasures. Those coming over the river to the Hoboken shore have there gained their impression of Jersey lightning. On awakening the next morning they felt that they had been hit by something and could only liken it to a bolt from the blue. It is true that we in New Jersey have not yet ratified. But we expect to go along with the rest in a spirit of good fellowship when the dry time comes.

Then there are the Jersey peaches. They are of two varieties. One is always in season and may be seen on the board walk every day in the year. The other variety is not quite in season now, but will be in a few weeks, and if you will only stay till then we will show you something and give you a taste of something that will keep you here forever.

Then there is the Jersey mosquito. I wish to correct the mistaken idea of some delegates that the winged creatures flying over our heads today were Jersey mosquitoes—specimens of the *Anopheles Giganticus New Jerseyensis*. They had the size, and they had the hum, but they were just plain aeroplanes.

The book prepared by the New Jersey committee will show you pictures of the mosquito. These are printed for the benefit of New Jersey children who never have seen a mosquito. Like the passenger pigeon, it once flew in swarms, but now is nearing extinction and soon will be as rare as the Dodo.

We will not claim that there are no mosquitoes in New Jersey; there are, we admit, a few in the high woods, and the back districts, but we are offering bounties on their scalps. We are providing as a lesson to posterity that a few shall be kept in captivity as herds of Buffalo in the parks of our cities. And as Indiana has graven the image of a buffalo upon its state seal, so some day may New Jersey place upon its seal the image of the departed mosquito, which once roamed in great herds the plains of the state, countless and unafraid.

And now we wish to welcome you most heartily. If you have looked forward to coming to Atlantic City we have been looking much more eagerly to greeting you here. There has been in New Jersey lately a veritable missionary civic revival, in anticipation of your coming. In all our twenty-one counties have been held meetings. We old friends of the Conference have gone up and down singing your praises and now you have to make a glorious record if you live up to the account we have given of you in advance. We fear little on that score. This magnificent audience crowding this hall to the doors gives earnest of a great meeting.

This is the first time that this Conference has met at the invitation and been the guest of a state rather than of a single city. On behalf of the state of New Jersey as a whole, and of its twenty-one counties, every one of which has been actively organized in preparation for this meeting, on behalf of the numerous state-wide organizations that have heartily entered into work of preparation, on behalf of the State Board of Institutions and Agencies, the State Chamber of Commerce, the State League of Municipalities, and a dozen other great state organizations, on behalf of the public and private charities of New Jersey, I welcome you, and I present to your President, Miss Lathrop, this gavel as a token of our hospitality, and a symbol of her authority in the sessions of this Conference in Atlantic City.

RESPONSE

Those of this company not from New Jersey will want me to hasten to express to Dr. Fetter, for his state, and for Atlantic City, our appreciation of the welcome he has given us. The preparations made for our coming are particularly favorable to the best sort of a conference. We begin with a lively sense of favors received a sure confidence that the store will last eight rich happy days. Next let me thank you most earnestly for the great honor you have done me in making me the president of this conference, and then I must confess to you that during the past months I have been a very inefficient president. Everybody has found this a year of extraordinary duties, and I am sorry that my own unavoidable absorption in other matters has left upon the shoulders of Mr. Cross more work than was fairly his share, and you will be grateful, as I am, that my immediate predecessor, Mr. Woods, has been of generous aid to him in my place. Credit for much hard thankless work is due Mr. Cross and the office staff. You will be glad to know Miss McKinney, our new associate secretary, and to help her to know you.

CLOSING EXERCISES

The President, Miss Lathrop, in presenting the gavel of office to the President-elect:

There are last moments that seem ripe for much talk, but there are others so compact with feeling, in which we know so well what we should do, that we would much rather go away silent. I cannot thank you enough for your generosity and forbearance all this week.

Mr. Lovejoy, as the next president of the National Conference of Social Work, I have the pleasure and the honor of presenting you with this gavel. I am sure you will use it with more discretion and more grace than I, but not with more respect for the office.

President-elect Lovejoy, in accepting the gavel:

My experiences during the past few days have been a succession of surprises, culminating with the taking of this gavel. The election to the office for which I take this gavel was an absolute surprise to me. If I have hesitated to accept it is not because I do not fully appreciate its honor and importance, but because of my recognition of my inadequacy. The address that I attempted to give this afternoon I was as unprepared to give as you were to receive. Now Miss Lathrop has placed in my hands this gavel which I am not entitled to for thirty days. She still holds office for that period. If by any chance the history of this Conference during the coming year in any way measures up to the conference during the past twelve months it will be not only because of the spirit that Miss Lathrop has injected into the entire conference, by her splendid spirit and wisdom and devotion, but it will also be by the spirit of cooperation with which all of you enter upon the tasks and responsibilities before us—that feeling that in loyalty to Miss Lathrop as well as in loyalty to the causes we represent we cannot back up from the firing line at a time like this. I thank you.

CHILD WELFARE WORK IN JAPAN*

Hon. Takayuki Namaye, Home Department, Imperial Government of Japan

Ellen Key said that the Twentieth Century is the Century of the Child. It is well said, for the world is beginning to realize the importance of children's welfare as never before.

The departments that supervise children's welfare in Japan are the Home Department, the Departments of Education, of Justice, and of Agriculture and Commerce.

The Children's Welfare Works under the supervision of the Bureau for Local Affairs of the Home Department may be divided into two classes, namely, one which is regulated by the law and the other which is not.

Class I

The Children's Welfare Works Under the Home Department

Under the first class we have the provisions of the Poor Law concerning the children of the poor, and the Foundling Act.

*An address presented separately for publication in relation to the discussions of the Division on Children.

1. The Poor Law was enacted in Japan in 1874 and the provision in question states that the forlorn children under 13 years of age shall receive rice at the rate of three bushels and a half per year, and states also that children who, although not strictly forlorn, have no relatives under 70 and above 15 years of age, and are in distressing conditions, shall receive the same amount of rice as allowed to the forlorn children. It is hardly necessary to say that this method of relief is very primitive and recipients necessarily very few. In 1917 the total number of children cared for under this law was 1,203, and the total expense for the same, \$17,576, which was paid by the government and local corporation.

2. The Foundling Act was passed in 1871 and is the oldest of the relief enactments now in force in Japan. The original act enjoined that three bushels and a half of rice per year should be given to each foundling until he reaches his fifteenth year, but in 1873 it was amended and the age limit was reduced from fifteenth to thirteenth and has remained so ever since. In 1916 the total number of foundlings under the protection of this law was 1,733, and the total expense for the same \$33,413, which was paid by the government and local corporation.

European and American specialists may, no doubt, wonder at such small figures, but I believe that the following facts are the chief causes:

- a. The Japanese Poor Law is not generous in its provisions.
- b. Social consciousness has not yet dawned upon the necessity of supporting the poor.
- c. The spirit of mutual help is quite strong.
- d. The strong solidarity of the family system.
- e. The strictness of legal responsibility of parents to take care of their children.
- f. The natural kindness of Japanese people toward children.
- g. The comparatively small disparity between the rich and the poor.

3. The Reform Act for the Delinquent Children was first enacted in 1900 and part of it was amended in 1908. The act requires each prefecture to establish reformatory schools to take in delinquent children under 18 years of age, the highest age limit of the inmates being 20. There are fifty-four local reformatory schools in Japan at present, 28 public and 26 private. The total number of inmates of all those reformatory schools was about 2,100 at the end of 1917, of which about 500 were taken in that same year. They are mostly treated under the cottage system or under a system which is a mixture of the cottage and dormitory systems. 150 is the largest number of inmates that a reformatory school has at present and nine or ten is the smallest. Under the cottage system about ten inmates are taken in as a rule. Seventy per cent of the inmates come out of the reformatory schools much improved. The total expense in 1917 was \$123,443, of which \$22,000 was government subsidy.

Class II

The Welfare Works Not Regulated By Law.

Orphan Asylums. The origin of the orphanage in Japan is more than ten centuries old. There are at present 138 orphan asylums with 6,500 inmates. Their aggregate expense for a year is about \$210,000.

Committee on Social Affairs.

The Committee on Social Affairs was organized by Imperial decree in 1918 and is under the supervision of the Home Department. It consists of 20 members selected, partly high officials of the government and partly experts, those who have special knowledge and experience on such matters. The Committee makes investigations about such matters as are requested

by the minister of the Home Department and makes reports giving its views on them. The scope of investigations is quite extensive. The Committee is to make a thorough-going investigation about the Children's Welfare Works in the near future with the purpose of aiding those institutions already in existence and establishing new ones.

Sanitary Bureau of the Home Department. Hygienic Condition of Children.

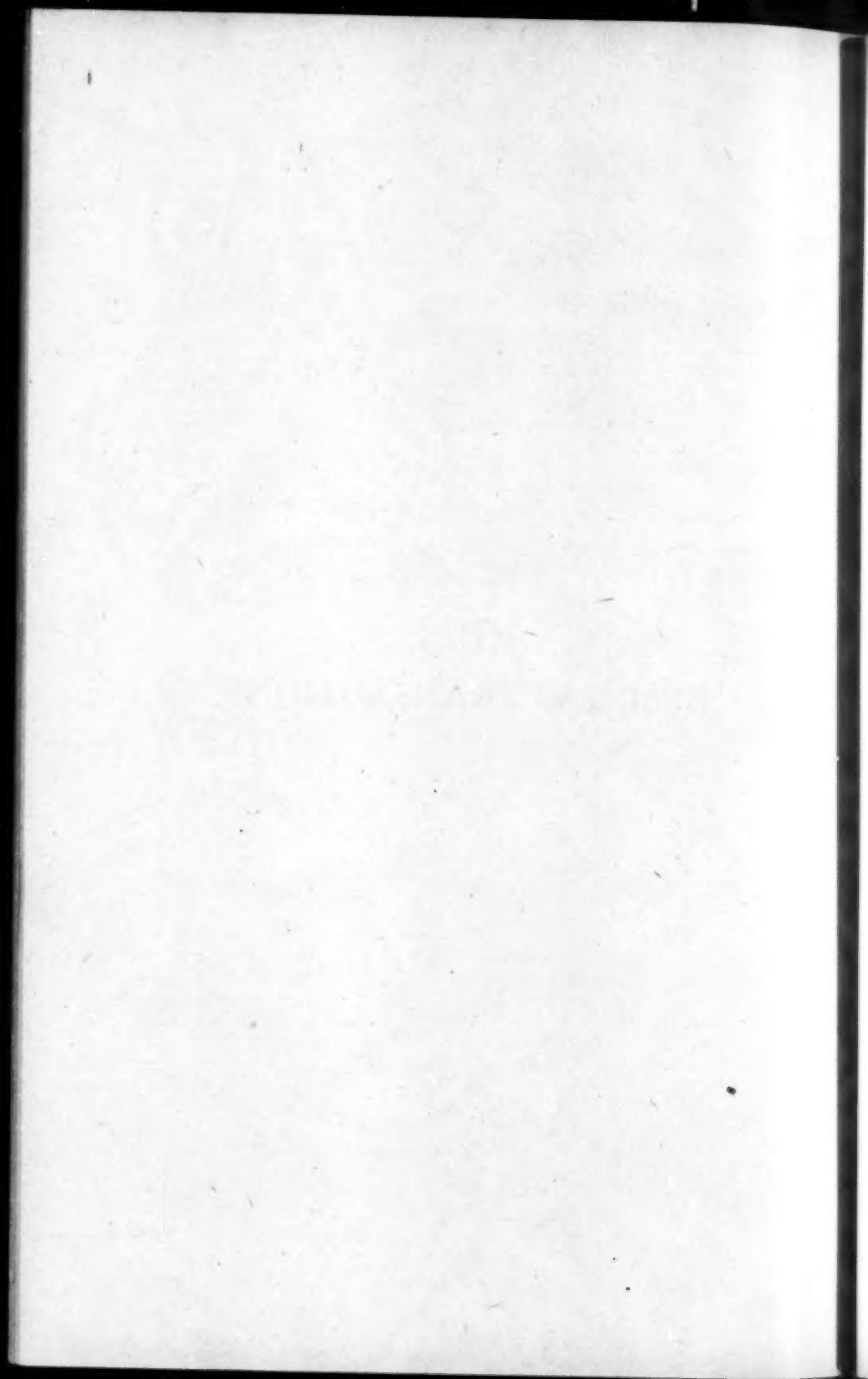
The death rate of the unweaned babies under one year has been steadily increasing as may be seen by the fact that although the average ratio of deaths for every hundred births was 11.7% in 1886-1890, yet in 1906-1910 it increased 15.7%. However, in more recent years a slight decrease in the death rate is shown. The death rate of infants between one year and five years of age materially decreased as the following figures show:

	Age 1-2	Age 2-5
From 1889-1893.....	4.51%	2.24%
From 1904-1908.....	4.37%	1.98%

It will be found that it is still about twice as high as that of some European countries.

There are two very promising organizations started lately to probe this problem, namely, the Committee on Investigation of Health and Sanitation, and the Lectures for Women's Sanitation.

C.
BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS



PART 1

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE OF 1919

OFFICERS

President—Julia C. Lathrop, Chief, Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

First Vice-President—L. A. Halbert, Kansas City, Mo. Second Vice-President—Thomas J. Riley, Brooklyn, N. Y. Third Vice-President—Albert S. Johnstone, Richmond, Va.

General Secretary—William T. Cross, 315 Plymouth Court, Chicago.

Treasurer—Charles W. Folds, 208 South LaSalle St., Chicago.

Assistant Secretaries—Rowland F. Beasley, Raleigh, N. C.; Mrs. E. T. Brigham, Kansas City; Pearl Chase, Santa Barbara, Calif.; Roscoe C. Edlund, Baltimore; T. J. Edmonds, Washington; Alexander Fleisher, New York; Julius Goldman, New Orleans; Virginia McMechen, Seattle; A. Percy Paget, Winnipeg; L. H. Putnam, Charleston, W. Va.; J. B. Rawlings, Fort Worth; Elwood Street, Louisville.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Ex-officio—Julia C. Lathrop, Washington; L. A. Halbert, Kansas City. Term expiring 1919—John Daniels, Katherine B. Davis, New York; Rev. Francis H. Gavisk, Indianapolis; Minnie F. Low, Graham Taylor, Chicago. Term expiring 1920—Ida M. Cannon, Cambridge, Mass.; Otto W. Davis, Minneapolis; Mrs. W. L. Murdock, Birmingham; Rev. Frederic Siedenburgh, Chicago; Roy Smith Wallace, Philadelphia. Term expiring 1921—Amos W. Butler, Indianapolis; M. Edith Campbell, Cincinnati; William T. Foster, Portland, Ore.; Mary E. Richmond, New York; Robert A. Woods, Boston. Chairmen of Divisions, ex-officio—Henry W. Thurston, New York; Col. Cyrus B. Adams, St. Charles, Ill.; Dr. C. E. A. Winslow, New Haven; Robert W. Kelso, Boston, Mass.; Joanna C. Colcord, New York; Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York; Frances Ingram, Louisville; Lieut. Col. Frankwood E. Williams, New York; W. J. Norton, Detroit.

COMMITTEE ON NOMINATION

George B. Mangold, Director, St. Louis School of Social Economy, 2221 Locust St., St. Louis, Chairman; Harriet Anderson, Louisville; Boris D. Bogen, Cincinnati; Jeffrey R. Brackett, Boston; Charles L. Chute, Albany, N. Y.; Karl DeSchweinitz, Philadelphia; J. Howard T. Falk, Montreal; Jessica B. Piezotto, Berkeley, Cal.; Adelaide M. Walsh, Chicago.

COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM

Julia C. Lathrop, Washington, Chairman; John Daniels, Mary E. Richmond, New York; Robert A. Woods, Boston; William T. Cross, Chicago.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Edwin Mulready, 1 Beacon St., Boston, Chairman; Paul Laddey, Newark, N. J.; Julius Goldman, New Orleans.

COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE

Samuel D. Murphy, Judge, Juvenile Court, 2219 First Ave., Birmingham, Ala.; Mrs. Kate Waller Barrett, Alexandria, Va.; Dora Berres, Los Angeles; Homer W. Borst, Jacksonville, Fla.; Sara A. Brown, Lansing, Mich.; Ernest W. Burgess, Chicago; Edith N. Burleigh, Boston; A. L. Burton, Helena, Mont.; Beulah Bussell, Spokane; Mrs. George M. Doane, Omaha; George Ellman, Memphis; Leon C. Faulkner, Loch Raven, Md.; Charles N. Fiedelson, Savannah; Mrs. Alice Adams Fulton, Denver; A. R. Gephart, Portland, Ore.; Christianna C. Gilchrist, Phoenix, Ariz.; Sarah B. Gober, New Orleans; Rev. John L. Green, Jackson, Miss.; E. R. Groves, Durham, N. H.; Frank D. Hall, Fargo, N. D.; Mrs. R. P. Halleck, Louisville; David B. Harkness, Winnipeg; Rev. A. J. D. Haupt, St. Paul; E. S. Hinkley, Ogden; Mary Hinkley, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; W. F. Hintzman, Madison, Wis.; William H. Jeffrey, Montpelier, Vt.; Charles P. Kellogg, Waterbury, Conn.; W. L. Kuser, Eldora, Iowa; Paula Laddey, Newark, N. J.; Mrs. Thomas W. Lingle, Chapel Hill, N. C.; A. M. McDonald, Edmonton, Alta.; Hilda K. Mills, Wilmington, Del.; F. H. Nibecker, Glen Mills, Pa.; Lottie S. Olney, Columbia, S. C.; G. M. Pfeiffer, Kansas City, Kans.; L. H. Putnam, Charleston, W. Va.; Ethel M. Riddle, St. Louis; Flora Saylor, Dallas; Lawrence J. Solly, Washington; Harriet E. Shepard, Little Rock; John Tombs, Albuquerque; A. M. Welch, Tulsa, Okla.; A. E. Widgery, Portland, Me.; Walter R. Wightman, Providence; Julia Worthington, Cincinnati.

NEW JERSEY COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS

Honorary Chairman—Hon. Walter E. Edge.

General Chairman—Dwight W. Morrow.

Vice-Chairman—Dr. Frank A. Fetter, President, N. J. Conference of Charities and

Correction. Heads of Various State Groups.

Treasurer—Walter Kidde.

Secretary—Ernest D. Easton, 45 Clinton St., Newark, N. J.

Finance—George B. Post, Bernardsville.

Church and Pulpit Supply—Rt. Rev. Wilson R. Stearly, Newark.

Membership—Arthur W. McDougall, Newark.

Publicity—Howard R. Heydon, Newark.

Headquarters, Halls, Hotels, Guides—Prof. E. R. Johnstone, Vineland.

Institutions—Burdette G. Lewis, Trenton.

Speakers' Bureau—Hon. Everett Colby, West Orange.

Public Officials—George N. Seger, Passaic.

Chambers of Commerce and Trade Organizations—A. V. Hamburg, Newark.

Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., Knights of Columbus, War Camp Community Work, etc.—

Mrs. F. C. Jacobson, Newark.

Women's Clubs—Mrs. Beatrice Stern, Matawan.

Schools—Dr. Henry R. Snyder, Jersey City.

Co-operation with Legislature—Ogden H. Hammond, Bernardsville.

PART 2

BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1920

OFFICERS

President—Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee, 105 East 22nd St., New York.

First Vice-President—Gertrude Vaile, Denver. Second Vice-President—Rev. John A. Ryan, Washington. Third Vice-President—Robert W. Kelso, Boston.

General Secretary—William T. Cross, 815 Plymouth Court, Chicago.

Treasurer—Charles W. Folds, 208 South LaSalle St., Chicago.

Assistant Secretaries—Dora Berres, Los Angeles; Mrs. E. T. Brigham, Kansas City; Edwin J. Cooley, New York; Ernest D. Easton, Newark; Marcus C. Fagg, Jacksonville; J. H. T. Falk, Montreal; Joseph C. Logan, Atlanta; Lieut. Col. Emil Marcussen, Chicago; H. W. Moore, Monroe, La.; Rev. John O'Grady, Washington; A. Percy Paget, Winnipeg; L. H. Putnam, Charleston; E. G. Routzahn, New York; John Tombs, Albuquerque; Rev. G. Croft Williams, Charleston.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Ex-officio—Owen R. Lovejoy, New York; Gertrude Vaile, Denver; Charles W. Folds, Chicago. Term expiring 1920—Ida M. Cannon, Cambridge; Otto W. Davis, Minneapolis; Mrs. W. L. Murdoch, Birmingham; Rev. Frederic Siedenburgh, Chicago; Roy Smith Wallace, New York. Term expiring 1921—Amos W. Butler, Indianapolis; M. Edith Campbell, Cincinnati; William T. Foster, Portland, Ore.; Mary E. Richmond, New York; Robert A. Woods, Boston. Term expiring 1922—Allen T. Burns, New York; Alfred Fairbank, St. Louis; John Ihlder, Philadelphia; James Hoge Ricks, Richmond; Amelia Sears, Chicago. Chairmen of Divisions, ex-officio—Henry W. Thurston, New York; Dr. Bernard Glueck, New York; George J. Nelbach, New York; Robert W. Kelso, Boston; Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York; Howard S. Braucher, New York; Dr. C. Macfie Campbell, Baltimore; William J. Norton, Detroit.

COMMITTEE ON PROGRAM

President—Owen R. Lovejoy, Chairman; Ida M. Cannon, Cambridge; William T. Cross, Chicago; Alfred Fairbank, St. Louis; Roy Smith Wallace, New York.

COMMITTEE OF NOMINATION

H. H. Shirer, Secretary, Board of State Charities, Columbus, Ohio, Chairman; Dora Berres, Los Angeles; J. Howard T. Falk, Montreal; Corinne Fonde, Houston; Blanche Hart, Detroit; Guy T. Justis, Denver; Joseph C. Logan, Atlanta; Joseph P. Murphy, Buffalo; Rev. John J. O'Grady, Washington.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Rev. Frederic Siedenburgh, Dean, School of Sociology, Loyola University, Chicago, Chairman; Charles C. Cooper, Pittsburgh; Charles H. Patterson, New Orleans.

COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE

John Ihlder, 180 South 15th Street, Philadelphia, Chairman; James F. Bagley, Augusta, Me.; John A. Brown, Indianapolis; David Benjamin, Kansas City; Winifred Collins, Birmingham; Sherman Conrad, Pittsburgh; F. P. Foisie, Seattle; Rev. J. V. Hawk, Helena; Theo. Jacobs, Baltimore; Mrs. Georgia May Jobson, Richmond, Va.; Evelyn P. Johnson, Milwaukee; Mrs. Amy Brown Lyman, Salt Lake City; F. H. Nibecker, Glen Mills, Pa.; E. W. Ogden, Knoxville; A. Percy Paget, Winnipeg; Stockton Raymond, Boston; Emil G. Steger, St. Paul; Hobart H. Todd, Industry, N. Y.; Rabbi Leon Volmer, New Orleans; Charlotte Whitton, Toronto.

COMMITTEE FOR CONFERENCE ON CORRELATION OF NATIONAL SOCIAL AGENCIES

Chairman—William J. Norton, Secretary, Detroit Patriotic Fund. Secretary—William T. Cross, Chicago; Charles C. Cooper, Pittsburgh; Edward T. Devine, New York; Rev. William J. Kerby, Washington; Sherman C. Kingsley, Cleveland; Samuel McCune Lindsay, New York; Julian W. Mack, Washington; Wilbur C. Phillips, Cincinnati; Barry C. Smith, New York.

COMMITTEE ON EXPRESSION CONCERNING STANDARDS

Chairman—Otto W. Davis, Secretary, Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies, Minneapolis; Amos W. Butler, Indianapolis; Charles C. Cooper, Pittsburgh; Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia; Edward T. Devine, New York; Rev. Francis H. Gavisk, Indianapolis; Prof. James E. Hagerty, Columbus; L. A. Halbert, Kansas City; Paul U. Kellogg, New York; Sherman C. Kingsley, Cleveland; Minnie F. Low, Chicago; George B. Mangold, St. Louis; John F. Moors, Boston; Dr. Jessica Peixotto, Berkeley; Mary E. Richmond, New York; Rev. Frederick Siedenburg, Chicago; Max Senior, Cincinnati; Henry W. Thurston, New York; Prof. A. J. Todd, Minneapolis; Gertrude Vaile, Denver; Dr. C. E. A. Winslow, New Haven; Henry C. Wright, New York.

COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

Chairman—William J. Norton, Secretary, Detroit Patriotic Fund; 100 Griswold St., Detroit; George R. Bedinger, Detroit; C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati; Howard S. Braucher, New York; Allen T. Burns, New York; Maude Cavanaugh, Washington; C. C. Cooper, Pittsburgh; H. L. Eddy, Des Moines; Judge Feidelson, Savannah; Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, Darling, Pa.; F. P. Foisie, Seattle; E. Fitzgerald, Detroit; Charles W. Folds, Chicago; Mrs. Bessie A. Haasis, New York; Bertha Kaufman, Atlanta; Sherman C. Kingsley, Cleveland; John H. Leet, Pittsburgh; Rabbi E. W. Leipziger, New Orleans; Mrs. W. L. Murdoch, Birmingham; George J. Nelbach, New York; W. S. Reynolds, Chicago; Mary E. Richmond, New York; Elmer Scott, Dallas; Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, Chicago; Graham Taylor, Chicago; Charles E. Vasaly, St. Paul.

NEW ORLEANS COMMITTEE ON ARRANGEMENTS

Chairman—Dr. A. B. Dinwiddie, President of Tulane University.

Vice-Chairman—Mrs. John Dibert.

Treasurer—Mr. Ben Casanas.

Secretary—Harry L. Hopkins.

Assistant Secretary—Miss Elizabeth Wisner.

Membership—Rabbi E. W. Liepziger.

Hotels and Housing—William Pfaff.

Headquarters—Homer W. Borst.

Reception—Mrs. Lucien B. Lyons.

Halls and Meeting Places—Julius Goldman.

Churches and Speakers' Bureau—

Exhibits—John Melpolder.

Publicity—L. R. Putnam.

Guides—Leon Volmer.

Colored Delegates—Rev. Charles M. Mel-
den.

Honorary Members at Large: Charles H. Patterson, Judge Andrew H. Wilson, Eleanor McMain, Jean Gordon, Father Carra, Mrs. Joseph E. Friend, Charles Denechand, Alexander Johnson, Mrs. George Deneque.

PART 3.

BUSINESS SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE: MINUTES

SUNDAY, JUNE 1, 1919

10:00 P. M.

The President, Miss Lathrop, in the chair.

The following report was presented by the Committee on Nomination, Dr. George B. Mangold of St. Louis, chairman:

The Committee on Nomination reports the choice of the following list of officers for positions to be filled for the year 1919-20 as required by the By-Laws: President: Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee, New York. First Vice-President: Gertrude Vaile, Director, Bureau of Education, Rocky Mountain Division, A. R. C., Denver. Second Vice-President: Rev. Father John A. Ryan, Catholic University of America, Washington. Third Vice-President: Robert W. Kelso, Executive Director, Massachusetts State Board of Charity, Boston. Members of Executive Committee (three year terms, to serve with present continuing members, as shown by list in program): Alfred Fairbank, Act. Mgr. Southwestern Division, A. R. C., St. Louis; John Ihlder, Sec'y, Philadelphia Housing Ass'n, Philadelphia, Pa.; Allen T. Burns, Director, Study of Methods of Americanization, Carnegie Foundation, New York; Hon. James Hoge Ricks, Judge of the Juvenile Court, Richmond, Va.; Amelia Sears, Associate Supt., United Charities, Chicago.

(Signed) GEORGE B. MANGOLD, Chairman.

Announcement was made of the general plan of election, according to which it would be possible for other names to be voted upon if a petition therefor signed by twenty-five members should be received by the General Secretary before 1 P. M. Tuesday; that the report of the Committee on Nomination would be published in the Daily Bulletin for Monday; and that in case no nomination or opposition were made the nominees of the Committee on Nomination would be elected by acclamation at the business session Tuesday afternoon.

Adjournment.

TUESDAY, JUNE 3, 1919.

2:00 P. M.

The President, Miss Lathrop, in the chair.

A motion prevailed to the effect that the business meeting adjourn promptly at 3 o'clock in order to harmonize with the schedule of afternoon meetings.

An amendment of the By-Laws by the insertion of the following article relating to division meetings was presented on behalf of the Executive Committee by the General Secretary:

Section Meetings.

The chairmen of divisions shall preside at section meetings of their divisions or shall appoint presiding officers in their stead.

Speakers shall address the chair and be recognized before proceeding. They shall not be allowed to proceed until their names, their home cities and their official positions have been announced. Speakers on informal discussion shall be limited to five minutes each, except by majority approval of those present, and shall not be permitted to speak more than once until all others have had an opportunity to be heard.

Section meetings are designed chiefly for informal discussions. Speakers will be encouraged to address their audiences directly, avoiding as much as possible

the continuous reading of papers. No address at a section meeting shall continue for more than thirty minutes, except by consent of those present with a majority vote. No paper shall be presented in the absence of its author, except by a majority vote of those present. Chairmen shall provide for the limitation of total time consumed by prearranged addresses at any section meeting to one hour. Limitation to a shorter period is suggested as being usually preferable.

Chairmen shall announce at the outset of all meetings or at any more appropriate time that all speakers should hand papers, speaking notes or other data that may be helpful in preparation of the volume of Proceedings to the official reporter present at the meeting, announcing the name of the reporter and arranging for him to be seated near by. Amplification in the Proceedings of matter summarized in addresses shall be permitted upon specific request of division chairmen and approval by the editor of the Proceedings.

It was moved by Dr. Hastings H. Hart of New York, and seconded, that the recommendation be adopted, substituting the term "Division for the term "Section" in the title, so as to correspond to the official terminology in the Constitution and By-Laws. Carried.

On behalf of the Executive Committee, an amendment to the Constitution was recommended as follows: that to the first part of the first sentence of the Fourth Article, entitled "Committees," the words "the Treasurer," be added so that the first part of the sentence as amended shall read: "The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, the First Vice-President and the Treasurer, ex-officio, the Chairmen of all the Division Committees, ex-officio, etc." The recommendation was adopted.

The following report was made on behalf of the Committee on Nomination by its Chairman, Dr. George B. Mangold of St. Louis:

The Committee on Nomination reports the choice of the following list of officers for positions to be filled for the year 1919-20 as required by the By-Laws: President: Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee, New York. First Vice-President: Gertrude Vaile, Director, Bureau of Education, Rocky Mountain Division, A. R. C., Denver. Second Vice-President: Rev. Father John A. Ryan, Catholic University of America, Washington. Third Vice-President: Robert W. Kelso, Executive Director, Massachusetts State Board of Charity, Boston. Members of Executive Committee (three year terms, to serve with present continuing members, as shown by list in program): Alfred Fairbank, Act. Mgr. Southwestern Division, A. R. C., St. Louis; John Ihlder, Secy., Philadelphia Housing Assn., Philadelphia, Pa.; Allen T. Burns, Director, Study of Methods of Americanization, Carnegie Foundation, New York; Hon. James Hoge Ricks, Judge of the Juvenile Court, Richmond, Va.; Amelia Sears, Associate Supt., United Charities, Chicago.

(Signed)

GEORGE B. MANGOLD, Chairman.

On question from the floor, the Chair ruled that it was necessary under the election rules to elect the entire ticket.

It was moved that the General Secretary cast the deciding ballot of the Conference in favor of the officers as nominated. Motion carried.

The following report was made on behalf of the Committee on Time and Place, by its Chairman, Mr. F. H. Nibecker, of Glen Mills, Pa.:

The Committee on Time and Place unanimously recommend that the 1920 meeting of the National Conference of Social Work shall be held in the City of New Orleans, La.

It further recommends to the Executive Committee that the time of the meeting shall be as early as possible in the month of May, 1920.

(Signed)

F. H. NIBECKER, Chairman.

On behalf of the Executive Committee the General Secretary reported the following recommendation:

That the Executive Committee recommend to the Conference the appointment of a committee to consider and to report at the next annual meeting upon the advisability of a plan which may enable the Conference to express itself upon standards and ideals.

It was moved by David J. Terry of Pittsburgh and seconded by Dr. George B. Mangold of St. Louis that the recommendation be adopted.

On motion of Mr. Lawson Purdy of New York, seconded by Mr. John Ihlder of Philadelphia, accepted by the mover and seconder, the original motion was amended to indicate that the committee should consist of not less than 21 persons and that it should be appointed by the Executive Committee. In this form the motion was carried.

It was moved by Mr. Charles C. Cooper of Pittsburgh that a Committee be appointed by the Executive Committee to assist in ascertaining and defining the functions and fields of operation of the various national groups and associations, both those that have developed during the war and others. The motion was seconded by Mr. Robert A. Woods of Boston.

On motion of Mr. Allen T. Burns of New York, seconded by Mr. Cooper, action on the proposal was postponed and the instruction given that it should be made the first order of business at the Friday afternoon business session.

On motion of Mr. Jeffrey R. Brackett of Boston, the General Secretary was instructed to send a message of cordial greeting from the Conference to Mr. Timothy Nicholson of Richmond, Indiana.

On behalf of the Executive Committee the following recommendation was reported by the General Secretary:

The Executive Committee recommends to the Conference that any Division desiring to issue a statement of conclusions, shall refer it for approval to the Committee on Resolutions; and that no statement shall be issued by a Division on its own authority.

On motion of Mr. Frederic Almy of Buffalo the proposal was laid on the table.

Adjournment.

FRIDAY, JUNE 6, 1919.

2:00 P. M.

The President, Miss Lathrop, in the chair.

The following minute of the business session of the Conference held on Tuesday, June 3d, was read by the General Secretary:

On behalf of the Executive Committee the following recommendation was reported by the General Secretary: "The Executive Committee recommends to the Conference that any Division desiring to issue a statement of conclusions, shall refer it for approval to the Committee on Resolutions; and that no statement shall be issued by a Division on its own authority."

The General Secretary reported action of the Executive Committee recommending that this original proposal should be referred to the Committee of Twenty-one, created by the Conference at its meeting on

June 3d to study the advisability of expression of ideals and standards. On motion of Mr. Allen T. Burns of New York the recommendation of the Executive Committee was adopted.

The following minute from the proceedings of the Conference at its business session on June 3rd was read by the General Secretary:

It was moved by Mr. Charles C. Cooper of Pittsburgh that a committee should be appointed by the Executive Committee to assist in ascertaining and defining the functions and fields of operation of the various national groups and associations, both those that have developed during the war and others. The motion was seconded by Mr. Robert A. Woods of Boston. On motion of Mr. Allen T. Burns of New York, seconded by Mr. Cooper, action on the proposal was postponed and the instruction given that it should be made the first order of business at the Friday afternoon business session.

Mr. William J. Norton of Detroit moved as a substitute the adoption of the following resolution:

Moved that the President of the National Conference of Social Work appoint a committee of 10 to request the President of the United States, through the Secretary of the Interior, or other cabinet official, to call a conference of national social and civic organizations to consider the correlation of efforts of these agencies and national budget planning.

The motion was seconded and carried.

The following report was made on behalf of the Executive Committee by Prof. Graham Taylor of Chicago, chairman of the sub-committee on Finances (document attached A).

On motion of Mr. Sidney A. Teller of Pittsburgh, seconded by Mr. L. G. Ball of Pittsburgh, the report was accepted.

On behalf of the Executive Committee, Mr. Amos W. Butler of Indianapolis recommended the adoption of an amendment to Section 13 of the By-Laws respecting elections in the nature of a series of rules to be substituted as follows:

ARTICLE 13

Amendment to By-Laws as to Nominations and Elections.

The Executive Committee recommends to the Conference: To amend the By-Laws by substituting for the present Article 13, as amended, a new Article 13 entitled "Nominations and Elections," worded as follows:

Sec. 1. The President shall appoint within ninety days following the adjournment of the annual meeting of the Conference, a Nominating Committee of nine members, none of whom shall be an officer or a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

Sec. 2. This committee shall have the function of nominating two or more persons for each of the offices of President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, and Third Vice-President, and at least as many persons for members of the Executive Committee as there are vacancies occurring in that body.

Sec. 3. The appointment and personnel of the Nominating Committee shall be published in the Bulletin next following.

Sec. 4. Suggestions of names of persons for any of these positions may be submitted to the Nominating Committee by any qualified member of the Conference at any time following the committee's appointment up to the time of the committee's announcement of the list of nominations.

Sec. 5. On petition of not less than twenty-five qualified members of the Conference, addressed to the Nominating Committee, nominations may be made, to be placed on the official ballot.

Sec. 6. Within ninety days of its appointment, the Nominating Committee shall, through the Bulletin, solicit suggestions of names of persons for the offices to be filled, and shall renew such solicitation in each succeeding Bulletin up to the time of announcing the list of nominations.

Sec. 7. After taking into consideration the names suggested by the Conference, but not necessarily confining consideration to these names, the Nominating Committee shall draw up a list of nominations as previously specified, and shall publish this list not less than fifteen days in advance of the next annual meet-

ing of the Conference. If the Committee's nominations on its own responsibility do not include nominations made by petition, such nominations by petition shall be published at the same time as petition nominations.

Sec. 8. Following the publication of these nominations, additional nominations may be made by petition of not less than 25 members, addressed to the chairman of the Nominating Committee at headquarters. Such additional nominations shall be received up to 1 o'clock p. m. on the third full day of the annual meeting.

Sec. 9. A final list of all nominations shall be printed and published on the morning of the fourth full day of the annual meeting. At a business session of the Conference to be held on that day these ballots shall be supplied to all qualified members present. Each ballot shall be marked by the voter to indicate his choice for the positions to be filled. The ballots shall then be collected and counted by three tellers appointed by the President and the result announced at the next general session of the Conference. Election shall be decided by a plurality of the votes cast.

On motion of Mr. John Daniels of New York, seconded by Mr. Alexander Johnson of Atlanta, the recommendation was adopted.

The President announced that a business session of the Conference would be held on Saturday, June 7, at 2 P. M., and that at that time she would announce the appointment of certain committees that had been created by the Conference at its meeting at Atlantic City, and further that at that time the Conference would be expected to act upon recommendations for the organization of division committees for the 1920 Conference.

Dr. Hastings H. Hart of New York moved that when the present business session should adjourn it should be to meet the following day at the same place at 2 P. M. Carried.

Mr. L. G. Ball of Pittsburgh introduced the following resolution in the nature of rules for the government of general evening sessions of the Conference:

1st. All business at evening sessions to be transacted immediately after singing,—preceding the speakers.

2nd. All addresses at evening sessions to conclude not later than 9:45 p. m., allowing the last fifteen minutes for discussion and good fellowship.

3rd. The chairman to notify each speaker by rap of gavel five minutes before time is up, so that speaker can conclude on time.

4th. When chairman calls upon some one for remarks not slated on program, the talk is to be limited to ten minutes, and the chairman by sounding gavel one minute before the ten minutes is to give the proper warning to conclude.

On motion of Dr. Hart, seconded by Dr. Taylor, the resolution was referred for consideration to the Executive Committee and the Committee on Program.

On motion of Mr. W. G. Theurer of Pittsburgh, seconded by Mr. Angus P. Thorne of Bridgeport, the Conference proceeded to the consideration of the recommendations of divisions for chairmanships and for vacancies in the membership of division committees for the ensuing year.

The recommendations of divisions as they had been printed in the DAILY BULLETIN for June 5 were read by the General Secretary and acted upon, division by division, for the following divisions:

- | | |
|--------------|---------------------------------|
| I. CHILDREN; | II. DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION; |
| III. HEALTH; | V. THE FAMILY. |

In the case of each division, the chairman or secretary of the division made explanation of the situation regarding continuing members not given in the printed list. The entire series of recommendations as originally reported by the divisions through the General Secretary were adopted for these divisions, the series of chairmen and committee members elected being as follows:

I. CHILDREN—Chairman, Henry W. Thurston, New York; Vice-Chairman, J. Prentice Murphy, Boston. Committee Members, term of 3 years, Grace Abbott, Washington; Mrs. Ira Couch Wood, Chicago; Prof. Ellsworth Faris, Iowa City; J. Prentice Murphy, Boston; Mrs. Frank D. Watson, Haverford, Pa.; George B. Mangold, St. Louis; Ludwig Bernstein, Pleasantville, N. Y.

II. DELINQUENTS AND CORRECTION—Chairman, Dr. Bernard Glueck, New York. Members, Dr. Carrie Weaver Smith, Texas; John J. Sonstebly, Chicago; Rabbi Emil W. Leipziger, New Orleans; Mrs. Jessie D. Hodder, Sherborn, Mass.; Col. Cyrus B. Adams, St. Charles, Ill.; H. K. Scott, Minnesota; Burdette G. Lewis, Trenton, N. J.; Samuel D. Murphy, Birmingham.

III. HEALTH—Chairman, George J. Nelbach, New York. Committee Members, Dr. Livingston Farrand, Washington; Dr. C. C. Pierce, Washington; Dr. S. J. Crumbine, Topeka; Dr. David Edsall, Boston; Dr. C. E. A. Winslow, New Haven; Dr. H. W. Hill, St. Paul; James B. Rawlings, Fort Worth.

V. THE FAMILY—Chairman, Amelia Sears, Chicago. Committee Members, Class of 1920 (additional) Joanna C. Colcord, New York. Class of 1921 (additional) Prof. Arthur J. Todd, Minneapolis; Cheney C. Jones, Philadelphia. Class of 1922, Julia B. Felsenthal, Minneapolis; Archbishop Hayes, New York; Amelia Sears, Chicago; Kate McMahon, Boston; Henry H. Bonnell, Philadelphia; Mr. Wyckoff, New Orleans.

The following recommendation for chairman and committee members of Division VI was read:

Chairman, Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York; Committee Members, Roger N. Baldwin, New York; Sophonisba P. Breckenridge, Chicago; Paul U. Kellogg, New York.

Mr. Sidney A. Teller of Pittsburgh moved that consideration of Division VI be postponed until Saturday and that the Division be instructed to bring in additional names for presentation. Motion seconded.

An amendment was moved by Mr. Angus P. Thorne of Bridgeport to the effect that the names of candidates printed in the Bulletin might be voted on at the present time, and that additional names may be acted upon tomorrow.

The amendment was accepted by the mover. The amendment prevailed. The original motion was carried.

Mr. W. G. Theurer of Pittsburgh moved that the name of Mr. Roger N. Baldwin be stricken from the list. The motion was seconded by Mr. Charles P. Kellogg of Hartford.

A substitute motion was made by Mr. Sidney A. Teller of Pittsburgh to the effect that in view of the time set for adjournment, action on this matter be postponed until the business session of the following day. Motion was seconded.

Mr. Allen T. Burns moved that the conference adjourn. Motion was seconded. The motion was lost.

The Conference proceeded with the original question.

After discussion the previous question was moved by Mr. Butler of

Indianapolis, seconded by Mr. Lawson Purdy of New York. Carried.
Original motion prevailed.
Adjournment.

SATURDAY, JUNE 7, 1919.

2:00 P. M.

Miss Lathrop, President of the Conference, presiding.

At the request of the chairman the following committee appointments were read on behalf of the Executive Committee by the General Secretary:

The committee consisting of twenty-one or more members who have the function of reporting next year on the advisability of a plan whereby the Conference may give expression to standards and ideals: Otto W. Davis, Minneapolis, Chairman; Dr. Jessica Peixotto, Berkeley, Calif.; Edward T. Devine, New York; Henry C. Wright, New York; Prof. A. J. Todd, Minneapolis; C. C. Cooper, Pittsburgh; L. A. Halbert, Kansas City; Mary E. Richmond, New York; Sherman C. Kingsley, Cleveland; Gertrude Vaile, Denver; Max Senior, Cincinnati; George B. Mangold, St. Louis; Henry W. Thurston, New York; Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia; Dr. C. E. A. Winslow, New Haven; Rev. Frederic Seidenburg, Chicago; Minnie F. Low, Chicago; Prof. James E. Hagerty, Columbus, Ohio; Paul U. Kellogg, New York; Amos W. Butler, Indianapolis; John F. Moors, Boston; Rev. Francis H. Gavisk, Indianapolis.

A similar announcement was made of the appointment of the Committee on Ways and Means as follows: W. J. Norton, Detroit, Chairman; Mary E. Richmond, New York; Graham Taylor, Chicago; C. C. Cooper, Pittsburgh; George J. Nelbach, New York; Mrs. Bessie A. Haasis, New York; Wilfred S. Reynolds, Chicago; George R. Bedinger, Detroit; Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, Philadelphia; Allen T. Burns, New York; Sherman C. Kingsley, Cleveland; H. L. Eddy, Des Moines; F. P. Foisie, Seattle; H. S. Braucher, New York; C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati; John H. Leet, Pittsburgh; Rev. Frederic Seidenburg, Chicago; J. Fitzgerald, Detroit; Maud Cavanaugh, Washington; Judge Charles N. Feidelson, Savannah; Mrs. W. L. Murdoch, Birmingham; Bertha Kauffman, Atlanta; Rabbi Emil W. Leipziger, New Orleans; Elmer Scott, Dallas; Charles W. Folds, Chicago; Charles E. Vasaly, St. Paul.

The Chairman stated the request of the Executive Committee, that it be permitted to organize the Committee of Ten which should request the President of the United States to call a conference of national organizations following the adjournment of the Conference within the next 30 days. There being no objection, the plan was approved.

The Conference proceeded to the approval of division committees, taking up the matter where it had been left at the adjournment of the preceding day's meeting with the Committee of Division VI on Industrial and Economic Problems.

Approval was given in the case of all divisions hereinafter listed in the selection of chairmen and new committee members with the exception noted in the case of Division X. In this instance the list was amended by authorizing the committee to increase its number by adding representatives of labor and of the public schools. In the case of Divisions IX and X the organization was proposed on motion of the Executive Committee with the statement that these temporary divisions were recommended for the ensuing year. In the case of Division VIII the personnel of the committee was proposed in the form in which it had been recommended by the Division.

Division IV.—Chairman, Robert W. Kelso, Boston; Executive Committee, 3 year term, Burdette G. Lewis, Trenton, N. J.; A. Percy Paget, Winnipeg, Man.; Henry C. Wright, New York; Florence Hutsinpillar, Denver; D. Frank Garland, Dayton, Ohio.

Division VI.—Chairman, Mrs. Florence Kelley, New York; Vice-Chairman, Miss Sophonisba P. Breckenridge, Chicago; additional member, Paul U. Kellogg, New York.

Division VII.—Chairman, Howard S. Braucher, New York; members for three years, Howard S. Braucher, New York; John Collier, New York; Miss Frances Ingram, Louisville, Ky.; Mrs. J. S. Fassett, Elmira, New York; Graham Taylor, Chicago, Ill.; W. D. Weatherford, Nashville.

Division VIII.—Chairman, Dr. C. Macfie Campbell, Baltimore; Vice-Chairman, Dr. Thomas W. Salmon, New York; Members Class of 1923; Dr. H. Douglas Singer, Chicago; Mr. C. C. Menzler, Memphis; Dr. C. M. Hincks, Toronto; Jessie Taft, Philadelphia; Dr. Anna Bingham, New York City; Dr. Thomas Haines, Jackson, Miss.; Dr. Bernard Glueck, New York City.

Division IX.—Chairman, William J. Norton, Detroit; Vice-Chairman, C. M. Bookman, Cincinnati; Secretary, R. L. Frost, Milwaukee; C. C. Stillman, St. Paul; H. L. Eddy, Des Moines; Karl de Schweinitz, Philadelphia; C. M. Hubbard, St. Louis; Ernest H. Kavanaugh, Boston; W. S. Reynolds, Chicago; Sherman Conrad, Pittsburgh; Rev. Francis A. Gressie, Cincinnati; Amy Woods, Boston; E. L. Morgan, Amherst; Otto W. Davis, Minneapolis; Guy T. Justis, Denver; Sherman C. Kingsley, Cleveland; Bessie McClenahan, St. Louis; Elwood Street, Louisville; Elmer Scott, Dallas; Miss A. F. Brown, Oakland, Calif.; Ralph J. Reed, Des Moines; Fred. R. Johnson, Detroit.

Division X.—Chairman, Allen T. Burns, New York; Vice-Chairman, Dr. Graham Taylor, Chicago; Secretary, Mrs. Ann Reed Brenner, New York; Rev. Vincent Picke, New York; Miss Ethel Richardson, California; John Foster Carr, New York; Rev. William J. Kerby, Washington; Judge Julian W. Mack, Washington; John Daniels, New York; Jane Addams, Chicago; Mrs. Edith Terry Bremer, New York; Ethel Bird, Chicago; Robbins Gilman, Minneapolis; Grace Abbott, Washington, D. C.; T. Seymour Levy, Syracuse; Andrea Patri, New York; Miss A. P. Dingman, Chicago; Prof. Herbert A. Miller, Oberlin, Ohio; Mrs. Margaret Long, Washington; Michael J. Droney, Boston.

The Chairman called for new business. None being proposed, the Conference adjourned.

SUNDAY, JUNE 8, 1919.

2:15 P. M.

The President, Miss Lathrop, in the chair.

The membership of the Committee of Ten appointed by the president to request the calling of a conference of national agencies under the auspices of the federal government, was read by the General Secretary, as follows:

Chairman, William J. Norton, Detroit. Other members, Samuel McCune Lindsay, New York; Homer Folks, New York; Wilbur C. Phillips, Cincinnati; Sherman C. Kingsley, Cleveland; Charles C. Cooper, Pittsburgh; Barry C. Smith, New York; Rev. William J. Kerby, Washington; Judge Julian W. Mack, Washington; Edward T. Devine, New York.

The names of assistant secretaries appointed by the Executive Committee for the ensuing year were read by the General Secretary as follows:

A. Percy Paget, Winnipeg; L. H. Putnam, Charleston, W. Va.; E. G. Routzahn, New York; Mrs. E. T. Brigham, Kansas City; Ernest D. Easton, Newark; Edwin J. Cooley, New York; Rev. John O'Grady, Washington; Dora Berres, Los Angeles; J. H. T. Falk, Montreal; Lieut. Col. Emil Marcusson, Chicago; Marcus C. Fagg, Jacksonville, Fla.; Rev. G. Croft Williams, Charleston, S. C.; John Tombs, Albuquerque; H. W. Moore, Monroe, La.; Joseph C. Logan, Atlanta.

The following report was presented on behalf of the Committee on Resolutions by Miss Paula Laddey of Newark, N. J.:

RESOLUTIONS OF 1919.

Your Committee on Resolutions, consisting of Edwin Mulready of Massachusetts, Paula Laddey of New Jersey and Philip L. Seman of Illinois, has

carefully considered the resolutions which have been submitted to it and unanimously report as follows:

WHEREAS, the United States has found in social workers a ready response in fitting themselves into the various phases of social activities which the war made necessary, and whereas, there has been an expression of general recognition and confidence in the valuable services which they rendered, be it

Resolved, that we note with grateful appreciation their return to their place in the great reconstruction work and hope that the government will benefit by the additional experience acquired at home and abroad, in any measures that may be introduced in the national readjustment period; and be it further

Resolved, that a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States.

WHEREAS, the supreme task of the civilized world in crushing the attempt of German military dictatorship of self government and the right of independent thought has been accomplished, and an equally great task faces us to now make the world safe and secure by an inclusive League of Nations which will mean justice and will assure a permanent peace; therefore, be it

Resolved, that facing all the responsibilities involved, we advocate the establishment, at the Peace Conference, of an inclusive League of Nations to insure peace and justice throughout the world; and be it further

Resolved, that we favor the entrance of the United States into such a League as may be adequate to safeguard peace that has been won by the joint military forces of the Allied Nations.

WHEREAS, the United States government saw fit in the interest of child welfare to invite the nations of our Allies to attend an international conference to discuss this important question, and

WHEREAS, Belgium, England, France, Japan and Serbia have accepted this invitation and sent their experts to the United States as our guests for the purpose mentioned, thus arousing an unprecedented interest in the welfare of children, and thus creating a public opinion which will have undoubted significance in the making of a physically, healthier citizenship, be it

Resolved, that the Conference extend its earnest appreciation to Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Director of the Federal Children's Bureau, through whose initiative and interest the International Conference was made possible, to Hon. W. B. Wilson, the Secretary of the Department of Labor, whose interest and warm co-operation was most helpful to the Children's Bureau; to the President of the United States, who permitted the use of his personal funds to defray the expenses necessary in this matter; to the countries who have sent their representatives at a time when it was undoubtedly a sacrifice to them to spare their experienced men, and to the individual foreign visitors, who have so graciously given of their time and energy in speaking to thousands of people in the various parts of our country.

The Conference desires to record its grateful appreciation of the liberal co-operation and hospitality of the local Committee on Arrangements and its several sub-committees; the Publicity Committee, the Hotel Men's Association, the Department of Institutions and Agencies, the Board of Education, the Churches of all denominations, all War and social agencies who have allied themselves with the Conference, the community singing leaders, the Boy Scouts and other social agencies, local as well as state. Special recognition is given to the fact that this is the first time in the history of the National Conference of Social Work that a State has invited the Conference and that every county of the state had its committee and thus helped in making the Conference a success. The New Jersey Conference for Social Welfare acted as host and merged its annual meeting with that of the National Conference. The Conference wishes also to express its appreciation to the local committee for the special reception given to Miss Julia C. Lathrop, its President, and to Hon. William N. Runyon, Governor of New Jersey. No names of New Jersey citizens are mentioned in this resolution, for many of them have done so much for the pleasure of the Conference.

A great number of citizens of New Jersey and officials have been prominent and untiring in making this conference a success and we know that their earnest interest in social work receives and will continue to receive recognition throughout the country without special mention of their names.

Respectfully submitted,

EDWIN MULREADY,

Chairman, Committee on Resolutions.

These resolutions were adopted.

Adjournment.

Minutes approved,

JULIA C. LATHROP,
President.
WILLIAM T. CROSS,
General Secretary.

PART 4
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
National Conference of Social Work

October 15, 1919

Historical Note.—The Constitution and By-laws as given herewith stand as originally adopted at the annual meeting of 1917, with the following exceptions: *Constitution*, article on "Committees," the Treasurer was added to the list of ex-officio members of the Executive Committee at the 1919 Conference. *By-laws*, Article 1, paragraph 3, relating to Affiliated Conferences, was added by amendment at the 1918 meeting; Article 9, paragraphs 2-5, relating to Division Meetings, were added by amendment at the 1919 meeting, apparently superseding paragraphs 1-2, but not so designated in the amendment; Article 13, the entire article was re-written at the 1919 Conference, superseding the original article with certain amendments made at the 1918 meeting.

CONSTITUTION

Preamble

The National Conference of Social Work exists to facilitate discussion of the problems and methods of practical human improvement, to increase the efficiency of agencies and institutions devoted to this cause and to disseminate information. It does not formulate platforms.

Membership

Anyone who is interested in the purposes and work of the Conference may become a member upon payment of the prescribed membership fee. Honorary members may be elected by the Executive Committee; complimentary members may be enrolled by organizations or individuals purchasing the Proceedings or Bulletin in quantities up to the amount of the cash payment. State, district and local conferences may become affiliated with the National Conference under such rules as may be established from time to time by the Executive Committee.

Officers

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, First, Second and Third Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, a Treasurer; also a Corresponding Secretary from each State, Territory and Province of the United States and Canada.

The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected annually by the Conference; the Corresponding Secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary, and the remaining officers shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.

Committees

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, the First Vice-President and the Treasurer, ex-officio the chairmen of all of the Division Committees, ex-officio and fifteen other members who shall be elected by the Conference, five each year for a term of three years; vacancies shall be filled in like manner. The Executive Committee shall hold all of the powers of the Conference between meetings, not otherwise reserved or delegated. It may enact rules supplementing the By-Laws and not in conflict with them. The President shall be ex-officio chairman; five members shall constitute a quorum at sessions held during annual meetings and three members at other sessions.

The President shall appoint the committees named in the By-Laws and such other committees as may be ordered by the Conference or the Executive Committee from time to time.

Annual Meetings

The Conference shall meet annually at such time and place as may be determined by the preceding Conference, as provided in the By-Laws. The Executive Committee shall have authority to change the time or place of the annual meeting in case satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made or for other urgent reasons.

General Secretary

The General Secretary shall be the executive officer of the Conference and shall perform his duties under such rules as may be prescribed by the By-Laws or by the Executive Committee.

Amendments

This Constitution and the By-Laws under it may be amended at any business meeting of the Conference, provided that such amendment shall have first been presented to and considered by the Executive Committee.

BY-LAWS

1. Membership Fees. Affiliated Conferences

The annual membership fee shall be: For regular members, three dollars; for sustaining members, ten dollars, and for institutional members twenty-five dollars. Every

member shall be entitled to a copy of the official Proceedings of the Conference and to its periodical Bulletin.

State conferences similar in nature to the National Conference of Social Work may affiliate with the National Conference through payment of an annual fee of twenty-five dollars and through approval of the application for affiliation by the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee may modify the amount of the fee in case of any conference which may be unable to pay the stipulated fee. State conferences shall be invited to pay more than the fee indicated in order to build up the service of the National Conference on behalf of the state organizations. A separate accounting shall be made of the receipts into and expenditures from this state conference fund.

2. *Duties of Officers*

The President shall be chairman ex-officio of the Executive Committee and of the Program Committee. He shall appoint all committees except the Executive Committee unless otherwise ordered by the Conference or the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer shall keep the funds of the Conference in such bank as may be designated by the Executive Committee and pay out funds on voucher checks may be prescribed by the Executive Committee, and his accounts shall be audited in form to be prescribed by the Executive Committee, and his accounts shall be audited quarterly by a firm of certified accountants appointed annually by the Executive Committee. He shall give bond in an amount approximating the largest amount of Conference funds held at his disposal at any one time, the expense of the bond to be paid by the Conference.

The General Secretary shall have charge of the office and records of the Conference, and shall conduct its business and correspondence under direction of the Executive Committee. He shall make arrangements for the annual meeting. He shall direct the activities of Assistant Secretaries, Corresponding Secretaries and other aids; he shall be the official editor of the volume of proceedings, the periodical Bulletin and other publications of the Conference and shall have charge of the distribution of the Conference literature. He shall develop the membership of the Conference; he shall cooperate with state conferences of charities and other local organizations. He shall conduct an information bureau pertaining to the service of the Conference and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee. He shall receive such compensation as shall be fixed by the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee shall have authority to appoint such other employees as they may deem necessary and to fix their compensation.

3. *Finance*

The financial management of the Conference shall be vested in the Executive Committee. No final action involving finances shall be taken by the Conference unless the question shall have been referred to the Executive Committee.

The Operating Fund shall consist of receipts from memberships and from the local organization entertaining the Conference. The Publication and Educational Service Fund shall consist of receipts from sales of publications and other funds which may be set apart for this purpose. The Executive Committee may accept donations for the creation of funds for other purposes germane to the work of the Conference, provided that no endowment funds shall be accepted in perpetuity; but all such funds must be subject to change of objects or to immediate expenditure; but such change or expenditure must be authorized by a three-fourths vote of the members of the Conference present at a regular meeting and such proposition must first have been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

4. *Appointment of Committees*

Within three months after the adjournment of the meeting the President shall appoint the following named committees:

a. A committee of three on Resolutions, to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate. No final action shall be taken on any resolution involving a matter of policy at the same session at which it is reported by the Committee on Resolutions.

b. A committee of twenty or more on Time and Place of the next meeting. This committee shall meet on the afternoon or evening of the first day after the opening session of the Conference for the purpose of receiving invitations from cities, and shall give a reasonable time for the presentation of such invitations. In the proceedings of the committee only the votes of members present shall be counted. The committee shall report to the Conference not later than the fourth day of the meeting. Action on the report of the committee shall be by a rising vote. The city receiving the highest vote shall be selected.

c. A sub-committee of five on Program of the next Conference of which the President shall be chairman and the General Secretary shall be a member, whose duties it shall be to arrange for the general sessions of the Conference, in consultation with the Division Committees as provided in the By-Laws, and to represent the Executive Committee in passing upon the Division programs. All action of the Program Committee shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Committee.

The President shall fill promptly any vacancies occurring in the committees appointed by him and a list of the members of such committees shall be printed in the Bulletin at least three times during the year.

5. Divisions

a. The programs of the Conference shall be grouped under Divisions of which the following shall be continuous from year to year: (1) Children; (2) Delinquents and Correction; (3) Health; (4) Public Agencies and Institutions; (5) The Family; (6) Industrial and Economic Problems; (7) The Local Community.

b. Other Divisions may be created for a period of one or more years by the Executive Committee or by the membership at the annual meeting, provided the proposal therefor is first submitted to the Executive Committee for recommendation.

c. Each continuous Division shall be in charge of a committee of not less than nine persons, nominated by the Conference members registered in the Division and elected at the annual meeting of Conference members. One-third of the members of the Division Committee shall be elected each year to serve terms of three years each.

d. Each other Division not continuous shall be in charge of a committee appointed by the Executive Committee, or if created by the membership, in such manner as the membership shall determine at the annual meeting.

e. Each Division Committee shall have power:

(1) To arrange the annual Conference programs coming within its field, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee.

(2) To arrange meetings both of general and of special interest within its field, the special meetings being arranged directly by the committee or by groups selected by them.

(3) To arrange upon the request of the Executive Committee one or more general Conference sessions.

(4) To arrange the annual business meeting of the Division and to provide for the nominations for the succeeding year.

f. Each Division shall annually nominate a chairman to be elected at the annual business meeting of the Conference. The Division Committee shall each year after the annual election elect a Division Secretary, subject to the approval of the Conference Executive Committee.

g. The nomination of chairmen and members of the Division Committees shall be made at the annual business meeting of each Division, to be held within the first three days of the annual Conference.

h. Vacancies in the Division Committees shall be filled at the annual meeting in the same manner as the election of new members. Vacancies in the office of chairman or secretary between meetings shall be filled by the Division Committee, subject to the approval of the Conference Executive Committee.

i. The Conference Executive Committee shall have general supervision over the work of all Division Committees with the power to pass on all programs, in order to insure the harmonious conduct of all parts of the work.

j. Any member of the National Conference may register in any or all divisions.

k. On petition to a Division Committee signed by any twenty-five members of the Conference, requesting the inclusion of programs on a special topic within its field, the Division Committee may organize such programs, either directly or in co-operation with a committee appointed by it. In case of declination or failure of the Division Committee to act, the petition shall be referred to the Executive Committee for final action.

l. The public evening meetings of the National Conference shall be arranged by the Conference Executive Committee, either directly or through the Division Committees.

m. The Chairmen of the Divisions of the Conference shall be ex-officio members of the Executive Committee of the National Conference.

6. Kindred Groups

Independent associations may arrange with the National Conference Executive Committee meetings to be held immediately before or during the National Conference and announced in the official program. The Executive Committee shall make such rules and regulations as are necessary from time to time to provide for such meetings.

7. Submission of Questions

Any Division or group desiring to submit any question to the Conference shall present it to the Executive Committee for preliminary consideration, at least twenty-four hours before the final adjournment of the Conference, and the Executive Committee shall report out such question before the final adjournment.

8. Business Sessions

At the annual meeting at least one session shall be held at which only matters of business shall be considered. The time of this session shall be announced in the last issue of the Bulletin preceding the meeting. The officers of the Conference shall endeavor to concentrate on this occasion as much as possible of the business of the Conference.

The right to vote shall be restricted to qualified* members of the Conference; and

*See section 14.

on request of twenty-five members, at any business session the President shall require persons who are not voters to retire before a final vote is taken.

9. *Discussions and Debates. Division Meetings*

[All meetings of the Conference except general sessions shall be arranged so as to facilitate informal discussion. The reading of papers shall be avoided as much as possible, except in case of the presentation of intricate analyses or of extensive data considered essential by the Division Chairman.

[In the (informal) discussions of the Conference speakers shall be limited to five minutes each, except by unanimous consent, and shall not be allowed to speak twice on any subject until all others have had an opportunity to be heard.]

The chairmen of divisions shall preside at section meetings of their divisions or shall appoint presiding officers in their stead.

Speakers shall address the chair and be recognized before proceeding. They shall not be allowed to proceed until their names, their home cities and their official positions have been announced. Speakers on informal discussion shall be limited to five minutes each, except by majority approval of those present, and shall not be permitted to speak more than once until all others have had an opportunity to be heard.

Section meetings are designed chiefly for informal discussions. Speakers will be encouraged to address their audiences directly, avoiding as much as possible the continuous reading of papers. No address at a section meeting shall continue for more than thirty minutes, except by consent of those present with a majority vote. No paper shall be presented in the absence of its author, except by a majority vote of those present. Chairmen shall provide for the limitation of total time consumed by prearranged addresses at any section meeting to one hour. Limitation to a shorter period is suggested as being usually preferable.

Chairmen shall announce at the outset of all meetings or at any more appropriate time that all speakers should hand papers, speaking notes or other data that may be helpful in preparation of the volume of Proceedings to the official reporter present at the meeting announcing the name of the reporter and arranging for him to be seated nearby. Amplification in the Proceedings of matter summarized in addresses shall be permitted upon specific request of division chairmen and approval by the editor of the Proceedings.

10. *Minutes*

A certified copy of the minutes of the business transactions of the annual meeting, excepting official documents, shall be posted by the General Secretary on the official bulletin board at least three hours before the final meeting, in order that the said minutes may be corrected by the Conference, if any question of accuracy be raised before adjournment. The minutes of any business session held after such posting shall be approved at the close of that session.

11. *Library*

A library for current reference and for historical purposes shall be maintained by the Conference.

12. *Local Arrangements*

The local arrangements for the annual meeting shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

13. *Nomination and Election of Officers*

1. The President shall appoint within ninety days following the adjournment of the annual meeting of the Conference, a Nominating Committee of nine members, none of whom shall be an officer or a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

2. This committee shall have the function of nominating two or more persons for each of the offices of President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, and Third Vice-President, and at least as many persons for members of the Executive Committee as there are vacancies occurring in that body.

3. The appointment and personnel of the Nominating Committee shall be published in the Bulletin next following.

4. Suggestions of names of persons for any of these positions may be submitted to the Nominating Committee by any qualified member of the Conference at any time following the committee's appointment up to the time of the committee's announcement of the list of nominations.

5. On petition of not less than twenty-five qualified members of the Conference, addressed to the Nominating Committee, nominations may be made, to be placed on the official ballot.

6. Within ninety days of its appointment, the Nominating Committee shall, through the Bulletin, solicit suggestions of names of persons for the offices to be filled, and shall renew such solicitation in each succeeding Bulletin up to the time of announcing the list of nominations.

7. After taking into consideration the names suggested by the Conference, but not necessarily confining consideration to these names, the Nominating Committee shall draw up a list of nominations as previously specified, and shall publish this list not less

than fifteen days in advance of the next annual meeting of the Conference. If the committee's nominations on its own responsibility do not include nominations made by petition, such nominations by petition shall be published at the same time as petition nominations.

8. Following the publication of these nominations, additional nominations may be made by petition of not less than 25 members, addressed to the chairmen of the Nominating Committee at headquarters. Such additional nominations shall be received up to 1 o'clock p. m. on the third full day of the annual meeting.

9. A final list of all nominations shall be printed and published on the morning of the fourth full day of the annual meeting. At a business session of the Conference to be held on that day these ballots shall be supplied to all qualified members present. Each ballot shall be marked by the voter to indicate his choice for the positions to be filled. The ballots shall then be collected and counted by three tellers appointed by the President and the result announced at the next general session of the Conference. Election shall be decided by a plurality of the votes cast.

14. *Voting, Quorum*

All members who have paid dues for the preceding year shall be qualified to vote. At any business session fifty such qualified members shall constitute a quorum.

E.
INDEX

INDEX

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS INDEX

Admin.	Administration,	F. M.	Feeble-minded,	Pris.	Prison, s-er, s
	ive		-ness	Priv.	Private
Agr.	Agriculture, -al	Fin.	Finance, -es, -ial	Prob.	Probation
Almsh.	Almshouse, -s	Gen.	General	Profes.	Profession, -al
Amer.	America, -n	Geog.	Geographical	Prog.	Program, -s
Archit.	Architecture, -al	Govt.	Government, -al	Prohib.	Prohibition
Assn.	Association, -s	Hist.	History, -ical	Psychol.	Psychology, -logical
Char.	Charity, -ies, -able	Hosp.	Hospital, -s		-ogist, -s
Chil.	Children, -'s	Hvg.	Hygiene, -ic	Psychop.	Psychopathic
Classif.	Classification	Illegit.	Illegitimacy, -ate	Pub.	Public, -ity, the
Com.	Committee, -s	Imgt.	Immigrant, -ation		public
Comm.	Commission, -s	Indus.	Industry, -ial	Quot.	Quoted, -ation
Commun.	Community, -ies	Inf.	Infant	Reen.	Recreation, -al
Conf.	Conference, -s	Inst.	Institution, -s, -al	Ref.	Reference
Coop.	Cooperation, -ive	Ins.	Insurance	Regis.	Registration
Cor.	Correction, -s, -al	Invstg.	Investigate, -ed,	Regul.	Regulation, -s
Crim.	Criminal, -s		-ion	Relig.	Religion, -s, -ous
Crit.	Criticized, -ism	Juv.	Juvenile	Rep.	Report, -ed, -ing
Defec.	Defect, -ive, -s, -ness	Legis.	Legislation, -ive	Serv.	Service
Defin.	Definition, -s	Med.	Medical	S. W.	Social Work
Delinq.	Delinquent, -cy	Ment.	Mental, -ly, -ity	Soc.	Social, society
Democ.	Democracy, -ies	Movt.	Movement, -s	Sta.	Station, -s
Dep.	Dependent, -cy	Natl.	National	Stat.	Statistics, -al
Dept.	Department, -s	N.C.S.W.	National Confer-	Supt.	Superintendent
Descr.	Described, -iption,		ence of Social	Superv.	Supervision, -ory,
	iptive		Work		-ing
Devel.	Develop, -ment, -s	Org.	Organize, -ation,	The.	Tuberculosis
Disc.	Discussion		-ing, -ed	Trng.	Training
Div.	Division, -s	Phil.	Philanthropic, -y	Univ.	Universal
Econ.	Economy, -ics	Phys.	Physical	Voc.	Vocation, -s, -al
Educ.	Educate, -ion, -ional	Prev.	Prevent, -ion, -ing,	Vol.	Volunteer, -ary
Empl.	Employment		-ive, -ability	Welf.	Welfare
Exam.	Examine, -ed	Prin.	Principle, -s		
Fam.	Family, -ies				
Fedn.	Federation, -s				

EXPLANATION

Names of states and countries have the usual postoffice abbreviations, as N. Y., Ala., U. S. Phrases in *Italics* signify titles of papers. Author's name follows title.

The Index contains the names of all speakers at the meeting and of all persons to whom important reference is made or who are quoted. The Index does not contain reference by name to officers and members of committees, nor ordinarily to speakers on informal discussion or those whose words are not published. These may be found by reference to divisional organization and program given at the first of each main section of the book, and to the small-type account of each informal discussion.

The Index contains references to all geographical divisions to which important reference is made, except where series of data or statistics are given, with many references to cities or states. In such cases the material is usually classified under general headings such as "statistics," "studies," etc.

Papers, addresses and reports will be found not by reference to their exact titles, but under the general subjects to which they most nearly relate. The Index is intended to include all the more important subject references in the volume.

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